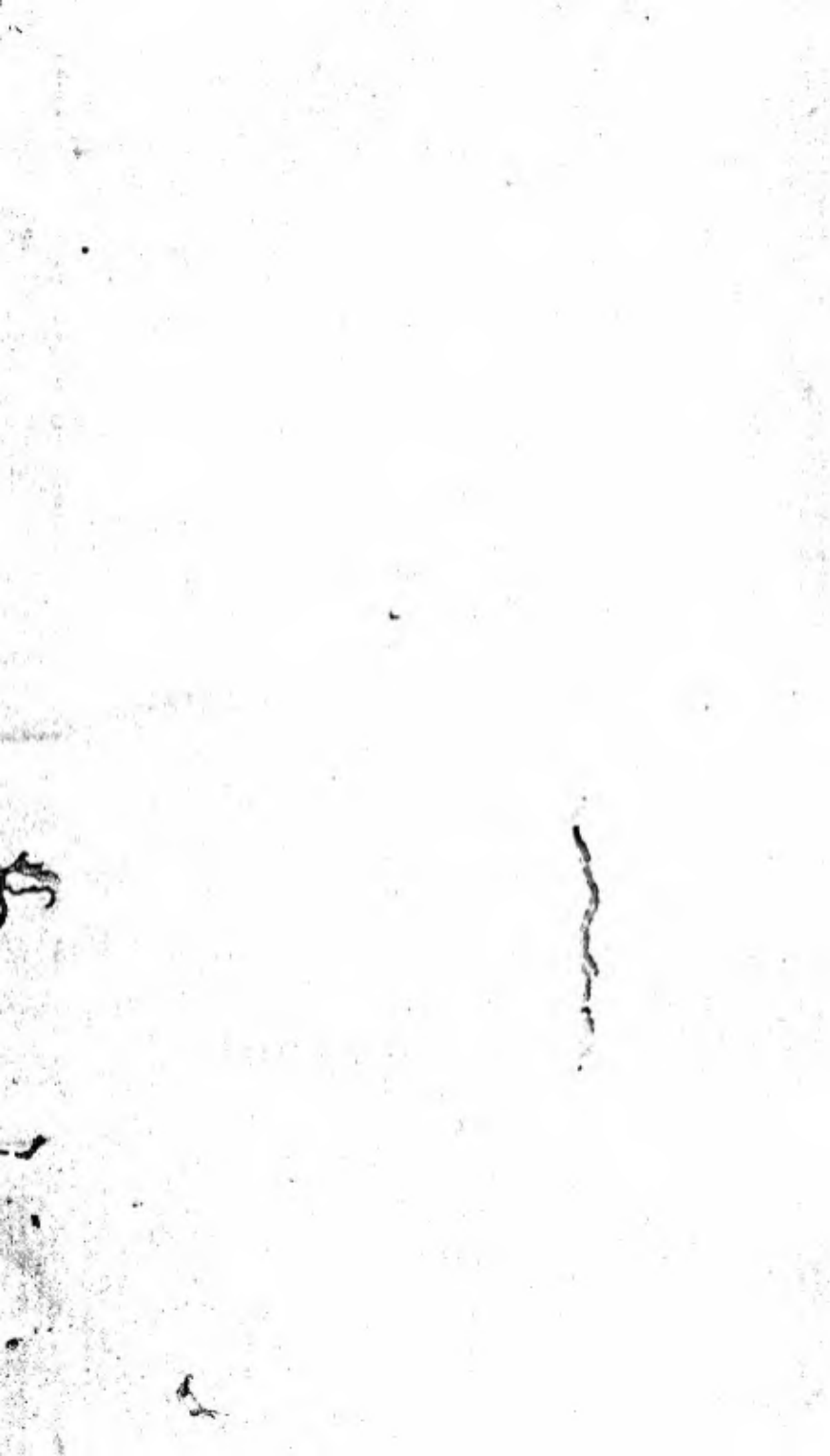


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JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AFTERNOON MEETING, DECEMBER 14, 1869.

P. P. GORDON, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON read the following Paper:—

On the Proposed Additional Expenditure of 100 Millions on Railways.

WHEN railways were first proposed, all discussion respecting their suitableness to India, their capability to meet its wants, their superiority to other modes of communication, their effects upon the finances of the country, &c., was absolutely refused. When attempts were made to this purport, an officer, who knew what the feelings of the authorities were, condemned them in an official paper as "adverse discussions," which meant, of course, that discussion was by no means objected to, provided it was all in favour of them. And so well was it understood, that whoever dared to state the other side of the question must do it at his personal peril, that the authorities were left to follow out the plan they had determined upon without one word of real inquiry. Whether the railways would entail a heavy charge upon the revenue, whether they could carry $\frac{1}{10}$ th part of the traffic of the country, whether they could carry at less than ten times the charge that the country needed, either for goods or for passengers—whether they would enable the country to contend with other countries in the markets of the world—whether it would enable India to meet the urgent demands of England for its produce, and its markets—whether other modes of transit would not be, in the circumstances of India, superior to it in every particular, in first cost, in time of execution, in cost of transit, in the quantities it could accommodate, in the requirements of the country in a military point of view, and in all other points,—not one word was permitted to be said. It was at the peril of his favour with the Government, that any one should dare to utter one word of discussion on these great fundamental points. What must be the consequence of such a mode of dealing with great national interests? Before such discussion the majority are always wrong; the vulgar view of a matter is always a superficial one. Surely we have had lessons enough on this point. When first the discussion of slavery began, we may safely say a majority of fifty to one were in favour of it. And we have had a more recent, and even perhaps a more striking instance of it in the case of the Suez Canal.

When this work was first discussed, I believe every newspaper in England, without exception, was against it; first, it was utterly impracticable; second, it was utterly impolitic; third, it would be an enormous loss; and so on.

As to its practicability, it was in reality one of the simplest matters of engineering that ever was proposed. As to its policy, no money could measure the value to England of a work that went so far towards uniting the two halves of the British Empire together; and as to its returns in money, there was the present value of the trade to India and China, and it was perfectly easy to calculate the saving in the three items of risk, distance, and interest on that value; and allowance could be made both for the rapid increase of trade, under present circumstances, and of the enormous stimulus that would be given to it by thus halving the distance and time, and more than halving the risk. Now that, in a very short time, it is in successful operation, everybody can see that the immense majority were wrong, and the minority, if there was one at all, were right. Surely such a case as this ought to teach us to be willing to hear both sides of a national question, and to enable us to entertain the idea that a minority may be right.

But if this is so with a new question, how much more with one that has already been tried, and in which we have most ample actual data by which to judge of it. If there is a madness greater than that of spending 100 millions without permitting any

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discussion, it is that of spending a second without permitting any examination of the results of the first. This is our actual position. We have spent 100 millions on railways in India; they have been in operation from ten or fifteen years downwards; we have had abundance of time to see what they can do and what they cannot do, what they cost us in capital and what in actual taxation; at what prices they can carry, what quantities they do carry, and what quantities and numbers they leave uncarried; and almost all other points are now fully exhibited. Happily, we have not yet seen what they could do in military matters, in case of rebellion; but then we don't need to see that, because we know perfectly beforehand that in such a case they would be destroyed in twenty-four hours; and except for the rivers we should be left without either the old or the new mode of transit, and not a regiment could be moved on lines where there is not water-carriage. Is it anything short of infatuation, under these circumstances, not to examine the results of our first 100 millions before we proceed to spend a second? Yet up to this time I have not heard a word of any such investigation being ordered. If 100,000*l.* is to be spent on the Thames, a Committee of the House of Commons is appointed, and the whole kingdom is searched for experienced or intelligent men, who are invited and encouraged to give their opinions in the freest manner, and not a step is taken till all their opinions are fully and honestly placed in the hands of the whole kingdom in a Blue Book, with the conclusion that a committee of known and approved men have come to upon those opinions.

How is it that in an Indian matter involving in an essential degree every vital question respecting India, with the ample data afforded by an enormous experiment, not one single inquiry is made? In the success or failure of the railways are involved the finance question, our prestige, the loss of millions of lives by famine, or their preservation; the supply of England with the raw material for several of its vital manufactures, and with markets for its manufactured goods; yet all these things are treated as matters that do not require the attention that is given in England to a little insignificant local question, involving an expenditure of one-thousandth part of the sums proposed to be expended in the extension of railways in India.

Surely nothing could show more distinctly than this matter the incalculable importance of this institution. The India Council, from their peculiar constitution, cannot investigate this matter, and the House of Commons, from their utter indifference to everything connected with the largest half of the empire, will not hear a word on the subject; and if there were not independent institutions like this and the Society of Arts, even such vast questions as this, involving in such an extraordinary degree the vital material interests of both halves, would be left altogether unanswered,—India would be put to the expense of 100 millions, and years would be consumed in that expenditure, without one intelligent inquiry on the proceeding. What could I propose as a more legitimate subject of investigation and as a better test of the incalculable importance of this institution than a thorough honest discussion of this great question, in which it is now quite certain that both the Council of India and the House of Commons are complete failures,—neither of them giving the slightest ground of hope that they ever will do anything but the one blindly spend the money and the other permit it, without the slightest attempt to ascertain what will be the effects of it, as already shown by the results of the ample experiment already made.

Now I think the question respecting the railroads already in operation and under execution may be thus stated:—

1. What have they cost?
2. What time have they taken?
3. What are the money returns?
4. What is the cost of transit?
5. What quantities and numbers do they carry?
6. What are the quantities and numbers that they do not carry?
7. What effect have they had on the finances?
8. What are their effects in the great evils of India, such as the famines, the fevers, the salt-tax, &c.?
9. What can they do for the defence of the country?
10. What have they cost?

The total sums expended up to March this year amount to 79 millions, as stated in the Railway Report, but this does not include land and Government inspection, and interest. But as the works are so advanced we may safely take the estimated cost of the whole as 100 millions, and deduct from this the actual cost.

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	£
Amount estimated for 5900 miles in the Railway Report ..	98,000,000
Add guaranteed interest up to the end of 1868	26,000,000
Land, &c.	5,000,000
	<u>129,000,000</u>
Deduct repaid interest	18,000,000
	<u>£116,000,000</u>
Or, per mile	£19,000.

I cannot find the exact amount for land, &c., stated in the Railway Reports, but from other sources I think these charges must amount to about 5 millions. This amount does not include compound interest, though of course it has been paid by India, and it must add considerably to the above amount, viz. :—about 10,000,000*l.* for all the time this sum, now amounting to about 18 millions for interest, land, &c., has been advanced, the interest upon it must have been paid. The actual cost, therefore, by the time these 5900 miles are completed will be fully 130 millions, for the amount of interest, &c., is rapidly accumulating. The bare simple interest and land being now 18 millions, the annual payments are—

	£
Interest at 5 <i>l.</i> per cent. on 18 millions	900,000
Deficiency of guaranteed interest paid by Government ..	1,500,000
	<u>£2,400,000</u>

This is the actual charge upon the State, besides the interest of the accumulated compound interest, which would make the charge 3 millions, and which is the real cost of railways to the country, to be paid out of taxes.

In the Report nothing is said about these additional charges, but only the amount of guaranteed interest paid by Government is stated; and in the last Report the Calcutta and South-eastern Railway is left out, and its cost not included in the total. It has been made over to Government, who have not only to pay the interest of 600,000*l.* which it has cost, but also the loss in working it, which in 1865, the last year reported, was 8000*l.*

The highest cost of any line is 27½ millions for 1280 miles, or, adding 20 per cent. for simple interest and land, 33 millions, which is 25,000*l.* a mile. This is the main line of the valley of the Ganges, by far the greater part only a single line. I need here only notice the unaccountable cost of this line, hundreds of miles of it being without one single cutting, or embankment, or viaduct worth mentioning, and the whole line of 1300 miles having only one short tunnel, and five or six heavy works, and where labour was not more than one-third the cost of that in England.

2. What time have they taken?

When finished they will have occupied about 27 years, or at the rate of 220 miles a year.

What are the money returns?

The net receipts in the last year were 2 millions, and the capital estimated for the length then opened 71 millions, so that the average interest was 3 per cent. on the bare cost, but adding for accumulated simple interest and land 20 per cent. the capital is 85 millions, and the returns 2½ per cent., the remaining 2½ being paid out of taxes. The actual cost to the country of the railway at this moment is—

	£
Capital cost	84,000,000
Accumulated interest and land	18,000,000
	<u>£102,000,040</u>
	£
Interest on ditto at 5 per cent.	5,100,000
Deduct net returns	2,100,000
Loss per annum	<u>£3,000,000</u>

And this is, of course, rapidly increasing as the additional lines opened are far less productive than those hitherto in use. As the accounts are made out, that is leaving out the cost of land and the accumulated interest, the railways are shown in the Reports to have paid a little more than the guaranteed interest in 1865, but this was one of four years of extraordinary prosperity, owing to the enormous influx of wealth from the high price of cotton, which brought in the astonishing sum of 130 millions into the country in four years, a sum which could not fail to affect materially both the railways and the revenues, but which cannot be expected to recur again.

It thus appears that the country is at this moment taxed to the amount of 3 millions per annum to pay for the railways, and it must be remembered that at least 50 millions of people are compelled to pay their share of this tax without receiving the smallest benefit from it, being hundreds of miles away from any railway.

4. What is the cost of transit?

The charges for passengers are from $\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $\frac{3}{4}d.$ for the third class, and almost the whole travel by this class—about 97 per cent. And there cannot be a doubt that if there were transit at half the speed and half the charge, almost the whole would go by that mode, so utterly unsuited is high speed to the general circumstances of India. The charge for goods is stated, in the Report for 1866-7, to be from $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $8d.$ per ton per mile. But to enable us to judge of this charge we must consider the circumstances of the country. First we must allow for the value of money as compared with England. The average for all India is probably now about 4 to 1 compared with this country, taking the pound of human food at $\frac{3}{4}d.$ there against $2d.$ in England. This would make the above rates equal to from $5d.$ to $32d.$ in England. But further, we must remember that the distances there cannot be less than five times what they are here. There is a third consideration, *viz.* that the great mass of goods to be carried there are of small value as compared with those here. Thus, a ton of cotton, value 60*l.*, carried there 500 miles at $4d.$ a ton a mile, is charged with a sum of 8*l.*, or 13 per cent. while a ton of manufactured things, worth perhaps 200*l.*, carried in England 100 miles at $2d.$ a mile, pays 18*s.*, or less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This will show how the charges by rail in India are altogether prohibitory of traffic of any consequence, and so, in fact, we find it, that the quantities carried by rail are so utterly insignificant as to be quite imperceptible in comparison of what the traffic there ought to be.

But this brings us to the fifth question. What do the railways carry? Now the total receipts for goods was last year 3 millions on 4000 miles, or 800*l.* a mile, which at an average of $8d.$ a ton, gives 64,000 tons for the traffic of all the lines.

Now, to show the insignificance of this we have only to compare it with the present actual traffic by the rivers connecting the Ganges and Hooghly, which are only open four or five months in the year; the quantity last year being 1,900,000 tons, and probably at least 3,000,000 tons are carried from the Ganges to Calcutta in the whole year, or fifty times the average by the railways. Again, the Eastern Bengal Railway received 75,000*l.*, or 700*l.* per mile, representing, at $8d.$ a ton, 56,000 tons in the whole year against 1,900,000 tons conveyed by the rivers between which it is laid in four or five months, so that the quantity carried by the railway is of no consequence whatever, probably not a fiftieth part of what passes by water in the whole year between the Ganges and Calcutta. But this is only what is now carried, not what the circumstances of the country demand. The cost, delay, and risk by these rivers is so great, that if there were steamboat canals throughout the valley of the Ganges it is certain that the total expense of transit by them would not be more than one-fourth of what it is by the rivers, and with a reduction to that extent the traffic would certainly be increased three or fourfold, so that the railway certainly does not convey one-hundredth part of the traffic there ought to be in such an immense population as the plains of the Ganges contain. Thus, the idea that the railways are doing the work of the country in respect of goods traffic is simply ludicrous.

On all the main lines of India, if transit were cheap enough to meet the real circumstances of the country, the traffic would be from one to ten million tons a year, while the present railways, all on main lines, average, as appears from the receipts, about 64,000 tons. To show, in a rough but perfectly correct way, what the traffic of a country should be, in some proportion to its population, we may take this traffic between Calcutta and the western part of the valley of the Ganges, which is at least 3,000,000 tons for a population of about 60 millions, or 50,000 tons per million of people.

This is with a cost of transit of about $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per mile. If this cost of traffic were

reduced to one-fourth, as it might be, the tonnage would probably be 10 millions, or 170,000 tons per million.

The quantities carried in the Peninsula Railway is 1,000,000*l.* for the last year on 900 miles, or 1100*l.* a mile at 3*d.* a mile, 90,000 tons for probably 10 millions of people, or 9000 tons per million at that high charge.

To compare other countries: the traffic between the Western States of America and the port by one of the three water-lines, that is, by the Erie Canal, is, I believe, about 5,000,000 tons; by the other two lines, *viz.* the Mississippi and St. Laurence, I do not know what it is, but it cannot be less than as much more, making 10 million tons for about 5 millions of people, or 700,000 tons per million, where the people are in a highly wealthy state, and the charge is on an average $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* a ton a mile, which, allowing for the difference in the value of money, is equal to $\frac{1}{14}$ *d.* in India.

In England the traffic on the Bridgewater Canals is about 2,000,000 tons for probably not 3 millions of people, or 700,000 tons per million, besides the three lines of railway traffic. On the Forth and Clyde Canal it is about one million of tons for a million of people, with water-carriage at 1*d.* a ton. This rough statement will give some substantially correct idea of what the traffic of a certain population ought to be where transit is very cheap according to the state of wealth of the people.

From this we may certainly form a correct judgment of what we have to provide for as goods traffic in India, and to think of single, or even double railways doing anything perceptible towards effecting this is as ridiculous as to think of holding a ship at her anchor by a piece of packthread.

We have another datum for goods traffic in India in the case of the Main Godavery Canal, on which about 200,000 tons a year are carried, which is the traffic of at most 2 millions of people, or 100,000 tons per million, with carriage at about $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* a ton a mile, and the population in a thriving state.

And so also with passengers. The number of passengers on the railways is at 1,600,000*l.* for last year, or 400*l.* per mile, allowing $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* per head, 250,000*l.* per annum, or 700 per day, of whom three per cent., or twenty-one per day, are First and Second Class.

Now let us only consider this taxing of the country 3 millions a-year to provide these 21 passengers a-day with high speed, for it is certain that all the rest of the 700 would rather travel slower and cheaper.

But as with goods so also with passengers; the proportion travelling by rail must be only a very small portion of the whole of the travellers on these lines.

When I was last in India the roads were filled with travellers who could not afford the charge by railway. And certainly those who do travel at all now are only a small portion of those who would travel if transit were cheap enough to suit the demands of the country. We may be sure that if there were steamboat canals, carrying at $\frac{1}{10}$ th of a penny per mile at fair speeds—which they could do—the numbers would be at least ten times those carried by the railways; so that even in passengers also the railways do not in the least meet the wants of the country. While twenty-one European and native gentlemen are carried cheaply at high speeds, probably 7000 natives are either not conveyed at all, or at prices which are hardly any saving to them.

Not a word of all this appears in the Railway Reports. While they are true Reports of some things, they completely falsify the whole matter to almost every one who reads them. Who would not suppose from reading them that the railways, with the trifling drawback of requiring taxes to the amount of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million a-year to make up their interest, were really conveying the great traffic of the country in goods and passengers, and that at charges suited to the circumstances of the country? while in reality they are not carrying on an average one-twentieth of the goods or one-tenth of the passengers that require to be moved, and for this the country is really taxed 3 millions a-year.

Thus it is quite possible to write a perfectly true Report, and yet that by certain omissions it shall leave a totally false impression on almost all who read it.

6. What do they not carry?

I have already shown that they do not carry one-fiftieth part of the traffic that the country requires, and which there would be if really cheap transit were provided; that they are neither capable of carrying one-fiftieth part of it, nor can they carry at the prices that are essential to the existence of such a traffic. And the same with passengers. To meet the circumstances of the country passenger transit must be provided at $\frac{1}{10}$ *d.* or $\frac{1}{20}$ *d.* per mile, and till it is, nine-tenths of those who would travel must either stay at home, or travel just as they did before railways existed.

But why is there not a word of this in the Railway Reports? Why is there not an attempt to show what the real results of the railways are, as to how far they meet the wants of the country? The concealment of these things, as I have said, utterly falsifies the whole subject.

Only place at the end of the flourishing Report on the Eastern Bengal Railway these words, "But so far from its increasing the former traffic, while it carries in the whole year about 60,000 tons, imperfect as the navigation on the rivers in the same line is, they carry in four or five months 1,900,000 tons," and the whole aspect of the affair is completely reversed.

7. What effect have they had on the finances?

In the irrigated districts of Madras the revenue has been increased by 200,000*l.* and 250,000*l.* a-year. There is no room for question there. What increase do the railway districts show? None whatever, due to railways; neither do any of the district reports say a word about any such increase.

For instance, I take the four districts through which the Madras railway passes. The revenue of the four in 1861-2 was 1,100,000*l.*, and in 1867-8 it was 1,160,000*l.*, a trifling increase of 60,000*l.*, or 5½ per cent. in six years, a great part of which was certainly directly due to improved irrigation. On those districts 5 millions have been expended on 450 miles of railway, upon which the whole increase of revenue is only 1 per cent., if it were due to the railways.

So that no perceptible increase has been obtained from this great expenditure in six years, while the railway has not even paid the interest of the money, and there is a debt upon it of, I believe, about 2 millions.

Compare this with an expenditure of half a million on the Godavery irrigation—an increase of revenue of a quarter of a million.

Six districts which have had no railway constructed in them, in the same Presidency, have increased from 1,830,000*l.* to 1,950,000*l.*, or 120,000*l.* a-year, which is 7 per cent., proving that the railway districts have no advantage whatever over those that have none. This is perfectly conclusive as to the effect of the railways on the finances; while, on the other hand, they have, as I have before shown, entailed a loss of 3 millions a-year in the deficiency of the returns. And if it be asked what saving there is in the cost of carriage, the answer is that the charges are professedly the highest possible that will admit of the goods being carried at all, so that if they were raised a very little, even the insignificant quantity now carried would be conveyed by other means.

8. What are their effects on the great evils of India, such as the famines, malignant fevers, cruel taxes of necessities of life, such as the salt-tax, &c.?

First. Have they stopped the famines? When 80 millions had been spent upon them, did they prevent 1½ million dying of famine in Bengal and Madras three years ago? Had this sum been spent in irrigation and navigation works it would have given an average of 400,000*l.* to each of the 220 districts of India, including all the small ones; or about 600,000*l.* to all the large ones, containing an average of 1 million of people—more than has been spent on the Godavery district, which has not only been effectually preserved from famine, but has poured out tens of thousands of tons of food for the famine-stricken districts. And thus nothing can be more certain than that this sum of money—which would have irrigated on an average about half a million of acres in every district, sufficient to secure 250,000 tons of rice, the food of 1½ million—would have effectually secured every district in India from famine or anything approaching to it. But besides this direct effect of enabling each district to grow food enough for itself, it would by cheap transit have set every district at liberty to grow whatever its soil and climate were most suitable for, without any fear of want of food, because it would have been within reach of every other part of India to supply it with food.

Eighty millions spent in providing irrigation would at the same time have supplied at least 40,000 miles of main steamboat canals, or one mile to every twenty square miles of country (besides three times as many miles of branches), so that every part of India would have been in direct communication with every other by water, a means of transit that would have conveyed millions of tons at a charge that would admit of its being carried from one end of India to the other at Rs. 8 a ton, or 1*sd.* a lb. Have these 80 millions spent on railways done this? Is not every district in India at this moment exposed to the horrors of famine, excepting the irrigated districts and those immediately adjoining them? A railway cannot convey either the quantities or at the prices that could prevent famine, nor can a few main lines distribute it in

those few districts even through which they pass. And numbers of districts have not a mile of railway in them, nor within hundreds of miles of them, and are no more affected by them than if they were in England.

And so with malignant fevers, such as those which have been raging in Bengal for several years, of which we have such dreadful accounts. Had one-fifth of the money been spent in irrigation in Bengal that has been spent on railways, all those fever-stricken districts would have been so supplied with fresh river-water during the dry season, and so drained of their stagnant water during the rains, that not a vestige of those fevers would have remained.

And so also with that most cruel and monstrous tax—the salt-tax—by which an article so essential to comfort and health to a vegetarian population, and so profusely provided at a nominal cost by God's mercy, is so enormously increased in price that the people cannot afford to purchase half the quantity that is essential to health. In the central provinces the consumption is stated at 70 million lbs. for 9 millions of people, or 8 lbs. per head, even supposing none of the native states are included in this; this quantity is about one-third of that consumed per head where it is cheapest, so that it is certain that this population has not one-third of the quantity of salt that is essential to health, for salt is never consumed in excess. And no wonder; the average price stated in the Report is 13s. per 80 lbs., or 2d. a lb., and no less than 3d. in some parts. This average is twenty times the price in England, and allowing for the difference in the value of money—4 to 1—eighty times.

Now, what would happen in England if such a tax were proposed on salt?

The railways, so far from relieving the country from this most cruel and impolitic tax, are now one main cause of its continuance and repeated additions; for if the country were relieved from the 3 millions a year which the railways really cost it, there would be such an enormous excess of income that the salt-tax might be entirely abolished at once, a measure which would do more to improve our prestige than almost anything that could be done.

This is what the railways are doing for the great essential evils of India, natural and artificial.

9. What can they do for the defence of the country?

Nothing can show in a more striking manner the effect of bias, than that it is so constantly said, how important the railways are for the defence of the country, when everybody knows that so far from the railways defending the country, all the army of India could not defend them for a single day.

In case of rebellion, everybody knows that every railway would be destroyed in twenty-four hours, and the Government left in the most helpless and pitiable state that could be imagined, except where there was water-carriage; for not only would there be no railways, but there would be no other land-carriage, the Government having given up their transport depôts, and left themselves without the means of moving troops, except such as they could gradually collect from the natives. Nothing can be imagined more desperate than our condition would thus be, excepting where we had river navigation. Even canals would be immensely more defensible than railways, because we could keep on them armed steamers, running over every part of them, without interfering with the navigation, for all other purposes. Thus, in respect of defences, the railways are the most terrible delusion—nothing in the world but a trap of the most perfect kind; and if we do not keep up flotillas and transport depôts, it is impossible that any Government could be in a more dangerous position.

This whole subject of transit is so well illustrated by the case of the Godavery navigation, that I here give some account of it. This river and its main branch—the Wurdah—flows from the heart of Central India to the port of Coringa, 450 miles. Now, at the lower end, we have a perfectly safe harbour from which goods can be shipped to every country in the world. At the upper we have a populous and very fertile country, which has hitherto been perfectly isolated, from the expense of so many hundred miles of land carriage destroying all trade worth mentioning, so that nothing to signify is carried out of it or into it, excepting timber, which is floated down the river.

This district—

1. Produces the only cotton fully equal to that of America.
2. A coal basin of good extent and excellent quality exists in the Wurdah.
3. There is an unlimited supply of timber.
4. It produces the finest edible oil seeds in abundance.
5. It produces wheat of excellent quality, and of course, various minor articles.

At the lower end, besides produce and manufactured goods from any part of the world which can be brought to the port, the coast district produces immense stores of grain from the irrigated lands, and salt to any amount at a nominal cost.

Now, here are two points, each wanting what the other can supply, and as much cut off from each other as if they were at opposite ends of the world—may, much more, for the cost of carriage by land is 4d. a ton a mile, or 7l. for 450 miles, while 3l. or 4l. would convey goods to the end of the world by sea. Only a few years ago cotton was sold at 1½d. a lb. and wheat at 5d. a bushel in those central tracts, and the people are at this moment consuming not a fifth part of the salt that is essential to health, and the whole exports and imports of the port of Coringa, the proper outlet of 20 millions of people, was, before the Delta works, 70,000l. a year, instead of at least 7 millions, as it ought to be, or about one-hundredth part of the trade due to such a population.

Now we have seen by the actual traffic in other places that the traffic ought to be from 1 to 2 millions of tons. If the people of the interior could obtain food and other things from a distance cheaply, they would be set free to grow the peculiar product of the country—their beautiful cotton and other things—to ten times the extent they now do. Think of their growing perhaps 2000 or 3000 tons of cotton, while the operatives of Lancashire are starving for want of it, and being so miserably poor that they can't afford to buy salt, while their cotton is worth 1s. a lb. in Manchester, and they ought to be in the most flourishing state, if only they could employ 2 millions of acres out of their 50 millions, receiving for it, at 10d. a lb. and a produce of 100 lbs. per acre, 8 millions sterling per annum. Even within a very few years, if really cheap transit were established connecting these two points, the traffic would be like this:—

	Tons.
1 million acres of cotton, at 100 lbs.	50,000
Coal	100,000
Timber	20,000
Salt for 20 millions, at 20 lbs.	180,000
Rice for 1 million of people, at ¼th ton	200,000
Various other articles of both export and import	200,000
	<hr/>
Tons ..	750,000

This is only four times the present traffic on the main Godavery Canal, while the population affected by it will be ten times as great, and though there is no great mineral staple like coal in the Delta. The trade of the port from the irrigation and navigation in the coast districts has already increased from 70,000l. to about 1,000,000l., or nearly fifteen fold; and if the interior were thus thrown open to it and enriched, making this port the outlet of 20 millions instead of 2, its trade would certainly be increased five or tenfold; but all this entirely depends upon the cost of transit. If, as we expect, that is reduced to ½d. a ton a mile, or 10s. a ton for the 450 miles (cotton, for instance, costing only ½d. per lb. for carriage), all this change must certainly take place, and to mention only one effect on distant places, 2 millions of acres of cotton additional at 100 lbs. would throw into Manchester 200 million lbs.—one-sixth of its present whole supply. And this supposes that only one-twenty-fifth of the area of the central district is cultivated for cotton.

Now suppose we had, instead of this water-carriage at 10s. a ton, land-carriage on this line at from 1½d. to 8d. a mile—or from 50s. to 16l. for the 450 miles—not a tenth part of this traffic could take place, and the central districts would be as effectually cut off from the world as they are at present.

But while stating this case it is of the greatest importance that the ideas entertained by men in authority in India should be shown, in order to enable us to understand the astonishing misapprehension of the subject of transit that prevails, and to account for the fatal neglect of these vital works. In the Report of the Commissioners on the Godavery Navigation in 1866, this paragraph occurs:—"We consider, however, that the traffic on the Godavery along the whole length of 400 miles is not likely to attain the standard of the Delta traffic—24,000 tons over each mile of canal—for a considerable number of years;" that is, that the traffic on a *main* line affecting 20 millions, should not for many years equal the *average* traffic on many lines, most of them utterly insignificant, affecting a population of 2 millions. The

average they give is only one-eighth of that on the main line for 2 millions of people.

Again, the salt alone for 20 millions at the rate of actual consumption in the coast districts would be 180,000 tons, seventy times their whole traffic after many years, according to the Commissioners' estimate.

They then go on to state the actual trade of the Central Provinces at present. Is it not strange that these Commissioners should not see that this has nothing whatever to do with the matter? The opening of the navigation is to bring into existence a new traffic. What had the passenger traffic between London and Blackheath before the railways were made to do with the traffic on them? It seems unaccountable that in these days any man could be found so ignorant of the simplest principles of transit, much less gentlemen specially selected to report upon a grand line of communication.

If we should argue that the present traffic at 4d. a ton a mile is so much, and therefore we may safely estimate that when it is reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ d. it will be at least 100 times as great, we should be nearer the mark.

Imagine a calculation of the returns from the Blackheath railway, made from the actual number of passengers by coaches on the common road, before it was constructed.

In another paper in the Blue Book of 1868 on this subject, one of the members of the Council of India says, "Now if the Government of India is prepared to spend from 3 to 5 or 6 millions on the Godavery and Weingunja works, and to wait a quarter of a century for any return on this outlay," &c. Including the Weingunja the whole distance would be about 650 miles, which for 6 millions would be 10,000l. a mile. The actual cost of the first 220 miles, including the flotilla, all the buildings, preliminary expenses, surveys, &c., has been about 45,000l., or 2000l. a mile, and the cost properly chargeable to this part is not above 1500l. a mile, to make a return for which at 7 per cent. would require a traffic of 27,000 tons at 1d. a mile, leaving to the people a saving of nearly 8d. a ton, or 20 per cent. more on the capital, and this is besides passenger traffic. This 27,000 tons would supply 3 millions with salt, one-seventh of the population.

Thus this member of the Council of India estimates the cost at from three to six times what the part already opened has actually cost, and thinks that it will take twenty-five years before fair returns are received, while if one-seventh of the traffic actually carried on in the lower part of the river among 2 millions of people existed on the upper river for 20 millions, the saving would be 20 per cent., and if only one-fourth the present cost of land-carriage were charged as tolls on that quantity, the returns would be 7 per cent., covering interest and management, and this quantity of 27,000 tons is one-seventh of the whole supply of the one item of salt required for that population.

How can we be surprised at any mistakes made about such works when such extraordinary ignorance of the whole subject of transit is shown in the papers of those who are in high authority in India.

But the state of the case will be shown more distinctly by another fact. The very gentleman above quoted was a party to the construction of the South-eastern railway from Calcutta. This line of thirty miles to the Mutlah cost 600,000l., and in consequence of its not paying its working expenses, the company have made it over to the Government, who not only have to pay 30,000l. a year interest, but also a large sum to make up the working expenses. The deficiency three years ago was 3000l. Now this very sum, 600,000l., which is required for this first-class main line of water-transit to carry any quantity at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a ton a mile for 400 out of 520 miles, to give access to the only thoroughly good cotton field in India, a work which is considered a dreadful mistake by this gentleman, this very sum has been spent on thirty miles of single railway on so worthless a line that it does not near pay its working expenses, and could only carry an insignificant quantity at from $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 8d. a ton, and for that mistaken work the money was found without a word of opposition as fast as it was wanted, and the work executed, I believe, in two or three years. And it has taken twenty years to get half that sum for this grand line; and it is evident that, according to the present state of things, it will take several years and an incessant contest to get the other 500,000l. now estimated to be required for it. Now what are we to think of such perverted ideas on this subject as these facts imply?

On the one hand, 600,000l. is paid without a question for thirty miles of single railway, carrying by the last statement about 7000 tons a year, and entailing a charge

upon the taxes of about 35,000*l.* a year; while the same sum cannot be obtained without incessant contests for 400 miles of a line that can carry any quantity, and that, calculating from the actual traffic on other water lines, must before very long be several hundred thousand tons; and every 100,000 will save the country, at *4d.* a mile, 1250*l.* a mile—about cent. per cent. on its cost.

If these facts and calculations do not show that the subject of traffic in India requires discussion, and that those who have had the management of it require instruction, certainly nothing can show it.

Surely it is impossible that anything could put in a more striking light the extraordinary false judgment on this question than the comparison of these two works. 600,000*l.* spent without a question on thirty miles of single railway on a line that will not pay expenses, and the same sum utterly reprobated to make a water communication of 520 miles on one of the most important lines of India, and in respect of cotton quite the most important, and in which we have abundant data to show that it will save the country much more than 100 per cent. on its cost. It is the want of this communication alone that makes the difference between the Central Provinces paying 1 rupee a head in revenue and the rest of India 3 rupees, a difference which would give an increase of revenue of 2 millions a year. In the last Cotton Commissioners' Report it is expressly shown that the Hinghghaut cotton is the best in India. And when one of the American cotton planters travelled from Allahabad to Bombay, he reported that every day as he approached Nagpore he perceived by the cotton that he saw growing that he was getting into a soil and climate more and more suited to it, and every day, as he left it on his way to Bombay, that he was getting into a country less suited to cotton. Of course the grand point to be kept in view in such a case is to set the people and the land free for the production of this important staple as far as possible by providing for the supply of all the necessaries of life from other tracts where such cotton cannot be grown. One million acres, only 2000 square miles, a small portion of this cotton tract, will give about 100 millions of pounds, or one-twelfth of a full supply for Manchester.

But to show distinctly the profits to the country by such steamboat canals, and the consequent cheap transit, we may take the case of the proposed Lower Ganges Canal. This work is to be led from the Ganges at a point 20 miles above Rajmahal, or 200 miles from Calcutta, where a weir will be thrown across the Ganges. The canal will probably be 150 yards broad at the head, and 9 or 10 feet deep. The whole estimate for this work with its weir 5 miles long, all its irrigation, &c., is about 2½ millions. Now the present traffic on the Nuddea rivers being 1,900,000 tons, during four or five months in the year, if 1 rupee on that traffic only were levied as tolls on the canal, the receipts would be 95,000*l.* a year, or nearly 8 per cent. on the whole capital. This toll would be one-eighth of a penny per ton per mile, while the saving in draught, time, and risk compared with the river could not be less than *4d.*, or four times the toll—in which case the public would gain 24 per cent. after paying the toll. But this takes no account of—

1. What is carried during the other months round by the Sunderbunds.
2. The enormous additional traffic in consequence of the reduction of cost of transit.
3. The passenger traffic.
4. The water-rates on a million acres of irrigation.
5. The value of water supplied to Calcutta, &c.

The total goods traffic could not be less than 4,000,000 tons almost immediately, on which a toll of *4d.* would amount to 16 per cent. in the cost of the whole scheme, including all the distribution and other works of irrigation, besides all the benefits of the passenger traffic, and a saving of three times as much, or 48 per cent., to the public.

Now only let the results of such a work be compared with the railway in the same line—not paying bare interest—not carrying one-fortieth part of the goods traffic nor a tenth of the passenger traffic—doing nothing in the way of irrigation or drainage—in a tract always liable to famine—and for years past desolated by fever, from want of the regulation of this water.

Is it not astonishing that hitherto it has been impossible to get the smallest approach to a hearing of this question: Which work is suited to the circumstances of the country—such a steamboat canal, including irrigation and drainage, or a railway?

The railway—

- Costing 24,000*l.* a mile,
- Carrying 100,000 tons a year,
- " 1000 passengers a day,
- Charging from $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* to 3*d.* per passenger, and from $1\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* to 8*d.* for goods,
- Not paying bare interest,
- Not irrigating,
- Not draining,
- Quite indefensible.

The canal—

- Costing 12,000*l.* per mile, including all irrigation works and thousands of miles of large-branch canals, probably about 4000*l.* per mile for the canals alone,
- Carrying 4,000,000 tons a year on the main canal only,
- " 10,000 passengers a day,
- Paying in tolls and water-rates 20 or 30 per cent.,
- Saving the public three times as much more,
- Irrigating a million acres,
- Perfectly draining the country,
- And very defensible,
- Far more convenient for passengers,
- Removing all fear of famine,
- Rendering the district perfectly healthy,
- Yielding a revenue of at least half a million, or one-tenth of the salt-tax.

Having thus really considered what have been the results of the 120 millions to be spent on the first 5000 miles, we are in a position to consider what will be the effect of spending another 100 millions on extending them. Now the first point to be observed is this, that all the lines of first importance being already occupied, the new lines will be lines of comparatively very small traffic, certainly not one-fourth of that on the present ones. Hence it is quite certain that they cannot pay anything like the returns of these first-class lines. We need not suppose that they will cost as much as the others. I grant that the waste of money on those already laid has been monstrous, and I have not the smallest doubt that had they been constructed by the Government they would have cost about half of what they have.

But now that the value of money has so diminished, perhaps we may estimate the average cost of single lines at 1200*l.* a mile, and certainly if we estimate the traffic at one-fourth of that on the present railways we shall suppose what is far beyond what the average of these 8000 miles will carry. The net returns would then be about one-sixth of those at present, or 200*l.* per mile, which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; or, if the money is obtained at 4 per cent., involving a further charge upon the taxes of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

It cannot possibly be imagined that the new railways laid in such vastly inferior lines of transit can pay anything like what the present lines do.

We have an example of one of these secondary lines already in the South-eastern Railway, already adverted to, carrying about 7000 tons a year and 300 passengers a day, and costing the Government 3000*l.* a year in working expenses, besides interest, and most certainly a large portion of this 8000 miles would be far inferior to this line, which leads immediately from Calcutta itself. The lines in out-of-the-way parts of the country could not possibly have anything like such a traffic as that line if they charged the same prices; so that it is most certain that a very large portion of the new lines would not even pay their working expenses.

Thus there can be no question that the results of the first 4000 miles are absolutely conclusive as to the additional 100 millions entailing a terribly heavy tax upon the country—much heavier than the first expenditure has entailed.

But what can be the object of carrying out the plan, when it is certain—from the enormous experiment which has cost the country 120 millions, and what is much more, twenty years—that the objects aimed at cannot be attained by farther expenditure in that way, and when it is equally certain, from overwhelming data, that every object desired can be fully attained by a far less expenditure on other means. This same 100 millions would certainly provide 50,000 miles of steamboat navigation, and at the same time irrigate 50 millions of acres.

We have ample data on all these points. Nothing in this matter is now theory. Thousands of miles of single railway have been laid at from 12*l.* to 20,000*l.* a mile, &c.

I have already shown what they have cost, and with what results. And so also with steamboat canals and river improvements.

And with respect to the speed, supposing the latter could only carry at 15 miles an hour (and it is quite certain that there is nothing to prevent their being worked at a higher speed), whether the 4 per cent. of passengers travelling first and second class are carried at 15 or 25 miles is a matter of utter insignificance compared with the other points in the question.

These are not theories, but simple matters of fact, perfectly notorious, and nothing but keeping them out of sight can keep up the delusion respecting the superiority of railways to water transit and irrigation for India.

Is it not perfectly wonderful that it should be still necessary to press the consideration of these perfectly well-known facts, and that in spite of them men should be still dreaming that railways should be suitable works for India? To give an example of the actual cost of canals in India, we may take the Ganges Canal; the total cost has been 2,800,000*l.*; the main lines of canal are 650 miles long, besides thousands of miles of branches. If the whole of this money had been spent on the main canals alone, it would have been 3500*l.* a mile; but taking one-half for the irrigation, it leaves only 1750*l.* a mile, and but for the upper 30 miles of it in the hills, on which about a million was expended in encountering difficulties which would have been avoided altogether if the canal had been begun clear of the hills, the cost would have been only about 1000*l.* a mile; and this provides for a change of level of about 500 feet in slope and locks. The Ellore Canal, from the Godavery to the Kistnah, about 25 yards broad, cost about 1000*l.* a mile; the Toombudra Canal in Madras, now nearly completed, 190 miles, and 90 yards broad at the head, is stated to have cost about 1,100,000*l.*, or 6000*l.* a mile, with about 400 feet of fall, and in an undulating rocky country with very heavy works on it. So also with the improvement of rivers. The cost of opening the Godavery to 230 miles from the sea has been, so far as I can ascertain, 450,000*l.*, or 2000*l.* a mile; but of this a considerable sum has been for preliminary surveys, tramways, flotillas, &c., which do not properly form part of that expense, so that the actual cost has not been above 350,000*l.*, or 1500*l.* a mile; and the estimate for the completion to the third barrier, which will be 400 miles of navigation, is about 650,000*l.*, or 1600*l.* a mile. This puts in a striking light the difference between river conveyance and railways. The opening of this river to carry millions of tons at from $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a ton will not have cost one-twelfth of that of a railway to carry an insignificant quantity at from $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 8d., and then not pay its interest.

And in continuance of this 400 miles of the river Godavery and Wurdah, at least 300 miles of the Weingunja, besides some other rivers, may be rendered navigable at something like this trifling cost, giving 1800 miles of connected navigation at probably a cost of 2 millions, the price of 170 miles of single railway at 12,000*l.* a mile.

Is it possible that anybody can contend that 1 mile of single railway, carrying 100,000 tons, is of more value to India than 9 miles of navigable river carrying millions of tons, and that at one-fifth of the cost of transit?

Most certainly we have thus ample data to show that another 100 millions, now spent in water, would, if the works were projected with fair engineering skill, yield a direct return in money of 20 per cent., or 20 millions a year, besides all the other enormous advantages.

Can anybody attempt to argue that the Godavery district, for instance, would have been more benefited if the half-million spent in irrigation had been spent on 40 miles of railway instead of on a thousand miles of navigable canal and 600,000 acres of irrigation? Would 40 miles of railway have raised the revenue from 230,000*l.* to 480,000*l.*, and the exports from 60,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.*?

Instead of this increase of revenue the district would certainly have been chargeable with at least half the interest of the expenditure, or 12,000*l.* a year, without any perceptible increase of revenue or exports. I do trust this Association will take up this matter before the Government are committed to this desperate step of saddling India with another 100 millions spent in this way, when the results are so absolutely certain.

Notwithstanding all that has passed, I cannot but hope that if this is pressed upon the authorities, they will at length hear both sides of this vital question, when the data are so abundant and so unquestionable. But I must also express a hope that the Houses of Parliament may now be so far interested in this great Indian question as to appoint committees to investigate the subject of the material improvement of

India, which in my opinion is the only thing that can effectually meet the case, and fully secure a fair hearing to both sides of it.

I have many reasons to believe that the Old India party are too far biassed and committed to one side to be willing to allow of their opponents being heard if they can prevent it.

The remedy for certain deep-seated evils in a country must come from without.

No council composed of West India or Southern States landowners would ever have abolished slavery, and unless our members of Parliament had taken it up, slavery would have existed in the West Indies to this day. So also with our East Indian evils—famines, fevers, salt-tax, the waste of India's great treasure—water, the want of cheap transit, &c., they will continue so long as the Old India party is permitted to keep everything in their hands, and there is no decided move made by non-Indianized men.

We have now, I grieve to say, one of the most striking proofs possible of the necessity of Parliamentary interference in the affairs of India. Two or three weeks ago I heard that the Government of India had ordered the expenditure on the Godavery irrigation works to be diminished this year by 15,000*l*. On this being represented to the Secretary of State, he, with great judgment and promptitude, telegraphed to India to reverse the order. It was, however, too late. I have now a letter saying, "We have been obliged to dismiss a large number of men, something like half; many of them our best men. Next year's grant is to be no larger, and unless the scheme is carried on by loans you may expect to see it languish on for years with very little progress. The want of money will, I think, decide them against the 3rd Barrier Works. These reductions have thrown us back a couple of years." Could any person believe such a state of things? Here is a work of the very first importance, opening up all Central India to the world at a practicable cost of transit, a work which the Secretary of State expressly promised to the House of Commons should be prosecuted vigorously, and on which labourers had been collected from hundreds of miles, stopped just as they had got fairly into work for the season, without authority from home, and contrary to the Secretary of State's purpose, to save an expenditure of 15,000*l*. Thus faith is completely broken with the House of Commons and with the coolies dragged from their homes, for the sake of such a sum in the year's expenditure. If it were a railway leading to nothing, and incapable of paying its working expenses, there would not be a day's delay for the sake of a million, and if it were an Abyssinian war, 6 millions additional are found without even a question being asked; but for this important and remunerative work, upon which alone hangs the well-being of 20 millions of people, faith is to be broken, and the whole work thrown back for any time for want of 15,000*l*. It is really incredible that such childishness should be exhibited in respect of these great national works, in which England herself is so directly interested. Any number of millions can be had for 4 or 5 per cent., and yet this utterly insignificant sum must be saved at this enormous cost. If such things as this, and 1½ million of people being allowed to die of famine, do not show that England must interfere in the affairs of India, what can show it?

The CHAIRMAN.—I am sure we have all listened with much interest to the very able paper brought before us. It embraces such an amount of figures that it is almost impossible to carry it in our minds. I should be very happy indeed to hear the remarks of any gentleman on the paper; but I should propose, as it is impossible now fully to discuss a question of such vital importance for India as communication either by railway, or tramway, or water, combined with irrigation, that this able paper should be printed and circulated amongst the members of this Association, and that a future day be named, perhaps immediately after the opening of Parliament, for discussing the subject.

Mr. RIDDELL said he agreed with the Chairman that it was impossible that so great a question could be properly discussed at the present meeting. He thought that the question to be discussed ought to be, not that which had been indicated by Sir Arthur Cotton, *viz.* whether canals ought to be dispensed with, and whether the Government of India and the Indian Council had done right in devoting the money they had to the construction of railways, but whether railways and water communications were not both necessary for India. It appeared to him that time was an element in the question of transit quite as much as cost. No doubt canals had the advantage of cheapness; but, for the civilization of India, for making it one homogeneous empire, railways were, in his opinion, essential. The great prosperity which

accrued to the Central Provinces during the cotton famine was entirely owing to railways. He considered that 100 millions was a very small sum to be expended in twenty years. All that the Government were proposing to do was, not to expend 100 millions in a year, but, like statesmen, to lay out a plan to be carried out hereafter, so as to avoid the evils from which we suffer in England, of useless lines, and competing lines where there was barely sufficient traffic for one line. Though it was true that on one single line in India the traffic was insufficient, if we took the Ganges, on which there had been for centuries a large traffic, the railway running alongside the river carried a very large traffic, both in passengers and goods, showing that the traffic could afford to pay the high rates charged by the railway. That of itself proved that railways were required. The 300 millions which at present was charged on the taxes of India was, in fact, only a loan. There could be no reasonable doubt that, in the course of a very few years, the railways now in existence would far more than pay their own cost, and compound interest on the cost.

Mr. GEORGE CAMPBELL agreed with the Chairman in thinking that it was very desirable a detailed discussion should take place at a future date, and he would therefore only say a few words now. He concurred with Sir Arthur Cotton in thinking that discussions of this kind were very beneficial. However able and however honest the members of the Indian Council might be—as he believed them to be—still their discussions were not public discussions. Moreover, it was almost hopeless to expect that Parliament should ever devote itself to Indian subjects. It was hoped that the transfer of India to the Crown would cause members of Parliament to take a greater interest in Indian affairs, but subjects arising in our own country every day so over-taxed the time and strength of Parliament that that hope had been disappointed, and indeed less interest seemed to be taken on Indian questions in Parliament than before the transfer. Therefore it was of immense importance that discussions of this sort should take place outside the Council and outside Parliament. He only regretted that the very illustrious name of the distinguished man who had read the paper had not brought together a meeting even larger, and he hoped that some day some machinery would be devised by which large numbers of men interested in India might be brought together for the discussion of such questions as that now before the meeting. He agreed with Mr. Riddell in deprecating a discussion on this question from a comparative point of view. The question was not whether water communication was better than railway communication, but whether railways, taken positively, were good or bad, and whether they were worth the money expended on them. After an experience of twenty years, no man connected with India, who was not altogether wedded to water communication, would dispute the fact that the railways in India had been a decided practical success. Though they had cost a good deal more than they would cost now with our improved experience, still, in an engineering point of view, they had been successful, being good, permanent, and substantial works. In a social and pecuniary point of view an immense amount of success had been already realized, and a much greater success would no doubt be realized in future. He had listened with some astonishment at the statement of Sir Arthur Cotton, that there was not one man in ten who travelled in India who went by railway. He thought that was an error. The result of his own experience, gained in many parts of the country, was that almost every one who wanted to travel a considerable distance in India travelled by railway. He was astonished to find so many travelling by it, considering the high charge by the railway, and considering that the natives regarded time as of such small value. Therefore in a passenger point of view, the Indian railways had been already eminently successful. With respect to goods traffic, he agreed that so far they had not been so successful as to carry the traffic of the country to the degree they ought to carry it, and which he hoped they would carry it; but nevertheless they had already been very successful. The goods traffic of some of the existing railways had been certainly their weak point, but he hoped to see that traffic very much increased, and the rates very greatly cheapened. Already in point of goods the railways had been of enormous benefit to the country. With respect to the salt trade, he agreed fully with Sir Arthur Cotton in deprecating the enormous tax on salt. He had himself in every possible way represented the great hardship of that tax; but it was a patent fact that the existence of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway had immensely cheapened the price of salt in the Central Provinces—the part of India with which he was at present specially connected—though the facility of transit and the consequent cheapening of salt had given the Government

the opportunity of putting a greater tax on it. That so far was a misfortune, but otherwise the people had undoubtedly gained by the transit by railway. With respect to the canalization of the Godavery, he was one of those who had urged that the works, having been begun, should be rapidly carried to completion, but he deprecated the depreciation of the existing railways. With regard to the future, he agreed that caution ought to be exercised, that care should be taken that the success of the great lines did not induce us to throw away our money on too expensive lines in less paying directions; and he hoped as the great trunk railways had been already made at a great expense, they would be supplemented by cheap branch lines, bringing traffic to the main lines.

Mr. DENT entirely concurred in what Mr. Riddell and Mr. Campbell had so ably stated. The great mistake made in India was commencing with such very expensive lines. He (Mr. Dent) had been one of the first to advocate cheap lines, and he had the authority of Mr. Purser, a practical engineer of very great experience, who was for many years chief engineer of the East India line in the North-west Provinces, that narrow-gauge lines, varying from 3 feet to 4 feet, could be constructed at 3000*l.* a mile, enabling the traffic to be carried at a speed of 15 to 20 miles an hour. He considered that if 15 miles an hour could be attained, that was quite sufficient speed for Indian traffic, whether passengers or goods, for many years to come, and that railways of that description, while they would be very little more costly than ordinary metalled roads, would, in practice, be a hundred times more valuable, the railways not being liable to be stopped, as the roads would be, during the heavy rains, and being less expensive to maintain. He concluded by referring to the Oude Railway, a narrow-gauge line of 27 miles in length, from one of the stations on the East India line to the banks of the river opposite Moorshedabad, the traffic therefore being dependent on the difficulty of crossing the river, which was scarcely navigable in dry weather. That railway, though constructed with light rails, had now been in operation six years; it had cost 80,000*l.*, upon which it was now yielding a very fair revenue, the last return being 4 per cent.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE said, while he agreed that it was desirable that a very large expenditure should be made on works of irrigation in India, he could not concur in many of the statements made by Sir Arthur Cotton. He thought it was desirable that there should be a detailed discussion with regard to the figures given by Sir Arthur, but bearing in view many of his statements, he thought it would be exceedingly undesirable, considering that a discussion had been invited, that the paper should be printed and go before the world without some disclaimer of some of the statements that had been made. Sir Arthur Cotton had referred to very many remarkable cases of rivers and canals still carrying an enormous amount of traffic. There was not one of those rivers and canals that had not alongside of it a railway system more complicated and more expensive than anything we had in India at present. To take the small case of the Bridgewater Canal, carrying, as we are told, 2,000,000 tons of goods (a large proportion of which consisted of minerals, which were not to be found in most parts of India), there was alongside of that canal a railway system, developed since the canal system was established. In Holland and Belgium, where the people had been brought up to feel as much attachment to canals as Sir Arthur Cotton himself, a system of railways had been introduced which either competed with or superseded canal communication. With regard to America, we all knew that throughout the basin of the Mississippi, a river which afforded the district it traversed water communication for passengers and goods such as we did not possess in India, there was a complete system of railways. Again, the district served by the Erie was also served, not by one railway alone, but by various competing railways, some of them even of a circuitous character. Looking at the fact that the canal systems and the river systems of Europe and America had been supplemented by railways, it was too late in the day to suggest that the carrying out of all railways in India should be stopped, which would be the result of acting on the line of argument which Sir Arthur Cotton had advanced. From the title of the paper he had expected that Sir Arthur Cotton was going to insist that 100 millions was not a sufficient sum to expend in railways in order to put India in a fair position to compete with the United States.

A Member, interrupting Mr. Hyde Clarke, suggested that the course which had been proposed by the Chairman should be followed, *viz.* "That the discussion on the paper should be adjourned to a future day."

The CHAIRMAN remarked that it appeared to be the feeling of the meeting that it was quite impossible to discuss the matter fully without adjournment, but it would be as well to continue this preliminary discussion till five o'clock.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE, in continuation of his observations, said that he thought it would be a reflection on the meeting if they allowed a paper, expressing such strong opinions as those of Sir Arthur Cotton, to go forth to the world without some remonstrance against it. Admitting some of the facts stated by Sir Arthur Cotton—admitting that the Mississippi, for instance, carried an enormous traffic, and other facts of that kind—he objected to the mode in which the facts were put together, and to the deductions which Sir Arthur Cotton drew from them. Taking, also, the article of coal, though coal was still brought to London by sea, very much coal was carried by railway, and for an enormous amount of goods the railways were able to compete with the water. A great deal had been said about the great cheapness of water-carriage in India as compared with railways, but there was not the least reason in the world why water-carriage in India, in particular places, should not be much cheaper than the railway, as was the case all over the world; but the question was whether you had better not lay down a railway in a particular district where you had not facilities for laying down a canal, or improving a river communication. Sir Arthur Cotton had compared the rate of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a ton per mile by canal with $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a ton by road, which he had taken as the average. He did not see why the railway rate should not be taken at the same figure for the purpose of comparison with the rate by road; he did not see why goods in India should not be carried as they are in England, as coals are in some cases, at $\frac{1}{4}$ d. or $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a ton a mile. These considerations he thought showed that there was something unsound in the doctrines propounded by Sir Arthur Cotton, arising, as he believed, from the circumstance that he endeavoured to promote one method for the improvement of India, abolishing, so far as he could, all other modes of improvement; whereas in his (Mr. Hyde Clarke's) view every one of those modes of improvement ought to be adopted. India would take all the commerce that could be given to it from this country. He had no personal interest himself in Indian railways; he should advocate irrigation as much as railways; but he did not look to canals and irrigation as the only means of benefiting India, and he did not see why railways should not be carried out as well as canals and irrigation works. Sir Arthur Cotton had assumed that the cost of railways in India had been 1,800,000*l.*; but he (Mr. Hyde Clarke) thought, when the figures were looked into, that figure would be reduced to a much lower one. He thought, too, that exception was to be taken to the period of time put by Sir Arthur Cotton for the completion of the railways. Though it was true that the existing railways had taken twenty-seven years to bring to their present condition, that was because the Government of India had carried out in that period what ought to have been carried out in less time; but it by no means followed that another twenty-seven years would be spent in supplying the mileage of railways necessary for India. With regard to the traffic on the railway going to Blackwall, the estimate of the traffic would not have been taken on the coach traffic, but on the actual traffic of the road. As to the cases of the South-eastern Railway and the Eastern Bengal, they were both in exceptional positions—the South-eastern Railway stood in the same exceptional position among railways as the Ganges Canal did in the general system of canals, and the Eastern Bengal was a line which was undeveloped. Having said these few words by way of caution, he would only add his tribute to the zeal which had always prompted Sir Arthur Cotton in advocating measures for the improvement of India, and the ability which he had brought to bear in support of them.

The CHAIRMAN announced that letters had been received from the following gentlemen, regretting their inability to be present at the meeting, which he suggested afforded an additional reason why the discussion should be adjourned:—Lord Ellenborough, Sir Erskine Perry, Sir George Pollock, Mr. Hugh Mason (Ashton-under-Lyne), Mr. John Briggs (Sussex), Mr. Rustumjee Vicajee, the Mayor of Liverpool, the Mayor of Manchester, Lord John Hay, Mr. Walmsley (Stockport), Mr. W. Taylor, Mr. R. N. Fowler, M.P., Mr. Thomas Emmett (Oldham). With regard to what Sir Arthur Cotton had said about the old Indian party, he thought he was rather mistaken, for he believed they were very anxious indeed to carry out what was most conducive to the interests of India; and he had no doubt that the result of this discussion would be to afford information to those who had to do with the government of India, which perhaps they might be able to utilize.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON, in reply, reminded the meeting that all that he asked for was that the question should be discussed: that 100 millions should not be spent without a single word of inquiry or hearing what people had to say upon it. He did not ask for it to be settled, but to be discussed; and he thought in a matter of such extreme importance it was desirable that the paper should be printed and put into the hands of those who felt an interest in the matter, and who could give their time and attention to the consideration of it. He had given very few opinions, but had merely stated facts. With respect to the cost of railways, the quantity of traffic, and so on, he had gathered those from the Reports, and the adjournment of the discussion would give time for many persons to look at those figures, and consider them, and form their own conclusions on them. He considered it of vast importance—particularly as nobody had been allowed to say one word on his side of the question—that time should be given for the cost of a steamboat canal as against the cost of a railway through the same line of country, what the one could do, and what the other could do, and which was the most beneficial.

Mr. CAMPBELL suggested that it should be defined whether the subject of discussion was, "Are railways good or bad?" or, "Is railway communication or water communication best?"

Sir ARTHUR COTTON replied that the subject was, the question of expending 100,000,000*l.* on railways, in addition to what had been already expended.

Mr. BRIGGS seconded the proposition that the paper be printed, with what little had been said upon it to-night, and distributed amongst the members, and that the meeting be adjourned to this day fortnight, or any other day to be fixed by the Council.

The CHAIRMAN observed, with respect to defining the subject of discussion, he apprehended it would be open to any one to advocate any mode of transit. He himself would be inclined to advocate tramways in connection with the present railways.

On the motion of Sir HENRY RICKETTS, a vote of thanks was passed to Sir Arthur Cotton for his paper.

MEETING, TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 11, 1870.

EDWARD B. EASTWICK, Esq., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Paper read was by Dr. A. GRAHAM, Bombay Army, Retired.

On the Industrial Settlement of Europeans in the Hilly Climates of India.

THE question of forming industrial settlements in India is surrounded by many difficulties, so much local knowledge is required about the different localities, and this so apt to be imperfect, that we approach the subject with the greatest diffidence, and solicit much indulgence.

The British Government has proved the greatest blessing to all the nations of India, and we cannot help wondering at the singular administrative talent and wisdom displayed by its agents there.

Of late years there have been such great changes in locomotion that a new era has arrived, and we would now request that consideration be given to the expediency and desirableness of planting European artisan and industrial settlements in the East, in order that the religious tolerance and the power of Britain may be more firmly established, and to prevent the fearful anarchy and confusion which would follow were the British power subverted.

In order to remove common prejudices and objections to the adoption of this measure—such as its being injurious to the natives; calculated to induce constant warfare among the different races; proving a great source of difficulty and endless expense to the Government—and in order to obviate the popular British notion that we have no right to form settlements in India, a slight glance at the previous history of that great country is in the first place very important.

Standing on the sea-shore in stormy weather, and at high spring-tide, we may see a large wave rolling onwards in great strength, bursting, and, after covering the shore

with its spray, disappearing altogether—then another follows in the same track from the restless bosom of the ocean, and dashes forward, only to disappear in the same manner. Somewhat similar to this has been the history of India—conquest after conquest, like the waves of the sea, has followed one upon another, issuing from the vast steppes of Central Asia—that cradle of mankind—each wave rolling downwards and onwards—to instance only Alexander the Great some 300 years before the Christian era—and bursting with devastating ruin, has, more or less, covered the wide-spread plains of Hindostan.

The aboriginal inhabitants seeking refuge, and finding perfect security, amidst their vast upland plateaus and noble chains of mountains, remained distinct tribes and nations altogether different from the Hindoos, in their origin, religion, habits, and associations, as unknown until lately even by our countrymen, as they had been by former conquerors and dwellers in the plains.

The history of India may be divided into three periods:—

1st. The Brahmins, or Aryans, originally from the north, and conquering the aborigines of the plains, formed the Brahminical or Hindoo period.

2nd. The Mohammedan conquerors, also from the north, followed in succession, and sweeping over India, formed the Muhummudan period.

3rd. The British conquest, forming the greatest empire ever known in India, and which now exists under our gracious Queen Victoria, constituting the Christian period.

This last had an initiative or infant condition, being then governed by the East India Company, which, however, has passed away.

The Christian began in a manner different from any of the former empires.

Instead of by numberless fierce hordes of fanatic Muhummudan warriors rushing from the northern regions with the sword offering "Death or Muhummudanism" to all Hindoo idolaters, and causing devastation and ruin over India, this last period was quietly introduced by a company of humble traders, who reached India in ships by the Southern Ocean—dwellers in a remote island in the far west of Europe, altogether unknown to the inhabitants of India.

These merchantmen gradually obtained a footing on the soil, but it was entirely owing to the fearful moral degradation, the exterminating feuds, and the cruel, bitter hatred towards each other which pervaded these Eastern nations that the British obtained any position among, or supremacy over them; otherwise they would have remained as mere commercial traders to this day. But as the river of time rolled on it pleased God, by a succession of the most wonderful and providential events, gradually to advance and sustain in the East the power of the British, who, from their continual progress in commerce and in the arts and sciences, and from their superior intelligence and moral energy, have now founded the Anglo-Indian Empire.

The conquerors of India are possessors of all the lands of that extensive empire. This right has ever been acknowledged by every humble cultivator of the soil, who holds his lands from Government, paying a fourth, or even a third, to the ruling power, so that, should it be inquired what right have our countrymen to occupy any of the thinly-inhabited or waste lands in the healthy climates of India, for the purpose of forming Industrial European Settlements, our answer simply is, we have the right of conquest—the same right and title of tenure by which all our predecessors hold it. To whom, then, does India belong? All rulers before us have been foreigners like ourselves, and the only people with any shadow of claim to India seem to be the aboriginal hill tribes, among whom we wish to form colonies, which will prove the greatest blessing to these rude and savage people. For we must bear in mind, as Mr. Marshall remarks, in his Report to the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, on the natives in the southern Muratha country, that with few or no opportunities of comparing their situation with any superior to it, the people have nothing but themselves to copy, and have not even the stimulus of emulation to lead to endeavours at improvement. The general tendency of their character is thus rather to sink into the savage state than to rise to civilization.

Government had no difficulty in granting gratuitously to private railway companies the required lands in every direction, and they can therefore with equal facility grant the required allotments to settlers in any of the upland and hill countries.

From what has been stated it will be evident that India is unlike any of the British colonies, the soil, resources, and legislation of that country being entirely under the sway and control of our Queen and Parliament. There is, however, a prevailing opinion that we have little or nothing to do with India, and yet the loss of our

Eastern empire might prove the first grand blow that would sink the status and power of Britain among the continental nations, as well as among all those of Asia. It is generally alleged that the natives of India are so intelligent and civilized that they are best left to rule and govern themselves—that there is not any reason for European settlements—that the British Government should merely stimulate and encourage the cheap, indigenous, industrial skill of the country—that there is no handicraft, however intricate and difficult, which the natives are not capable of learning, and in which they would not soon even surpass their European conquerors.

It is also alleged that education should permeate all classes, from the *upper strata* or castes of Indian society, to the lower and degraded races of Hinduism.

We may be allowed without presumption to show that all these opinions which the Government has now adopted and acted upon seem to be based on error, and if continued may prove not only productive of injury to the interests of our home mechanists, but a great source of evil to the natives themselves, as well as of danger to the supremacy of Great Britain in the East.

"Statesmen like Lord William Bentinck and Lord Metcalfe saw in the future increase of British settlers the only prosperity of British India; and English, and even Indian opinion, has gradually followed in the track of those more observant and profounder minds."*

We shall now endeavour to point out several suitable upland climates well adapted for colonization.

CHINDWARA AND THE MAHADEO HILLS.

The traveller by railway may now in a day from Bombay reach Nagpore, the capital of the Central Provinces, which, combined, form an area equal to that of Great Britain and Ireland; and leaving Nagpore by the imperial road, he will reach Chindwara, 76 miles north, situated on an elevated basaltic plateau, which crosses the Sautpoora range south of the Nerbudda. The climate of Chindwara is temperate and healthy, and our European troops are sent there for change, as also to a still higher level, of between 3000 and 4000 feet above the sea, called Mohtoor, where a military convalescent *dépôt* has been established. The range of temperature is from 47° to 82° in the cold months, and in the rains the weather is cool and agreeable, and the atmosphere invigorating, the rainfall being on an average only 37 inches. The soil and water of Mohtoor are everything that could be desired. That the climate generally is beneficial to the European constitution seems to be beyond doubt; and on the northern side the scenery is very fine.†

Around Chindwara the soil is excellent, being for the most part of decomposed red granite. The station is on high ground on the banks of the Bodree-nullah, surrounded, at the distance of a few miles, by a range of low hills, with splendid clumps of mango trees intervening. The sugar-cane is largely grown on the hills, and the cultivation of cotton in the whole district may be estimated at 15,000 acres. The cultivation of potatoes has been introduced for years, and is steadily advancing; the timber is of excellent quality, and is in great estimation among the natives. By last report, there was an area of 5000 acres under cultivation. Potatoes are now offered for sale in every village market. The best cattle for the yoke and draught are of a generally pure white, and large, tractable breed, easily kept in good condition. The Gond cattle are of smaller size, but famous as milch animals. The wild boar, deer of all kinds, the sambur, neilghau, and other wild animals cause incessant damage to the crops of wheat and grain, and the natives are not able to destroy them. The wild dog and wolf also are destructive to flocks and herds and to the small game of the country. The revenue is only 1s. 6d. on the cultivated acre. The population is very sparse—not much more than 60 or 80 to the square mile.

The chief public buildings at Chindwara are the barracks of the European *dépôt*, a collector's and judge's courts, the jail, the European and Native hospitals, the dispensary, and the staging bungalow. A church has been lately built. The public garden is a great attraction to all classes. There is not any Government school, but its place is supplied by the schools of the missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland, who have established orphanages for native boys and girls.

Education is slowly making progress among the Gonds, and other primitive races of the hills. Hundreds of Gonds from surrounding villages frequent Chindwara on

* Vide Report of the Select Committee Indian Colonization. 1869.

† Vide Sir Richard Temple's Administrative Report for 1861-2.

market-days—Wednesdays and Sabbath. There is generally great reluctance on the part of the Gonds to send their children to school. They say, "We are all jungly people; neither we nor our fathers nor grandfathers learnt to read. Why should we send our children to school?" Some one has suggested this thought as the *rationale* of the opposition of the Gonds and other hill tribes to education, "If we educate our children, they will grow up to dislike the common everyday work in which we are engaged." As Mr. Danson remarks, "this is the old conservatism of ignorance; no doubt, however, a chief element in their backwardness to educate their children is their deep poverty; they live merely from hand to mouth, and their children from mere childhood earn a pice or two along with their parents."

The Gond people number very nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ million—equal to half the population of Scotland—scattered over the districts of the Central Provinces. Singularly enough, they have a king who is a Mussulman, at Nagpore, who had been nominated in the Muhummudan period to preside over them, and to whom the British, it is said, allow a pension; and yet their ancient form of government and that of the other hill tribes seems to have been patriarchal. There is no system of priesthood among them at all; any elderly person among them acts the priestly part in the offering up of their sacrifices, or the offerer will do it himself. Some of their original songs, collected by the late Mr. Hislop, have been edited by Sir Richard Temple in the Roman character. The Gondese has never been regularly reduced to writing. Their physiognomy marks them as those who inhabited the country before the Brahminical or Aryan immigration. They are usually broad, thickset men, with flat noses and thick lips; they are simple, truthful, and good labourers, and nothing about them is more remarkable than the docility with which they have turned from a life of thieving and gang robbery under the native rule, to settled habits and honest labour under the British Government. Although they have as yet no relish for reading, they are much taken up with what they see. They visited the Nagpore Exhibition, and there the machinery for lifting water for irrigation purposes, the winnowing machine, the chaff-cutter, and the grain-bruiser seemed to attract the greatest attention.

We fancy, therefore, from the habits of these tribes that it is not so entirely by schools and books that they require to be raised in civilization as by communities of British families taking root and settling in their midst. They require the living example, the superior mind directing them how to labour, the guiding hand, the kind, Christian spirit of the trained and energetic artisan, who by his wonderful manipulation brings out of the hidden mineral wealth with which he is surrounded the articles necessary for civilized life.

The present Free Church missionary at Chindwara states, speaking of the propriety of erecting buildings, "I want men; I would not be afraid of the means."

We shall endeavour to point out how British colonists might in this locality be at once profitably employed both for their own benefit and that of the State. It was in the year 1852 that the lamented missionary—the Rev. Stephen Hislop—when on a tour among the Sautpoora hills, to the west of Chindwara, near Omraut at Burkoe, thus wrote: "In the channel of a stream, solitary and silent, unless that the bees keep up a perpetual humming, is a seam of coal; of course it is unworked; but the day is coming when this will be a busy haunt of men. We fear," he adds, "that among the possible events in India's future history may be a repetition of such an outbreak as that of 1857. Were such an occurrence to take place again, then it might be salvation to a number of valuable lives, and make all the difference between victory and defeat to our arms in Central India, that the hills so often spoken of should be in the possession of a Christian colony, with native Christian converts faithful to us. The Gonds possess, in common with all the other hill tribes, a native truth and faithfulness which would cause them when Christianized to remain steadily attached to the British and the support of the Anglo-Indian Empire."

In illustrating the truthfulness which the Gonds possess in common with all the hill tribes of India, and we suspect of the whole world, the missionaries give an interesting anecdote:—"But the most remarkable case is one we heard in Sangor of a Gond who was bribed by a woman to kill her husband. He watched his opportunity, committed the deed when the husband was asleep in the house, and escaped unobserved. In the course of investigation another person was apprehended on suspicion, whose brother, a few days after, happened to meet the Gond, to whom he mentioned the circumstances. 'Be easy,' said the Gond, 'your brother will be released: I am the murderer.' The man went his way, and represented it to the magistrate, who

ordered the Gond to be brought to him. Before the magistrate he gave positive evidence of his having committed the murder; and under the gallows requested that, as he had fulfilled his engagement with the woman to kill her husband, the magistrate would see that she fulfilled hers, by making her give a buffalo, the promised reward, to his family instead of himself. Not many years ago this happened in Sangor."

More recently, further discoveries of coal have been made in the neighbourhood east and north-east of Burkoe, over a length of 16 miles of country in the Pench valley.

Mr. Blanford, of the Geological Survey, reports on eleven out-crops, and the Chief Commissioner agreed with that gentleman's opinion, that "these discoveries of coal are the most important that have been made for many years;" and that "it is only reasonable to believe that many other workable seams may still remain undiscovered in this neighbourhood, so that there is every probability that this portion of the coal-field equals in mineral wealth the coal-fields of the Dumuda valley in Bengal." Not only do the coal-measures of Chindwara extend down the Pench river, but lately large fields of carbonaceous shale as far south as Chanda have been discovered on the Wurda, with good coal lying below some of the shale. The coal formation does not seem very deep in this quarter, but already it has become highly useful. There are natural impediments which shut out the Chindwara coal from the open country of the Nerbudda valley to the north, through which the Great Indian Peninsula Railway passes, but in this the coal-fields are said now to occupy a tract of 140 miles in length, with varying breadth of from 20 to 80 miles.

Adjoining the convalescent station of Mhooteor on the west, we have the Mahadeo hills—the finest of all the Sautpoora range. They stand isolated, and rise to the height of 4000 feet, like vast rampart walls of pure yellow sandstone, from the flat valley of the Dwena. They stand in lofty grandeur and marked contrast with the contour of the ordinary basaltic range near them. "The slope of these hills to the north towards the Nerbudda valley is as gentle and easy as the cliff to the south is steep and abrupt, and laden animals, or even wheeled carts, may soon be able to ascend by the road which is now under construction, and which runs direct to the plateau from the Bunkherree railway station, some 20 miles from the foot of the mountain. The ascent up the hill may be 12 miles long. Nothing can be prettier than the plateau itself, varied like a fine park with glades and clumps of trees, watered by a stream that runs winding down nearly the whole length, and curiously sheltered from the winds and storms by a rim of rocks that bound it wherever it borders on the outer face of the hills. The average temperature is 10° lower than the plains. When the roads of approach to it are finished, and houses built, the residents of the valley will be able to escape from heat and glare to one of the greenest, softest, and most lovely of sanatoria that exists in India." "There are many petty hill chiefs on and around the great Mahadeo plateau who raised their clans for Appa Sahib when he escaped into their fastnesses, as our Caledonians did for Charles."

Coal is found in the bed of almost every stream which cuts through the Mahadeo sandstone, and chiefly in the bed of the Towra, but there are no intelligent, practical borers or miners, nor artisans, to render it profitable and available by steam machinery for the great railway stations. Just below the Mahadeo mountain, in the Dwena valley, on the road from Bunkherree, there are low ranges of limestone hills, so that in the vast valley of the Nerbudda we have not only all the combinations of the vegetable world, but also the richest supply of sandstone, lime, and iron, now so necessary for mankind's progression and civilization. Canals, anicuts, and railway-feeders might all be introduced, and this, too, among a simple, docile, native population—about whom, also, we cannot help making a few extracts from the Commissioner's Report:—

"In the valley there are a large number of Gonds and Karkoo—aboriginal hill tribes, with non-Aryan language and non-Aryan habits of their own—and they form hard-working and trustworthy servants. They are remarkable for their truthfulness, inoffensiveness, and shyness, and it is hard to believe that only fifty years ago they were the most reckless and daring robbers. There has probably never been an instance of a whole race being so completely changed in a generation by a peaceful Government. In the valley of the Nerbudda iron ore abounds, and there seems to be ample employment for experienced European artisans in this department as smelters, &c., and for want of whom Major Keatinge's smelting scheme at Burwee seems to have proved unsuccessful. Burwee is situated on the north bank of the Nerbudda, on the Indore

* Vide Part III., 'Gazetteer of the Central Provinces,' page 152.

road; it is about 40 miles from Kundwa, the nearest station on the main line of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. Major Keatinge had urged the merits of the iron ore on the Government, and at last was permitted to visit Sweden, and selected Mr. Mitander, an accomplished practical engineer, to superintend the works at Burwe; the buildings were erected, and the machinery from England, at a cost of 5000*l.*, was connected with the works. The machinery consisted of seven steam-engines, rolling-mill, steam-hammer, blowing-engine, punching, shearing, and planing machine. Buildings consisting of one blast-furnace, workshops, calcining kiln, charcoal sheds, rolling-mill house, forges, office and quarters for superintendent and assistant-superintendent. Charcoal, ore, and flux were also collected in considerable quantities. By January, 1863, the works were finished, through the great personal exertions of Major Keatinge, Captain Melliss, Mr. Mitander, and Lieutenant Marryat; in their presence the furnace was lighted, and the first attempt on a large scale to smelt the Burwe iron was made; but the experiment unfortunately failed, for after the first one or two tappings the bottom began to fill with slag, and within twenty-four hours from the first tapping the bottom got choked up, and the furnace became unworkable. Hence the works were stopped. The experiment thus was unsuccessful, and the cause was simply this, that the men who had to remove the sand, in order to make the orifice and to extract the ore, consisted of a few natives and some European soldiers employed for the occasion. These men being inexperienced could not perform the operation with the requisite skill and promptitude, nor was it possible for Mr. Mitander alone, even with all his knowledge, to effect what was necessary without some trained assistance."

In order to settle the boundary question between us and Holkar, his frontier to the south is said to be marked by the Nerbudda, and he will thus acquire sovereign rights over a flourishing tract north of that river, and among other advantages, these large ironworks with suitable plant.

We have been endeavouring to show that the climate, associations, and resources of the Sautpoora ranges offer suitable localities for settlements, and that the great mineral and vegetable wealth which these ranges contain offer immediate and profitable employment to our masons, miners, ironworkers, and artisans, and crafts of all kinds, and also to our agricultural population. From the want of such practical men the engineering work of our young officers has frequently failed, after great expense to Government. The plain tendency of such rapid locomotion as now exists is to equalize labour among all nations: that of European artisans settled in townships would not be much dearer than skilled Muhummudan or Hindoo labour.

Christian townships with municipal self-government would form centres of strength and would be models of emulation to other municipalities having the power of self-taxation, and to other native communities; and they would, too, be in the neighbourhood of the Great Indian Railway, passing through the Nerbudda valley.

There cannot now be any doubt that henceforth the carriage route, and the main trade channels for commerce, between Europe and Hindostan, will either follow the course of the Suez Canal, or the great valley of the Euphrates, onwards to Bombay; thence by the Great Nerbudda Valley Railway, running from west to east, to Jubbulpore and Allahabad. The traffic for the north of India will go off at Khundwa in the valley, where there is now a large sorting post-office, and it will thence go north, across the river and the Vindhyan Steppe, to Malwa, Indore, and other countries.

I ought perhaps to have mentioned that these settlements should be continued at well-selected distances all along the great railway route by Jubbulpore, on through the fine valley of Meyhor, with the rich sandstone Kymore hills on the south, to Allahabad and Mirzapore on the Ganges.

Jubbulpore has already become a grand centre for railway operations and commerce. It is not necessary to give an account of the wonderful progress and advancement made in all the mechanical arts, industrial schools, and education for natives since Europeans have been settled in Jubbulpore. It will be sufficient to observe that in many of the surrounding countries there are all the elements that can be desired for healthy, energetic colonists. An allusion, however, may be made to the workshops and industrial schools for natives, one of which was established at Jubbulpore, to employ the notorious Thugs and their descendants. Mr. Campbell states that:—"The engine-men and stokers are all natives; some of them are very good and quick workers, but the general run of them are inferior; the great difficulty is to get them to understand the necessity for accuracy."

It is true that the natives turn out all kinds of machinery and handicraft cheaper,

and perhaps nearly equal to that of our British manufacture, and no doubt these are doing good service to the country, as is evident from the agriculturists having purchased as much as 5000*l.* worth of machinery at the Jubulpore Exhibition in 1866.

India in 1868 produced 13,562,274 maunds of coal—the amount of coal raised has been more than double in ten years. Two-thirds of this amount and of what is imported is required for the special service of the railways alone. This shows little progress in manufacturing industry.

THE KHASIA HILLS.

We now turn attention to the eastern part of India, beyond the great Brahmaputra river, which the Mohammedan conquests never reached.

There are in this direction chaotic masses of mankind, and vast aboriginal tribes on the hilly regions stretching away towards China. These are of Mongolian type, and are all more or less under British supremacy.

The first locality which we shall mention, and recommend as a settlement amongst them, is the Khasia Hills, to the south of the great valley of Assam, near the new military fortress of Shillong, having the fortress of Nanklow on the north.

They embrace a tract of hilly country, overlooking the great valley of the Brahmaputra on the north, and the plains of Sylhet on the south. This district, together with the Jynteah Hills, is now under British supremacy, and extends from lat. 25° 50' N. and long. 90° 52' to 93° E.

The height of this noble mountain range, running from east to west, varies. Nanklow, on the north, is at an elevation of 4500 feet, whilst Shillong, in the interior, is 6440 feet above the level of the sea; the average height may be between 4000 and 5000 feet.

In this volcanic range are flat, undulating, basaltic hills, on which are immense tracts of fine pasture; plains giving rise to rivers, and valleys lined with fine forests of timber.

The average temperature throughout the year is stated to be 12° Fahr. below that of the plains of Bengal, whilst during the hot weather it is as much as 20° lower.

The fall of rain on the south side of the hills above Sylhet is very great, but it runs off rapidly; the heavy fall is but local, and is in no way injurious to health. The climate, as described by the Select Committee, in August, 1859, is "delightful and beautiful, where Europeans and their descendants could continuously live."

The access to these hills for trade and commerce has been difficult, owing to the steep sides of the mountains on the south. The traveller, in order to reach them, will go by the railway as far as the Kooshtea station, 110 miles from Calcutta; thence by boat up the Soormah river to Sylhet.

P. S. Carnegie, Esq., Officiating Commissioner of the Khasia and Jynteah hills, in his Report in August, 1868, writes—"The country consists of three plateaus, of 3500 square miles in extent. The smallest is at an elevation of 6000 feet above the sea, the second, and largest, extending from one end of the district to the other, at about 2000 feet lower, and the lowest at an elevation of 3000 feet, moving down to the hills on the borders of Assam;" or altogether these three plains form a square of 60 miles long by 60 broad. "All these present much the same general appearance, the highest being rather more bare than the lower plateau, owing to the stunted growth of the trees; but all are covered with luxuriant grass, which improves in quality in the higher lands. The two lower plateaus have forests of oak, pine, *toon*, and other valuable timber. There is comparatively little arable land which could not be brought under the plough, owing to the gradual slope of the country rendering cultivation easy—the conformation being similar to the best parts of Kent and the Lothians. In the hollows the soil consists of fine, rich, black mould, capable of producing any description of crop, but the soil in general is a deep, ferruginous, red clay, which would require a considerable quantity of manure.

"The climate is excellent, the temperature averaging only 72° during the hottest months, and falling to 51° in the coldest; there are occasional frosts, but not sufficiently severe to injure the crops. The land may be almost called virgin soil, as the present inhabitants do not cultivate even enough rice for their own consumption, and large quantities are annually imported. After rice, potatoes, millet, and maize form the principal products.

"The potato thrives wonderfully, even in damp soil, three maunds of seed, in a good season and with plenty of manure, yielding eighty maunds. The price of

potatoes averages about two rupees, which is sufficiently remunerative to cause the natives to prefer this crop to almost any other; its cultivation increases annually, and the fruit is of good quality. The system of cultivation is most primitive; some of the natives having a prejudice against employing bullocks in any work. There is already a good breed of cattle on the hills, but improved cultivation would also tend to improve them. The Khasias are a beef-eating race. Sheep also would do well in a country so well suited for their pasturage. Horse-breeding might be profitably carried on. In fact, all sorts of European crops, fruits, and vegetables might be cultivated. Calcutta is supplied with oranges from the Khasia hills. Europeans could till their own ground."

Mr. Walters also states in his Official Journal:—"As we advanced, the country opened into a beautiful undulating park, the scenery extremely beautiful. Passed a regular mow of grain in the straw—perfectly English. We observed apple, pear, and plum trees. The rivers are well supplied with fish, the forests with game and deer; the cattle are large and sleek, the pigs numerous—a small, handsome race of a Chinese breed. Coal exists on the hills, of superior quality and in the greatest profusion, whilst iron and lime are equally abundant.

"Before leaving this description of the Khasias, I must touch for a moment on the character of its people.

"The Khasias seem to be a branch of the Mongolian stock; their language is monosyllabic, abounding in nasal sounds, with a peculiar jerking tone, which has a singular effect on a stranger. They are a jolly, merry race; open, truthful, and honest. They may be said to be enterprising. They are short in stature, thickset men, with largely-developed muscular limbs. Like Englishmen, they eat and drink whatever comes in their way—beef, pork, &c.—and are very fond of spirituous liquors; like them, too, they are devoted to field sports. They have neither idols nor temples, but many peculiar shaped stones, and rocks sacred to streams and groves; sacrificing fowls to evil spirits, &c.; constantly breaking up eggs for good or bad omens. The women are remarkably strong; some of them are able to carry as much as the men. At times they may be seen carrying a fat, lazy Bengalee on their back down a hill. Property and all honours descend by the female line; the children belong to her clan; a sister's son always succeeds to the chieftainship. Indeed, the ladies have it all their own way among Khasias, and often propose to the men; and when their tempers do not agree, and they cannot live together, by mutual consent, she can dismiss him, without any heavy law expenses, merely by throwing five cowrie shells at his head publicly in the market-place. He must do the same; after which deed of settlement they can never again live together. The children abide with the mother, and their ashes after death go to her clan, not to those of the father.

"The great archery meetings of the natives are worth seeing, on account of the jollity that prevails, and the good shooting. The archers will hit a rupee at from 40 to 50 yards.

"The charcoal iron is made on the north side, and carried, mixed with the scoriae, in half-round balls on the backs of the Khasia men and women for more than 20 miles over the ups and downs of the hills, to be sent to the plains below. It is equal to the best Swedish for rod or boiler plate, and would make excellent steel; and this would prove a profitable employment for Europeans on the hills.

"The colonists going out there should in no wise be given to drink, as this is the great bane of India, and the cause of the loss of health there, which is wrongly attributed to climate."

We will now endeavour to show how a thoroughly compact, self-contained, Christian settlement of artisans, of different crafts, with their wives and families, and with just agriculturists enough to supply their wants, would find profitable employment in this locality.

Across the Khasia hills from the south, Government formed a road into Assam, and through the valley, onwards to Gowhatti, the capital, on the Brahmaputra; but the traffic does not take this direction, but down the sides of the steep hills on the south. A colony of artisans established here would form tramways, slides, or a railway down the face of the north side of the hills near Nunklow, where the descent is not nearly so difficult as on the south, and a railway might be as easily constructed as the one up the face of the Bore Ghaut, between Bombay and Poona. The declivities and ridges gradually melt away from Nunklow to Gowhatti, a distance of 76 miles.

Gowhatti is the capital of Assam, on the Brahmaputra, which overflows like the

Nile, and steamers cross to Calcutta in eight days. If the audience will glance at the map of India they will notice that the Brahmaputra river turns, by what is known as "the great bend," along the western slopes of the Garro hills. It then passes eastward, and drains the great valley which constitutes the kingdom of Assam. At present Assam is dependent on Calcutta for its machinery; but a colony of artisans planted among the Khasies would set up foundries, workshops, with steam-hammers, fitting and boiler-making shops, a pattern shop, a carpenter's shop, with saw-mills and the like, which would at once bring into use the immense abundance of mineral and vegetable products on the hills. Assam would thus be supplied from a much nearer and more convenient market. All this would react on the vast resources, as yet undeveloped, of Assam itself.

In the upper part of Assam four enormous rivers, with courses of some 1000 miles each, and from different regions, pour their deposits into this vast valley. Here wonderful forests exist; trees of an immense size, producing resins, copal, balsams, oils, &c., almost unknown to the arts and British commerce. The cinchona tree now flourishes in India, and would do so on the Khasias, where there is much iron in the soil and so much moisture in the air that all is green verdure. The culture of the cinchona is eagerly and profitably followed by many Europeans in India. Ipecacuanha also no doubt would grow.

Tea is indigenous to this region; on the lower ranges of the Cachar hills, 70 miles to the eastward, there are now as many as fifty-three tea estates, and as many as about 300 European planters have settled. The tea cultivation would prove a source of wealth, and would be pleasant outdoor employment to the wives and children of the colonists. The common use of this refreshing beverage takes away the desire for spirituous liquors, as is evinced among the Chinese.

Through the instrumentality of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists many of the natives here have been converted to Christianity, and as such work at different trades. They have several small churches and schools. Like all hill tribes, they are a musical race, and their women especially have fine voices, so that their trained singing has a most pleasing effect in their churches, and they seem thoroughly to enjoy it.

DARJEELING.

"A common objection to this scheme," says the editor of the 'London Weekly Review,' "which will suggest itself to some, 'Does not India teem with population, and is it fair, under such circumstances, to send more settlers to the East?' To which the reply is, 'Most of the low plains are sufficiently occupied by the native inhabitants, but the hills are not thickly peopled, and there would be ample room in the zone of the European climate, along the flanks of the glorious Himalayas, for some million settlers from our own or other lands.'"

Already some British settlements have been made in these genial climates—one is at Darjeeling, a lofty, hilly, and temperate region, 300 miles from Calcutta, and with an average temperature of that of London. It is thus described in the Select Committee's Report:—

"The population, which was 4000 or 5000, doubled itself in the course of two years. The natives of Bhotan, Thibet, and Nepal flocked to be employed by the Europeans. The rapid increase of wealth and population was like that of an Australian settlement.

"The European children born there enjoy admirable health, and thrive as well as in Britain. There are numerous tea gardens, producing tea of an excellent flavour, from the China tea plant. A railway is projected to the base of the hills, and when finished, will quickly and comfortably introduce our gracious Queen and her Secretary of State, when she visits her Eastern empire, to the most sublime of all earthly spectacles, the scenery of the Himalayas."

KUMAON.

In the same zone of European climate, and some 600 miles to the north-west of Darjeeling, amidst the most sublime mountain scenery, we have the British district of Kumaon.

This country has not been many years under the British rule, but since being so it has wonderfully improved. Almora is the seat of the public court, but the houses of the civil officers are at Hawal Bagh, 5 miles north of the city. On all sides are the tea plantations, with several European overseers.

To show that the climate is far superior to Britain for invalids and elderly

persons, we may state that the average height of the thermometer is about 57° in January, in February 55°, in June 76°, and in July 78°.

There is much pleasant occupation for agriculturists. Europeans are employed in that region to a considerable extent as overseers of tea estates; but we must give an extract from a letter, in which the writer says:—"There is one thing you should impress on your friend—tea is not a thing to be played with; you must go heart and soul into it, as you would in any business at home, and during eight months of the year it keeps you constantly on the move. It is, however, a pleasant life when once you are up to your work, and although it will perhaps never make your fortune, it will afford you a comfortable living in a good climate, with some occasional sport."

Sir William Muir, in a letter we received from him, says:—"Everything is done here to encourage the settlement of tea planters; the out-turn of tea, though good in quality, is not so abundant, acre per acre, as in Assam, so that with present prices and demand, the farms are not very remunerative. But, upon the whole, I hope there is progress, and that in the end a healthy and prosperous field will be opened up for the capital and employment of our countrymen."

We would here allude to the great change that has taken place in the salubrity of the lower ranges around the base of these hills, where much more fertile spots have been opened up, and more likely to repay the personal labour of the settler and his family, and maintain them in a greater degree of comfort, than on the more elevated ranges. Colonel Ramsay, the Commissioner, has been the means of clearing away the dense under-brushwood in these localities, which renders the air stagnant and unwholesome, and now fine, healthy localities have been opened up to settlers. There are railways now in progress towards the base of these hills, which rise up like a wall from the plains, towards the lovely Alpine station of Nynce Tal.

A Christian township of British artisans settled here would bring into play, for the use of the railway, all the fine varieties of the iron ore which are so well known to abound in the Himalayas, such as the red hematite, and the specular, yielding 75 per cent. of metal, and which could be manufactured on the spot at a rate per ton far less than now supplied by iron companies in Britain. The iron of the Himalayas, the Select Committee reports, is equal to the first Swedish; for the manufacture of wire, of gun-barrels, &c., it is unequalled. Mr. Danvers, in his Report for 1868 to 1869, states "that it is not unlikely that special arrangements will be made for the execution of the branch line from Moradabad station to the Nynce Tal ironworks, and that for this line a narrow gauge will be found suitable."

On the hills also are enormous beds of sulphate of lime (or gypsum), and of clay-slate, in which alum exists in the greatest abundance—both of which are so highly valued in the arts and manufactures—copper mines, &c.

The mineral resources of this province only require proper machinery, for which there is an abundant water-supply; and with steady practical men to direct and superintend them, they will then be largely developed. Turpentine could be easily extracted from the immense mass of forest pines, by erecting stills in the woods, and it could be used as a solvent for all the india-rubber and gutta-percha necessary for telegraphic and other purposes. It is needless to say that the ends in view will never be fulfilled by speculating London companies. There must be European experienced townships taking root in the country, and intelligent, experienced men who will take up the contracts at a fair, remunerative profit.

Such a township at some place about the base of the hills might, by slides and tramways down the steep, have transmitted to it the mineral and vegetable products of the upper ranges. Such a settlement should consist of all handicrafts, as mentioned when speaking of the Khasia hills—masons, carpenters, plasterers, wheel carpenters, leather workers, wire-drawers, smelters, and moulders. There is also room for manufacturers and spinners.

Silk of the wild Tussah abounds in all the forests, and would give employment to reelers, throwsters, and weavers, and yield a rich revenue to the State.

DHERA DOON.

It is surprising how little India is known to officers and others who have resided merely in some limited part of that country. In consequence of this, many mistakes and fallacies have resulted, such as that Europeans could not settle and bring up their families in India, and that it is not habitable, like America, to an English race. We shall endeavour to obviate these fallacies after describing the locality next to Kumaon,

which is the Dhera Doon, a lovely valley at the base of the Himalayas, about 150 miles north-west of Almora. It is about 1200 miles from Calcutta, but can now be reached by railway in two or three days; formerly it would have taken as many months. This valley is bounded on the north and west by the river Jumna, and on the south by the Ganges, whose beneficial waters, bursting forth from their cradled homes among the snowy and sublime peaks of the Garwhal mountains, and rushing onwards through dense forests and deep ravines till they reach the vast plains below, beautify and fertilize them far and near, and render this valley, among many others, one of the most verdant and fertile districts in India. It is about 50 miles long and 25 broad. Numerous mountains to the north and east rise to the height of 7000 or 8000 feet abruptly out of the plain. On these are Mussooree and Landour, the well-known sanitarium, crowded with Europeans and their families, schools, churches, and all that can be desired in any British settlement.

Bishop Daniel Wilson, who had travelled throughout India, and who knew more of its climate and people than almost any other person, and was well qualified to form a correct opinion, thus writes of this valley in 1835, when steam was in its infancy. After describing its beauties and capabilities, he says:—"I have been conversing with Mr. Bacon, the judge of this station, on the colonization of India, in combination with the steam communication. . . . There is nothing to prevent Europeans settling on these lovely mountains, and bringing up their families in the finest health. India would be habitable to an English race, just like America; and the certain and rapid steam post would bring her within 60 days of Europe, instead of 120 to 150, as at present. What a cheering prospect for India, though distant still!"

Various fallacies are abroad on the subject of the injurious climate of India. It is now generally admitted that there would not be any degeneracy of the European race—physical, intellectual, or moral—among children brought up on the hilly regions. It is well known that Sir Charles Metcalfe was very favourable to European colonization, and if his views had been carried out, the revenues of the country would long ago have been largely developed.

The artists and settlers to be sent out from home, and required in these countries, are not reckless adventurers of low and debased habits, who, in whatever circumstances or position of life, would be despised even by the natives, and whose example would degrade others into a mere animal existence. They ought to be men accustomed to hard manual labour, and yet educated and intelligent; not those who from want of energy and tact have already failed to succeed in this country, but such as are young and fresh for enterprise—self-reliant; men of sober habits and thorough principle; who would go out, not merely for the sake of acquiring wealth and elevating their own position, but with higher and nobler aspirations—seeking the good of the natives. They should all be married; "all experience tends to show that the responsibilities of married life, and concern for the provision of offspring, make the married artisan in India of more value to his employers than would be the unmarried one. Early marriages should be encouraged among all European classes in India, for they generate providence and discourage intemperance."

Let such settlers go out to India, and we shall not any longer hear of the race of Britain, who fought and conquered on the plains of India, degenerating.

The expensive invaliding of our soldiers to return home will cease; they will be content to remain, and be attracted to these towns as homes, where they may spend in comfort their old age.

KANGRA.

Before describing Kangra allusion may be now made to the immense benefit India has already derived from British rule, and the very limited number of colonists who have been able to settle in that country; ever bearing in mind Lord William Bentinck's remark, "that India is like a world in miniature, and one law for India is like one for the whole world."

Among all the remote hill countries in the north-west—such as Koonawar, in lat. $31^{\circ} 30'$, where the grapes are so abundant that 30 or 40 lbs. may be purchased for 2s.—the British rule was hailed as a revolution in the world, as the dawn of their civil happiness; from the king on the throne to the peasant, there was not one who did not talk thus with confidence and enthusiasm, and uniformly concluded, "Now we shall live and improve, and be raised from beasts to men."

Formerly the journeying in India was most tedious, hazardous, and costly, occupying six months from Calcutta to Merut on the Ganges, and Delhi on the Jumna, a distance

of 1000 to 1100 miles, and cost four times the amount of railway charge. Since those days a railway system has been opened up in India, and 5000 miles of it have been completed. This year uninterrupted communication between Calcutta and Lahore, a distance of 1500 miles, will be effected, and the journey accomplished in two days and a half. The late viceroy, Lord Lawrence, traversed the whole distance from Umballah to Calcutta, a length of 1800 miles, in forty-four hours. A railway is being constructed for 273 miles from Lahore, even on to Peshawar. A tunnel has been made under the Indus. A parcel from that capital can now reach England by pattern post for 4d., in a month.

Peshawar is the great rendezvous of people who meet for the purposes of trade from all parts of Central Asia; and through this valley, as in former ages—from its natural position—the commodities of north and south continue to pass. The natives have most appropriately called it Darwaza—or the door of commerce. The Anglo-Indian empire bears the promise of long continuance, from the bond of union, or connecting link, in trade interests that has taken place among all these nations, and from the exercise of justice and the maintenance of law and authority—qualities peculiar to the British race, to whom Providence has entrusted the government and happiness of millions of our fellow-creatures.

Advantages derived already from Europeans settled in India :—

The immense bed of coal in the Damoodah valley was discovered by Europeans. The natives were not aware of the hidden wealth they possessed.

Although indigo is indigenous to India, scarcely a pound was exported until Englishmen devoted themselves to its cultivation. Now it supplies the world, and has nearly driven all other indigo out of the market.

At Agra, at Allahabad, at Azimghur, and in Cachar, the settlers, American missionaries, and native Christians supported the Government nobly in the mutiny, and it is not too much to assert that Jirhoot and Bengal were kept quiet by the presence of so many planters. Lord Canning then recognized the value of the settlement of Europeans in the country, and published his celebrated resolution inviting them to take lands on fee-simple, or at a very moderate price per acre; but this resolution, to the great injury of the settlers, was annulled by the Home Government, and auction sales were substituted.

"THE KANGRA COLONY.

"The nearest approach in India to a colony, in the ordinary sense of the word, is to be found in the Punjab valley of Kangra. There several English officers, retiring from service or having sold their commissions, have settled down to the cultivation of tea during the last eight years, very much as they would have done in Tasmania or New Zealand. They enjoy a temperate climate, the sanitarium of Dhurmsala stands at the western end of their valley, and the great Dhoul Dhar, or snowy range of Chumba, looks down upon them, sending forth perennial streams from its melting snows to water the fields. Without the rain and gloom of the hills of Assam and Darjeeling, with a climate far superior to that of the Wynaad, at the very door of Cashmere and Eastern Turkestan, yet close to the great mart of Umritsur, soon to be connected by railway with the sea, and with an abundant supply of cheap labour, the twenty or twenty-five English gentlemen who are converting Kangra into a tea garden enjoy advantages superior to those possessed by any other settlers in India. Some three years ago the present writer described the valley after a walk of 30 miles from its eastern to its western end through hedgerows of roses, and speculated as to the prospects of the planters. Major Paske has just published a report which supplies more recent details, and confirms our anticipations of the success of the Kangra settlement.

"In 1850 Dr. Jameson introduced into Kangra the same variety of the China tea plant which he had naturalized in Kumaon and Dhera Doon. Two years after Lord Dalhousie found the experiment to be so promising that, during a personal visit, he selected Holta as the site of an extensive plantation. At that time the valley was covered with jungle, and was but sparsely peopled. Waste land abounded, but by some mistake the whole of it had been registered by the settlement officer as the property of the non-improving and jealous village communities. Even the Governor-General obtained 600 acres for the Holta garden, only because the spot was looked on by the people as cursed or haunted. When, in 1860, Lord Canning was led to give an impulse to European enterprise by his waste land rules, and the Holta garden was ready to supply tea plants and seed, several English officers applied to purchase grants of land in Kangra. The Punjab Government selected Major Paske for the duty of

negotiation between the village communities and the purchasers, and two years after Mr. P. Egerton was employed in the same task. The result was that plots of land were transferred to the mutual advantage of seller and purchaser, and without giving rise to any of those conflicts or antipathies which have caused such disaster in colonies like New Zealand. So far from this, the planters gained the good-will of the natives from the first to such an extent that they have since been able to increase the area of their estates very largely. At the same time they have obtained as many labourers as they require at 4 rupees a month, and have enriched the community among whom they have settled. The people have also become more intelligent; they appreciate the advantage of an English education, and many of them cultivate tea for themselves. Let him who doubts the advantages conferred by English settlers like the planters of Kangra on the people of India take a morning's ride through the valley, and contrast its smiling, prosperous appearance, and the intelligent bearing of its people, with the descriptions given by Mr. Barnes, who settled the district, and gave away the rights of the State to the surplus wastes as of no value. Last year the nineteen estates, including one in the neighbouring state of Mundee and another in Kooloo, consisted of 8708 acres, of which 2635 were under tea cultivation, and yielded 241,332 lbs. of tea. This is hardly half the cultivation and produce of Darjeeling, for instance, but the industry is only eight years old, and it has not been marked by any of that ruin, or even misfortune, which has caused so many to regret that they ever had to do with tea in Eastern India.*

The Kangra valley for colonists, although it has spots such as Dhurmsala, equal, perhaps, to any in Cashmere, is like the Dhera Doon. In May, and even earlier, the heat is very great, but this can always be escaped by a few hours' ride to Dhurmsala, or other points high up, near the snowy range.

CHUMBA.

Chumba is a country covering an area of 3216 square miles, and possessing Alpine scenery of the finest description, through which the rivers Ravee and Chenab find their way. It lies in lat. 33°, on the north-east confines of the Punjab, with the plains of which it is almost continuous. It is governed by a Rajah, a Rajpoot, who traces his genealogy from a date anterior to the Christian era.

Extracts of Letters from Col. B. Reid.

PROPOSAL FROM THE RAJAH OF CHUMBA TO ESTABLISH A BRITISH SETTLEMENT.

"CHUMBA, *vid* DALHOUSIE, PUNJAB,
"March, 1868.

"DEAR SIR,

"The town of Chumba is situated on the Ravee, at an elevation of about 3400 feet. At this elevation all English cereals, wheat, barley, oats, together with the indigenous grains, may be cultivated. At 5000 feet and upwards potatoes are grown. In the Pangee district, lying north of the Chenab, the climate and soil are quite English, excepting that the rainfall is very scanty—not exceeding an average of six inches in the year. It would be more correct to say that the climate more resembles Upper Canada, there being a short, warm summer, and heavy fall of rain in the winter. In Pangee I have seen all the English vegetables as fine and as well flavoured as the best I have ever seen in England. Tobacco grows most luxuriantly, and the demand for it, at highly remunerative prices, is practically unlimited. Hops have also been grown experimentally, both in Pangee and in other hill stations, and I believe successfully. The scanty rainfall in Pangee would be a great drawback to cultivation, were it not for the very copious water supply from the numerous rivers and streams which flow on every hill side, and make irrigation easy and inexpensive.

"It would never answer for Europeans to compete with the natives of the country in mere manual labour, but it is quite possible, in my opinion, for European settlers to realize a fair profit by taking up land and employing natives to cultivate it for them, either as monthly servants on a fixed rate of wages, or subletting land to them, supplying them with seed, and taking as payment a certain share of the crop. The former plan would probably be the most remunerative, and the European proprietor could direct the labour and cultivate more carefully. The latter plan would be less troublesome, and would involve less risk. In the Pangee district I think a very considerable profit might be realized by leasing a well-selected piece of ground (of which

* 'Friend of India.'

there are large quantities available), and raising flower and vegetable seeds for sale in India. At present India is supplied either from England, or the Cape of Good Hope, or America—the latter being preferred; the seed obtained in the plains of India, even the best European or American, being found to deteriorate very much. Seeds raised at Pangee have proved equal to the best imported seed. Seeds could be raised in any quantity, and could of course be sold at a large profit—far below the cost paid for seed imported from England. As breweries are now established in India, there is, of course, a great demand for hops. Of the hop plantations on the hills I can only speak from report; of the rest I have personal knowledge. Potatoes would be a most remunerative crop. Within 18 miles of Chumba there is the large civil station of Dalhousie, with a large European population, and a dépôt of European troops is being formed here. Besides this market afforded at Dalhousie for such produce, there is a great demand throughout the Punjab for potatoes—the Commissariat alone contracting largely for the supply of vegetables.

"Besides agricultural, other pursuits might be followed in Chumba. The hills afford excellent pasture, and tracts of country are leased for grazing purposes on very moderate terms. Wool might be grown at great profit, particularly if some pains were taken to improve the breed of sheep, in which I have already made a beginning, by importing for the Rajah some thoroughbred Cheviot rams. The demand for ghee (or melted clarified butter) is immense, and it is exported in large quantities, at very high prices. The breed of cattle indigenous to these hills is very poor, but I have recently imported for the Rajah a thoroughbred Ayrshire bull and cow, and have a well-selected number of good cows to cross with this bull. I am satisfied that cattle-breeding and dairy-farming might be carried on here with great advantage.

"As you say that among the persons who would desire to emigrate there are many artisans, and some skilled in iron-work, I may mention that Chumba abounds in minerals. Large slate quarries belonging to the Rajah are already extensively worked. Gypsum may be obtained in any quantity, at a cost of 6d. per maund (80 lbs.) at the quarry. Iron and copper abound, but I am of opinion that the former cannot be worked to any advantage, owing to the absence of coal, but copper may. Lead has also been found close to Chumba, and I am about to have the vein carefully examined by a competent person this summer. Plumbago exists in considerable quantity. Caraway seed and a great many vegetable dyes are found in Pangee, and are exported by the natives.

"As regards security of tenure, there is, generally speaking, great doubt that, as an independent native state, the British Government will not interfere to compel the fulfilment of engagements on either side, but as yet I have experienced no difficulty in any transaction on the Rajah's behalf with European capitalists—one of whom has lately engaged to pay a sum of 13,000*l.* for the goodwill of a quarry for thirty years, besides an annual rental of 100*l.* All transactions with European capitalists I would prepare and register in the office of the Government for deeds at Dalhousie, which would give validity to the title, which might be granted for any number of years up to thirty.

"The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab will visit Chumba in about a month, and I will lay before him your letter, and mention, at the same time, the Rajah's desire to encourage the settlement of a British colony, and I will, as soon as possible afterwards, communicate the result of my reference.

"If, on further consideration, you should think the scheme feasible, I shall be happy to answer any additional inquiries you may wish to make before sending out a large number of settlers. I would advise one or two intelligent men being sent to the spot to judge for themselves on the suitability of the country, and of the terms offered by the Rajah.

"I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

"BLAIR T. REID, Lieutenant-Colonel,
"Superintendent of Chumba.

"To A. GRAHAM, Esq., M.D.,

"Ashfield Villa, Edinburgh."

"There is, indeed, one occupation which I think might answer, which could, moreover, be undertaken with little or no risk. There are extensive quarries of excellent slate, also copper, iron, plumbago, and lead. Some of the Rajah's quarries are already taken; one by Government and others by private capitalists—the latter on a thirty years' lease, with a considerable bonus paid down, which is a sufficient proof that the

present Rajah's credit is good. There are, however, other slate quarries available, one of which is, I believe, the largest and best in the state. I have already received inquiries regarding it, and shall probably, in the course of next year, find an opportunity of leasing it; but it is still in the market, and to any person who could satisfy me of his ability to abide by the conditions, I would be glad to let it by the year, or for a term of years, on moderate rates. The demand for slate at present is far in excess of the supply that can be furnished, and the demand is likely to continue for several years. I would make the same terms as regards the copper, lead, and plum-bago. A person taking these quarries and mines, paying a yearly rental but no bonus, would run little or no risk. No expensive plant or machinery would be required, and the advantage to the Chumba State of deriving an annual revenue from these sources would be the best guarantee for the agreement being observed faithfully.

"I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

"BLAIR REID, Lieutenant-Colonel,
"Superintendent of Chumba.

"To Dr. GRAHAM."

KOOLOO, OR BÊAS VALLEY.

Of all the valleys in the north-west Himalayas, that of the Bêas is the finest. If Kangra falls below Cashmere in climate, in every respect the Bêas valley exceeds it. The general name of the district is Kooloo. The total length of the valley is not above 60 miles, the breadth from 10 to 15. The missionaries and their families, brought up in it, are about as fine specimens of humanity as can be seen. This valley would form one of the finest regions in the world for a British colony; high mountains, both east and west, bound it—the latter covered with eternal snow.

CONCLUSION.

It would be impossible to enter upon a description of the many other deeply interesting hill climates and regions of India,—the subject is so vast,—such as the mountain ranges on both sides of the great peninsula of India, with the intersecting hills in the south, the Neilgherries, the Shavaroys, and many others, where are now settled Europeans, with coffee and tea plantations. Surely, from all that has been said, it will be quite evident that there are in those regions immense resources, which might easily be developed, and rendered of the highest commercial importance to the whole world. It will, however, be no less evident that this grand result can only be accomplished by experienced artisans, acting under and along with practical talented engineers.

Let us consider the present great necessity there is for opening up new and extensive spheres for the employment of our rapidly increasing population. This must be apparent to all. Every observer has seen, in the course of a few years, the frequent glutts which, owing to various causes, occur in most branches of British industry, the disastrous mercantile crises which result, and the great number of our working classes thereby thrown out of employment. To remedy these evils, the undoubted facts we have adduced prove that a large field may now be opened in the hilly climates of India for the industry of many belonging to our intelligent working classes. Indeed, settlements such as we propose would benefit mutually the commerce of Britain and of India. They would create a demand for many of our home products, and would also supply much larger quantities of the cotton and silk fibres, tea, coffee, sugar, together with all the crude materials required for the home manufacture and markets. By the interchange of commodities commercial crises would become less frequent, and the balance of trade less variable.

We earnestly desire that many belonging to our worthy, steady industrial classes may be encouraged by Her Majesty's Government to go out and settle in these countries; that emigrant ships be granted, and allotments of land, laid out in some of the localities as townships, be assigned to them; that every facility and help be afforded them, on their arrival in these regions, to obtain immediate and suitable occupation; that they should have all the churches and schools, &c., essentially necessary for the moral improvement of a Christian community.

During this apprenticeship period, the Government ought to advance the money until the settlers can repay them—for which purpose they must enter into regular engagements.

The Crown has reaped immense benefits from India; all the land virtually belongs to the Queen and Parliament. But it ought to be remembered that India does not

belong to the Crown alone. It is the property of the British nation. The Anglo-Indian empire was acquired by the co-operation, and has been maintained, under Divine Providence, by the unceasing bravery of our gallant soldiers and sailors, who have shed their blood for their country. Our labouring classes and intelligent artisans have therefore, we humbly think, a right to participate in the riches and benefits of this immense British possession in the East, and to have money laid aside from the revenue of that country for their comfortable settlement in those regions. The Government, by adopting this wise policy, will hereafter greatly increase its own power and resources, as well as the peace and prosperity of those many nations which for wise and gracious purposes have been so wonderfully and providentially placed under the British sway.

MR. HYDE CLARKE thought that what Dr. Graham had brought before the meeting was very encouraging, particularly with reference to the resources of the two districts of Jubbulpore and the Cachar Hills; but he could not entertain other than melancholy impressions when he saw that so little was done to turn to account those resources the existence of which was being continually confirmed by gentlemen acquainted with India. As Dr. Graham had stated, the greatest statesmen in India and the most practical observers had always reported that India possessed great advantages for the introduction of an English population, and many statesmen and writers had brought the subject before the public in India and in England. He (Mr. Clarke), about twelve years ago, endeavoured to get Mr. William Ewart to bring the matter before Parliament, which resulted in the appointment of a Select Committee of investigation, the Report of which Committee was well known to Dr. Graham, and to many present. Twelve years ago the importance of the subject was fully proved, and the Government was brought to the point of pledging itself to give effect to the suggestions that were made, yet to this day very little had been done to carry those suggestions into effect, and to turn to account the advantages which India held out for the benefit of our own population and the natives of India. He (Mr. Clarke) had brought this subject before the Society of Arts ten years ago, and likewise in the United Service Institution, and he had again read a paper on the subject last year at the Society of Arts. Dr. Mowatt had also brought it before the United Service Institution about two years ago; but it appeared to him that the period had arrived when, by means of this Association and other bodies interested in the subject, Parliament should be again asked to appoint a Committee of Investigation; and he thought the honourable gentleman in the chair, and other members of Parliament connected with the Association, could render good service by moving for the appointment of a Committee of Investigation. The subject, in consequence of the death of Mr. Ewart, was now without an advocate, and it was necessary that some one should take it in hand. There could be no reasonable doubt of the healthiness of the climate of the hills, or of the resources available for development; but what remained to be done was by the pressure of public opinion to compel the Government of India to turn those advantages to account. Without entering in any detail into many interesting points brought before the meeting by Dr. Graham, he would particularly endeavour to impress upon the meeting that the best means of improving the welfare of the natives of India was by a greater infusion of the English element, thereby increasing the moral strength of the country, and it would be most desirable if Englishmen could be placed in healthy situations where they could develop the resources of the country in a legitimate manner without interfering with the habits of the great body of the natives, and where they would be in a position to co-operate with the natives in the one great object which the whole population of India should have, the advancement of the country and the benefit of each class of its population.

Colonel FARNOX took exception to some of the statements made by Dr. Graham, which he suggested he should modify before his paper was printed and circulated. For instance, he had said that the soil of India belonged to the Government; but that was not the case. The only soil which they possessed was that which they had paid for. The land which was made over to the railways by the Government had to be bought first by the Government; and where the railways ran through native States, the chiefs had to pay the ryots whose land was taken. Dr. Graham had expressed a certain degree of mistrust of the natives. He would not have them instructed in the arts and sciences and European mechanical knowledge, because that knowledge might in certain events be used against us, and he would not have native

firemen or guards or engine-drivers. He (Colonel French), as the chairman of a railway company, would be very glad to see the whole staff composed of natives. While there were many employments for which no doubt Europeans were best adapted, there were others which were best suited for natives. As to the localities which had been mentioned, he was only acquainted with Mhow, which was not one which would answer for Europeans. But he knew intimately, though he did not know the ironworks there. They now belonged to Holkar, who could only work them by employing skilled European labour. With respect to the fitness of the climate for Europeans, he referred to the fact that very few officers remained of those who were serving in India twenty years ago, notwithstanding the accommodation afforded to European officers.

The CHAIRMAN said that Colonel French had anticipated him in suggesting to the writer of the paper that it would be well to modify some of his statements. Without going into the question to whom the land in India belonged, into which question it was quite unnecessary to enter, he (the Chairman) supposed that the lands which would be assigned for the colonization of Europeans, if such colonization should take place, would be lands distinctly without an owner. He did not suppose that the Government would attempt to take by force land belonging to the natives; but in many countries the waste lands were resigned to the Government to dispose of as they pleased, and he supposed there would be no difficulty whatever in the Government giving lands to those who wished to settle in particular localities; but a more serious consideration than that was the question of the climate. It was a very serious responsibility to a Government to invite emigrants to a country the climate of which might turn out to be destructive of health. He thought, therefore, it would be desirable in the first instance to begin by an experiment with a small body of artisans, which experiment might be tried in the very best climate which could be selected; and then, if that experiment succeeded, an experiment on a much larger scale might be tried afterwards. He thought we might find some consolation with reference to that long delay which had taken place in the colonization of India from the fact that the advantages of such colonization had not grown less, but had increased every day. If such a thing were desirable when the Committee of the House was appointed twelve years ago, it was much more desirable now that India, by the opening of the Suez Canal, had been brought so much closer to this country, and when railway communication had been established to so great an extent throughout India.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, after endorsing what had been said by Colonel French as to Dr. Graham's mistrust of the natives, and as to the right of the Government to the land, observed that on this question of colonization, as on every other question, it was only proper and fair that all the pros and cons, and all the difficulties which lay in the way of the Government, should be fairly considered. Though he had not studied the subject thoroughly, he had from time to time given some thought to it, and questions in relation to it had arisen in his mind which he thought anybody who discussed the subject ought to take into consideration. The first question was the tenure of the land. It was said that waste land could be given away; but it should not be forgotten that the question of land tenure in India was yet a moot question, and the Government ought to be allowed an opportunity of considering that fairly, or they should have some very clear proposition on the matter laid before them, so that they might see their way. The next question was what laws should be applied to the new colonies. Nobody would deny that the settlement of a number of Europeans in India would be so much political and physical strength to the rulers. He believed that upon the British rule the welfare of India depended, and though in his opinion the strength of the British rule rested upon the true loyalty of the natives, and not upon a hundred thousand bayonets, or two hundred thousand colonists, yet Englishmen were entitled to look at the question from their point of view, and to say, Let us have as much strength as possible, so that we shall be able to rely on it in times of difficulty; but that strength would become a source of weakness if the colonists would not submit to be dealt with by the same tribunals as dealt with the natives. The colonists could not be allowed to have a law for themselves, so as to create invidious distinctions. Even now the fact that an Englishman was not amenable to the criminal jurisdiction of the Mofussil was creating some discontent. The natives were saying, Her Majesty proclaims Englishmen and natives to be equal, and yet we are treated as inferiors. In blaming the Government for being

tardy, or not having done what they ought to have done with respect to the colonization of India, we should bear in mind that these questions had to be considered and answered. Not professing to be able to suggest anything with a view to the solution of these questions, his own feeling was that if men of business, men of good principle, men of honesty and industry and kindly feeling, were sent out from this country to the localities mentioned by Dr. Graham, they would become good examples to the natives, and would show them all the results of European civilization of the nineteenth century. It would be a great boon, and would tend greatly to develop the material resources of the country, if something could be devised by which a considerable number of Englishmen, who could turn the resources of India to account, could be introduced among the people at large. It was to be lamented that many Englishmen who had gone to India, instead of setting a good example, had lowered the character of the British in the eyes of the people. The whole strength of the British rule depended on the exhibition of their moral qualities, on the energy and honesty which they had hitherto shown, and unless they continued to exemplify those qualities they could not hope to continue in the enjoyment of that respect with which they had been regarded, or to inspire that awe which they had inspired in the minds of the natives generally; and therefore the colonists who were sent out should be as well selected as possible. Then arose the question whether, as regarded the natives themselves, the experiment would not prove a curse; whether, if these English should settle on these hills, there would be a repetition of what had been the case with the aborigines of America, or Australia, or New Zealand. His feeling was that India stood in a different situation from America, Australia, and New Zealand, the character of the wild tribes of India being to a great extent different from that of the aborigines of those other countries, and the Indian Government had the power to prevent any such extirpation as had taken place in the case of the aborigines of those other countries. The Government would take every care to see that the native was not wronged, and that the protection which he required was given to him. One difficulty which the Government would have to deal with would be this: suppose the Government induced a number of Englishmen to settle in the localities spoken of, and after a time things did not turn out so well as they expected, they might turn round on the Government and say, You brought us here, you must do this and that for us. All those difficulties in the way of the Government must be fairly considered, and he thought if proper measures were put before the Government, and they could see their way to the adoption of them, from the feeling manifested by the Government of late, not saying anything about the past, they were quite anxious to do all they could for the improvement of the resources of India. He had no doubt that the Association felt very much obliged to Dr. Graham for bringing a subject of such very great importance before them, and he thought if Members of the Association who were conversant with the subject, who knew from their experience what the difficulties were which presented themselves to the Government, would make suggestions with a view of meeting those difficulties, great good might be done.

Mr. Gordon thought that considerable difficulties had been brought before the meeting which really did not exist. In the first place, it was the fact that the Government possessed, and had the right of giving, and on such terms as they might see fit, a very large quantity of hill land in the most eligible situations. He knew most of the situations which had been referred to by Dr. Graham; but he was not at all sure that, as a first experiment, those would be the most likely to succeed. It appeared to him that the most eligible situations for a first experiment were within a reasonable distance of the coast to which there was a more easy access. Colonization could never succeed if it required a continuous stimulus from the Government. The Government could only first hold out an inducement to Colonists to settle in the localities, and then directly the colonists settled there they would find it necessary for their welfare, as well as for their success, to cultivate a good understanding with the natives, and to procure their labour, for without the aid of native labour, either in agriculture or in manufactures, no English colony would ever succeed. The great point was the climate. His own opinion was that in well-selected hill districts Europeans could live in health, and bring up their families in health, and he was very much strengthened in that opinion from what he had heard.

Mr. Zoss, in allusion to the fear expressed by Dr. Graham, that unless Englishmen went out to colonize India, foreign colonists might flock to India *via* the Suez

Canal, thought it would be a great gain to India if a number of Europeans from various parts of the Continent could be attracted towards such localities as the lecturer had pointed out. Foreigners were very well satisfied to live under the laws administered in India. For the development of particular industries foreigners were more suitable than Englishmen. For instance, Englishmen were not much acquainted with the growth of silk, whereas in Italy, France, Malta, and other countries you had people accustomed to that branch of industry. In like manner, if those who were entrusted with the management of those large ironworks, costing 6000*l.*, had taken some of the Swedish ironworkers with them, he questioned whether that work would have been a failure. There need be no fear of attracting as many foreigners as could possibly be induced to go to India.

MR. KAZI SHAHABUDIN, in answer to the remarks of Dr. Graham pointing at the unskilfulness of the natives, referred to the many works constructed by natives at Delhi, Agra, and in various parts of the country, and also to the trade carried on by vessels between the Mauritius and Bombay, those vessels being manned entirely by natives.

MR. HYDE CLARKE stated that Dr. Campbell was obliged to leave, or he would have given his testimony as to forty or fifty years' experience in Darjeeling, where most of the practical difficulties had been solved.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that some other opportunity might occur to review the subject, when Dr. Campbell and others not present might be able to attend.

On the motion of Colonel FRENCH, seconded by Mr. GORDON, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Graham for his Paper.

MR. SAUNDERS moved that the meeting should be adjourned in order that there might be further discussion on the subject; but Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji suggested that it should be left to the Council.

In answer to a question by a gentleman present, Mr. GORDON stated that in the Assam district almost any quantity of exceedingly good land could be obtained in perpetuity on a payment to the Government of something like 4*d.* an acre, the present rule being that no one individual should receive above 500 acres.

On the motion of Mr. GORDON, a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman.

MEETING, FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, 1870.

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Paper was read by ILLUDUS PRICHARD, Esq., F.S.S., Barrister-at-Law :—

On the Relations between the Native States and the British Government.

ONE of the greatest authorities on British India, Malcolm, remarks, at p. 60, vol. ii., of his History, "that the complete success of the war against the Pindarries and Mahrattas led Lord Hastings to proclaim the paramount power of the British Government, and to constitute it the arbiter of all disputes and the conservator of the general peace of India. Such was the change of opinion in England that not a voice was raised against a measure the very contemplation of which a few years before had been denounced as a dream of ambition." That event, which ushered in a new era in the history of British India, brought us first into those relations with the native and independent States which it is my purpose in the present paper briefly to review. It is a subject but little understood in England, and too generally disregarded, I believe, in India, yet it is one whose importance cannot be overrated, for we shall be but poorly fulfilling the duties we took upon ourselves when we declared British rule the power paramount if we imagine that our efforts at successful administration are to be confined to that portion of India only which is bounded by the red line in our maps, and I shall have some suggestions to offer which I have reason to believe would be well received by those who are not the least interested parties, viz. the rulers and the wealthier classes of the independent States themselves.

A cursory glance at the map of India will show how large a portion of the con-

continent is still but indirectly affected by English government. Including the States which are called subsidiary and protected, an area of 690,361 square miles, containing a population of about 53,000,000, comes within the category of independent territory. This portion of the continent is split up into a vast number of petty sovereignties, each governed by its own system of administration under its chief or ruler, usually assisted by a council of nobles or ministry called collectively a Durbar. Attached to the courts of the largest and most important of these States is a British officer, denominated a Resident, who exercises the functions and enjoys the status of an envoy or representative of the British Crown. Formerly, the number of courts to which a Resident was thus attached was more numerous than at present. As a rule, under the existing system, the interests of the British Government in native States are entrusted to officers in the diplomatic service, holding the rank and status of political agent, who are under the orders and supervision of a superior officer appointed to overlook the diplomatic, or, as we call it in India, the political administration of a cluster of States extending over a large tract of territory. Thus, the Governor-General's agent for the States of Rajpootana superintends the whole of that vast region, extending almost from Ferozepore, on the Sutledge, lat. 31° north to 24° and long. 72° to 77° . In like manner the agent of the Governor-General in Central India has the supervision of an extensive area, containing, among others, the dominions of Scindia and Holkar and the Begum of Bhopal. The State of Hyderabad in the Deccan, better known as the Nizam's dominions, is one of the few remaining courts to which a Resident is still appointed. The distinction between the status and duties of the Resident and the political agent may be generally understood from the fact that the Resident corresponds direct with the Governor-General—that is, the Secretary of the Foreign Department—while the correspondence from the political agents passes through the channels of their immediate superior, the Governor-General's agent, on its way to the Foreign Office. In many instances, where an independent territory is isolated, and lies within British territory, as is the case, for instance, with the dominions of the Maharajah of Puttiala, the diplomatic relations with such territory are entrusted to the senior civil officer in charge of the adjoining British district. Thus there is no political agent attached to the court of the Maharajah of Puttiala, all diplomatic business being conducted by the Commissioner of Umballah. In some other places other arrangements are in force; but, as a general rule, the diplomatic service in India is conducted in the manner here described. These arrangements are sufficiently familiar to all who have resided in India; but as these remarks may reach some who have not any practical acquaintance with the system, I have thought it best to start with this brief description of it.

India, described from a native point of view, would present a very different picture from the India represented in blue books and official reports and the works of officially-inspired writers. And although it is well sometimes that we should know what others think of us, and see ourselves as others see us, a delineation from a native point of view of the results of British administration would not be altogether flattering to our natural pride. Such a picture, indeed, would have no more claim to be regarded as a true and faithful representation than a description of a Liberal administration in England as represented by a Conservative organ, or that of a Conservative administration as depicted by a Liberal organ. Nor would a Russian government care to read the history of the conquest of Poland and Circassia from the pen of a native of those countries. It is enough to state generally, that if Englishmen suppose the natives of India are in love with British administration they are very much mistaken. It would be hardly worth while to make the remark, except that a large class of writers have for years been in the habit of misrepresenting the real state of the case, and except for the obvious inference that the infusion of an independent and native element into the system of the administration is, if we would reconcile the natives to that administration, and lay the foundation of our Eastern empire on some surer basis than the tenure of the sword, an indispensable necessity.

But with reference to no department of the Government is this impression more mistaken and more mischievous than in relation to the administration of native States, not, indeed, as regards the details of that administration, which, in the case of independent territory, are nominally at least in the hands of the natural rulers of the people, but in the relation of those States to one another and to the Crown. The time has passed when we can look on these States, on the one hand, as independent sovereignties, whose relations with the Crown are to be governed by treaty, or, on the

other hand, as mere private estates entitled to the exercise, within certain limits, of their own laws. During the last quarter of a century, and notably within the last ten years, a great change has passed over India, and a greater change is coming, and if we shut our eyes to this, and continue the old system, efficient, perhaps, under the conditions which called it into existence, without regard to the new order of things, we shall run our ship upon the rocks. British India, by which I mean British dominion in India as distinct from the independent States, cannot afford to maintain for ever its present attitude towards the native princes. Even a network of railways, the construction of which is the very first step towards a healthy development of trade, cannot be completed under the existing system without endless interruptions, and all sorts of obstacles, which international treaties will be found a very inefficient instrument to control. While politically it is of the very utmost importance to England to secure not the alliance by treaty, but the hearty and cordial support and co-operation of the independent chiefs, who, as a rule, possess immense influence over their people, although, in some few instances, unhappily, oppression and misgovernment have produced a good deal of discontent. The time will come when the chimera of counteracting Russian influence in Central Asia by involving ourselves with foreign Asiatic powers will be abandoned as hopeless. It will be well if it be abandoned before experience has taught her lesson at the usual cost she charges for it. When that time has come English statesmen will see that our policy in India should be to consolidate our power and to develop well our railway system, so as to bring the most distant parts of our boundary into the closest possible connection with the seat of our resources, *viz.* with Great Britain.

The first step towards promoting the advancement of a country is to provide for its security, for until that is effected, resources which might be applied to the cultivation of the arts of peace, of education, and of trade, are necessarily wasted in the most profitless of all methods—the bottomless pit of military expenditure. As regards security from external aggression, I feel sure the time will come when England will awake to the fact that nature has provided the boundary of India with such bulwarks as perhaps no other country in the world possesses. We are occasionally deluged with pamphlets, articles, and books on the Central Asian question, the writers of which advocate all sorts of expedients to accomplish that which nature has already accomplished for us, if we would but use the means she has put into our hands. I have elsewhere shown that as regards our position to the West and North-west, that which has always hitherto been looked upon as an element of the greatest weakness, is in reality, if properly used, the source of our greatest strength. I allude to the wild and independent tribes inhabiting the mountain ranges that stretch from Huzara, in the north-eastern extremity of the Punjab, to the sea-coast of Sind. All communication with India from the North and West must be carried on through mountain defiles, which, if they were held with resolute determination by the mountaineers, and especially when backed by British power with its resources close at hand, would be absolutely and utterly impassable. With the hearty co-operation of the inhabitants of these mountain ranges, the gates of India, as they would really then become, might be so securely fastened that no power on earth could force them. Our Government, if it were wise, would look for security in the attachment and fidelity of these mountain tribes rather than in a vain attempt to counteract Russian influence in Turkestan by an alliance with some tottering dynasty beyond the border, and subsidizing some party in Afghanistan which to-day may be in possession of the throne and to-morrow fugitives. It may appear unreasonable to speak of the attachment and fidelity of races not unusually represented as fickle and treacherous. But the fact is, the character of these tribes differs in no very material respect from that of wild untamed mountaineers in other parts of the world, and experience has shown that they are remarkably amenable to personal influence.

This influence has been exercised before now by British officers, and might be attained again if the Government made a point of attaining it, and were very careful in selecting officers for the frontier posts who exhibited some special aptitude for a very difficult and peculiar class of duties. So in respect of the internal security of India. Nature has provided us with elements of the utmost possible strength politically, if we would only go the right way to avail ourselves of them; while, on the other hand, if we go the wrong way to work, they become an element of weakness to the last degree dangerous.

If in all the relations of life, and in the conduct of all political affairs, foresight is

a necessary prelude to success, it is especially so in dealing with a country like India, which the most superficial observer must be aware is passing through a transition stage, and passing rapidly, and Indian statesmen, if they could be induced to look beyond the immediate circle of affairs surrounding them, would realize the truth that if British dominion in the East is to be permanently secured, if we are ever to cast aside the leading-strings necessary to an infant power, and give India what she has never yet had—a national existence, and devote her resources to the development of commerce, and to advancement generally, it is only to be done by consolidating and cementing the independent States with British territory in such a way as to impart to the whole fabric that principle of unity—unity in interest and in feeling, which is the only real source of strength to an empire.

I have spoken of giving India a national existence. But those who have watched recent progress in the country are aware that she is rapidly acquiring for herself that which while it is England's interest to give, it may soon not be within her power to withhold. For many centuries India has presented an easy field to foreign conquest, from the absence of anything like a national feeling among the people. This result might be easily traced to its sources which lie pretty much on the surface of Indian history, but it would occupy too much of the limited time at my disposal for me to dwell upon it now. I think the experience of all who have recently studied the question will bear me out in what I say, that there is awakening throughout the vast population of the country a feeling of nationality—a consciousness of power and of the existence of political rights, such as we see in almost every civilized nation at the present day, more distinctly perhaps in Europe and America, and among people who possess facilities for the expression of thought, than in India where there is practically no press to foster and disseminate political opinion. But the heaven is at work, and its effects may not be the less sure from the lack of speed in their development.

It is the fashion to write and speak as if the only danger that was ever likely to threaten the British Indian empire must come from the same direction as that from which every successive wave of conquest, until the last, that has swept over Hindostan has emanated. But the truth is that with ordinary precautions in that direction we are safe. Our real danger lies where our real security lies, in the temper and disposition of the people, and more particularly of that very large section of the population which is only indirectly affected by British rule, *viz.* the independent States. We have read the lesson which 1857 ought to have taught us to but little effect, if we have not learnt this. Possessed of the hearty sympathy, co-operation, and support of the independent States, with our own territories well disposed, the British power in India might rest perfectly secure from any external aggression. Deprived of that co-operation, I do not say that British power would necessarily collapse, but I do say that it might tax inconveniently the resources of Great Britain to maintain it.

The value of the support afforded by each member of a confederation of States is in proportion to the inherent vigour enjoyed by each. But, whether in the treatment of an individual or a State, the surest way to repress all manly and vigorous qualities is to destroy the feeling of self-respect. The tendency of the present system, adopted with the independent States, is calculated to produce this result in a very marked manner. Independent chiefs never know how the British Government is going to treat them. At times it will conduct its policy towards them as if they were rulers of independent sovereignties connected with the Crown of England by treaty and alliance, and will rest the decisions on questions that arise on the principles of international law. It adopts this policy when it does not want to interfere with something that is being done, when it finds it convenient to hold aloof perhaps from a quarrel in which two parties are concerned, with both of whom it is deemed politic to keep on good terms; or when it wants to give some potentate, bent on self-destruction, rope enough wherewith he may accomplish that end; or when it does not want to press on the construction of a railroad which runs through native territory. At other times it interferes with the details of administration, takes on itself the duties of a policeman or a schoolmaster, and forcibly inculcates political morality. This caprice is to the last degree unfair to the States concerned, to the officers whose duty it is to carry it out, and to the Government itself, which thus transforms a faithful servant or useful ally into a timid and jealous dependent, incapable of any effort for his own advantage, or that of the sovereign power, because all self-respect has been crushed.

Another thing which tends to destroy all manly vigour is the system on which our

political agencies are carried on. These agencies consist usually of an officer of from ten to fifteen years' standing in the Indian army, with a large staff of clerks, writers, moonshees, and chuprassees—the class which collectively are called in India the *Amla*. The English official in India is dependent on this class, both in consequence of the difficulty of conducting business in the vernacular and from the absolute necessity of employing native agency in carrying out all details. The *Amla* are for the most part recruited from the lower class of Mahomedans and Hindoos, who have been educated in our Government schools and brought up in the unhealthy influence of our civil courts. Acute, cunning, intelligent, these men rapidly master the details of official work, and soon render themselves indispensable to their European superiors. They form the channel of communication between them and the outside world. They effectually bar all access to them save through channels provided by themselves or accredited to them. One of their number will almost always be found attached to every official of every grade in a confidential capacity, no matter what his proper office may be. Some men elect to this post their head clerk or moonshee, others confer the favour upon a non-commissioned officer of police; in other cases again the factotum will be the head domestic servant, promoted to what is called a *jemadar*, or head of the household. To the mischievous influence of the *Amla* are to be attributed nine-tenths of the abuses which render our system of administration so obnoxious to the people. The natives of India have a marvellous faculty of insinuating themselves into the regard or confidence of those whose regard and favour it is an object with them to win. In 1857, the instances of experienced officers being completely blinded by their misplaced confidence in their native favourites were so numerous as to pass into a proverb. And as in most points human nature in India is not otherwise constituted than elsewhere, it too often happens that one of the first things the native confidant does after winning his superior's confidence is to abuse it. Every Englishman of rank in India is surrounded by such a number of native employés that access to him is only to be gained by securing the favour of those who hold the keys, and a very considerable sum of money (to a poor man) must be expended in fees to servants and dependents before a native, unless he be a man of very high rank, can gain an interview with the "*huzoor*." It is partly owing to this that our system of administration in India comes to be held in so much disrespect; for, like all low-born men who are raised to power, these members of the *Amla* assume towards their fellow-countrymen all the offensiveness proverbially to be found in *Jacks-in-office*. There are few things that a native of respectability will not sooner undergo than exposure to the insolence and extortion of low-born though educated upstarts. Most of us know how extremely difficult it is to ensure anything like proper and respectful behaviour on the part of native servants, chuprassees, clerks, and the like, towards native gentlemen of rank who come to visit at our houses. And I know that this difficulty increases in proportion with the rank of the English official to whose house a native gentleman may come on a visit perhaps of mere ceremony.

An Englishman may gain some idea of the state of things by conceiving all judges, magistrates, cabinet ministers, and public officers generally, surrounded by the lower classes of a London population made outwardly respectable by education and decent clothes and installed in the subordinate departments of every public office in the land, and barring all access whatever, in public or in private life, to their superiors save through themselves.*

The plentiful crop of abuses which springs out of this system is nowhere more mischievous than in our relations with the native States. From the fact that the powers of a political agent are not accurately defined, his influence with the ruler of the State to which he is accredited will vary with the personal qualities of both. If the king be indolent and the agent be an active and ambitious man, fond of power, he becomes indirectly the chief ruling power in the State. That is to say, in concert with the minister, he will practically dispose of all the patronage of the Crown and influence all the details of the administration. Even if the character of the chief is not such as to throw all the power into the hands of the political agent, yet the influence of the latter, by means of the *darbar* or ministry, any one of whom he can generally get removed if so disposed, is so great that his court, that is his residence, becomes the very hotbed of intrigue. I have been sometimes unable to repress a blush

* For some idea of the baneful influence of the *Amla*, and the wholesale corruption and oppression exercised by the class, see a little book entitled '*The Revelations of an Orderly*,' published a few years ago at Benares, and replete with lessons of the utmost value to every European official in India.

of shame at hearing the ministers of independent States, whose sovereigns perhaps reckon their pedigrees up to a time when the ancestors of the oldest royal families in Europe had not begun to emerge from obscurity, nay, in some cases, the chiefs themselves, gravely discussing the amount of pressure, favourable or unfavourable, which might be anticipated from back-stairs influence brought to bear on a political agent. With the fullest confidence in the integrity of our own countrymen holding functions of responsibility, we may afford to disregard the calumnious reports and accusations freely circulated among the natives. But native opinion is valuable as indicating the existence of some general and prevalent belief, and it is only natural, with a code of morality altogether different from ours, the natives should attribute to their own countrymen in the first place, and in the next to their English superiors, vices which long experience and tradition have taught them to look for in every phase of life with which they are familiar. That large sums of money, however, have been amassed in native States by subordinate employes in political agencies is a matter of public notoriety. The opinion of some of our late foreign secretaries, Sir Cecil Beadon, for instance, on this subject would be valuable. But it is less with the fact itself than with the general belief in it that I am dealing. This much is certain, that the system is just that under which such abuses are most likely to flourish, and it would be a miracle if they did not.

The tendency which such a state of things must have to crush out all self-respect in the rulers of independent States, and to foster all sorts of abuses, is sufficiently obvious; but this tendency would be comparatively innocuous were it not for another principle in operation which communicates, as it were, vital force to the elements of political mischief that might otherwise lie dormant, just as in the case of cholera or other epidemics the germs of disease may be latent in the soil till some predisposing cause or favourable condition of the atmosphere supplies the force which is wanting to call them into activity. The very essence of intrigue is secrecy. Cases are constantly arising where the interference of the political agent or his superior officer, or of the Government itself, is called on to decide between the claims of conflicting parties. In such cases, siege is laid to the political agent. The parties interested strain every nerve to set in motion all the machinery of intrigue which Asiatics understand so much better how to use than Englishmen; to corrupt all the channels of communication, and to represent facts in a light favourable to their own views. English people, as a rule, have very little idea of the intricate and complex web of misrepresentation which Asiatic cunning and acuteness will always weave around the claims of contending parties to a suit. Even judicial inquiry, where the case undergoes the sifting which judicial inquiry alone is calculated to afford, is very often inadequate to secure the ends of justice; yet it frequently happens that in important cases, where heavy interests are at stake, where an immense mass of oral and documentary evidence has to be weighed and examined, a political agent, who has had no experience in conducting judicial inquiries, is called on to adjudicate.

Or he may be required to report on some dispute arising between his own State and another, where, from the nature of the case and the circumstances by which he is surrounded, it is almost impossible for him to take a strictly impartial view, his prejudices being naturally enlisted on the side of the State with whose interests, from force of habit and association, he has become in a great measure identified. He makes a private report to his superior, and his superior makes a private report to the Government, and the Government act on that report. I say private, for there is no channel of publicity, nor are the parties concerned allowed to know what facts are represented to the political agent or in what light those facts are represented to the Government; or if the contents of these reports are communicated at all, it is only as a matter of favour and not of right, and then perhaps not until the Government has recorded its decision upon what may be after all little better than *ex-parte* views conveyed through the secret channels of the Foreign Office.

To such an extent was this principle carried out under the old East India Company, and very possibly the same system may be existing still, that the Secret Committee of the India House, consisting of a President, and I believe two members, were actually bound by oath not to reveal to any one, even to a member of the Board of Directors, anything that came before them in their capacity as members of that Committee. An amusing instance of the effects of this system has been related to me. Many years ago, when the project of establishing overland communication with India was first mooted, a survey was made of a portion of the country through which

the then proposed Euphrates Valley route was to run. During the survey operations a very interesting and valuable relic was discovered, valuable for its great antiquity and from its having been found in that part of the world which is generally looked upon as the cradle of the human race—the first seat of civilization and empire. It was a golden mask or representation of the human face. This interesting curiosity, which might worthily have found a place in the British Museum, was sent home by the officer in charge of the survey, whose reports were addressed to the Secret Committee of the India House. The golden mask accompanied these reports, and was duly lodged in the archives of the Secret Committee, where it remained for years, the members of the Committee being prevented by their oath of secrecy from revealing its existence. It was eventually discovered a second time by my informant, who had become a member of that Committee, and who rightly judged that so interesting a relic ought not to be locked up for ever among dusty official records. I must confess that its subsequent history proved that the jealous custody of the secret department was not altogether thrown away. The mask was placed in the Museum of the India House; and during the transfer to Westminster was stolen.

The effects, however, of the present secret inquisitorial system of conducting the political or diplomatic relations of the native States is most disastrous. It results in an utter want of security among that large section of the Indian community who fall under this category. There is no open tribunal to which they can appeal. If assailed by secret intrigue—and the whole atmosphere of a native court is one of intrigue—their only resource is to use the same weapon in defence as that which is wielded in attack. Intrigue must be met by intrigue. Documents which cannot be obtained openly and through public channels must be got at by private and surreptitious means. And the Foreign Department, with all its subordinate agencies and ramifications, becomes a sort of vast private inquiry office—a most prolific field for abuses of every kind—the most unhealthy system that could be introduced into the administration of any country. The result is, that while honest men cannot feel secure, no rogue loses hope of accomplishing by intrigue, ends which he could never hope to accomplish except by the use of instruments unknown where public interests are secured by the ordinary safeguards.

The remedy which I suggest for all these abuses is one that would be hailed I know by many, and I believe by all the chiefs and heads of native society in India as the greatest possible boon. It is an expedient which has been several times suggested under the old régime of the Indian Government by one of the most experienced of the old Board of East India Directors, and for many years a member of the House of Commons, and who, during a long and most useful public career, has many times been called upon in the course of duty to stand up for rights and privileges, political or otherwise, overridden by maladministration or official neglect. I allude to Colonel Sykes. And the measure which has suggested itself to me, and which has before now suggested itself to him, which I have been assured by many natives of rank and influence and discernment would be hailed as a real blessing by all who would come under its operation, is the formation of an impartial international tribunal. I am forced to use the word international, although it very inadequately conveys the idea I want to impart, because there is no other expression in our language which can be applied to the unique and exceptional relations of the native States of India towards the British Government. A recent writer in India, Major Evans Bell, remarks that the quasi-independent condition of the native States is a political feature known and recognized in Europe. But I cannot bring myself to accede entirely to this proposition, nor can I call to mind any instance in ancient or modern history which affords a parallel to these relations, that I venture to call unique and exceptional, in which these States stand towards one another and towards the Crown of England. The word international is an objectionable one because it calls up in the European mind the idea of some measure involving very complex interests, and requiring a large and expensive diplomatic machinery to carry it out. In reference to the independent States of India, it means of course a tribunal which shall administer justice between States whose sovereigns are amenable to no English court of law. And in administering justice on the broad principles of equity which commend themselves to the reason of all mankind, between States that are called independent but are not really so, the tribunal I propose would be international in a sense as distinct from municipal. And the justice so administered *inter gentes* would be, so far as the separate States of India are separate nationalities, international. It would necessitate no new code of law,

no revision or alteration of treaties. As it is, the British Government, as Power paramount, is necessarily the referee in all disputes and differences that arise; and besides this, it constitutes itself a sort of police magistrate on a very extended scale, and exercises jurisdiction in criminal matters when called upon to do so for the sake of preserving the public peace, or punishing grave breaches of the laws of humanity or gross misrule. Formerly such offences were made the pretext for annexation, now they are punished by other ways—by loss of territory or privileges, or dethronement. But in all cases there is under the existing system no tribunal to try either an offender against public morality or a disputed claim. And as long as there is no tribunal and no machinery by which the adjudicators can arrive at the truth, it is obvious that very grave errors may be committed, especially under a system such as that I have briefly sketched in the preceding portion of these remarks. The experience of mankind has fully shown that in no case where there are conflicting interests to be decided upon, where a charge of aggression upon the rights of others is made on one side and denied on the other, where disputed facts have to be proved by the statements of eye-witnesses and collateral evidence, is it possible to arrive at the truth without bringing both parties before a third, confronting and comparing their statements, and hearing what has to be alleged on both sides. Even in communities but just emerged from barbarism we invariably find the institution of a tribunal of some kind to adjudicate between contending parties. There is always some machinery, however crude and imperfect, for the inquiry which precedes the administration of justice. The history of the whole civilized world in ancient or modern times affords, I believe, no parallel instance of the existence of a system like that which prevails in India, where what is practically the ruling power administers civil and criminal law, beyond strictly British territory, without providing the means for an open investigation at which both parties are fairly represented. It is a remnant of the old *régime* when political affairs, as they are called, that is, disputes between native States themselves or between them and the East India Company, were purposely wrapt in secrecy and mystery in order that the policy of annexation, another word for robbery and spoliation, might be carried out when convenient.

As to the constitution of the proposed tribunal, it is not necessary that I should say much. Were the principle once admitted, the means of carrying it into practice would very soon present themselves. The first thing would be to ensure partiality, and I believe the heads of the native States themselves—for it would be impossible for them all to be represented in it—would prefer that the adjudicators should be Englishmen. It should be presided over by a judge of one of the High Courts, or a civilian of high standing and judicial experience, or a professionally-trained lawyer, in order that the weight and value of evidence might be subjected to those tests which are familiar only to minds that have undergone legal training. The members of the Court might consist of experienced officers in military or civil employ, or the diplomatic service. Such a Court would only have to assemble perhaps once a year, so that the work entailed by it need not press very heavily upon officials already sufficiently burdened with public duties. But in the constitution of such a tribunal it would be necessary not to lose sight of the main features, *viz.* impartiality and independence. In the majority of cases that would come before it, the Government itself would probably be one of the parties, and I believe it will be received as an indisputable axiom, that no man is fitted to be a judge in his own cause. All who know anything of public feeling in India are aware of the very great respect in which, from the earliest times, the old Supreme Court was held. Once only in the history of India have the annals of the old Supreme Court recorded, to the disgrace of British honour, the prostitution of the law to the basest of political manoeuvres. The respect in which the old Supreme Court was held depended on the confidence which was felt by all classes in a tribunal which was in one sense above the Executive Government,—in that it was independent of it, and when the Government appeared before it in the character of a suitor, its claims were weighed in the scale of even-handed justice. The High Courts which succeeded the old Supreme Court have, I believe, maintained the high character enjoyed by the former institution. It is only the native States and the feudatory nobles who are debarred by the present system from access to any such fount of justice.

With such a tribunal as that I have suggested in existence, while the influence for good of political agents remained intact, the influence for evil of the *Amla*—the curse of the country—would be in a great measure removed. . The chiefs and their minis-

ters would be no longer liable to become the victims of some court cabal, and the sovereigns of independent States would feel what they do not feel now—that their position was secure.

I am conscious that I have done but very little justice to this important subject. I cannot, perhaps, better conclude these brief remarks than by quoting the same high authority to whom I have already once alluded, and who, in a great measure, endorses the opinions I have expressed. Colonel Sykes thus writes, after regretting that the state of his health prevents him from being present here this evening:—

“I should have been glad to have expressed, at the reading of your paper, my opinion on the relations between native princes and the Government of India. In the Court of Directors of the East India Company I repeatedly expressed my opinion that there should be a tribunal, independently of the Government of India, to decide between the Paramount power and the feudatory. In the case of civil wrongs, every native of India can appeal to the Privy Council for redress, and, in the case of political acts, which may, and often do, involve personal wrongs, I do not see why the same tribunal should not receive appeals and pass judgment upon them.”

Political acts, as Colonel Sykes says, may and do often involve personal wrongs; and it is owing to the misuse of the words “independent” and “international,” which in reality in their strict sense do not apply to the native States, that this truth has been overlooked and forgotten, and no means of redress has ever been provided for the remedy of these wrongs. Another mistake which is very constantly made arises from our habit of taking notice only of large territorial divisions, some of which include a great number of native States. Thus, Bundelcund includes some 35; Rajpootana, 18; the Hill States, 22; Indore includes 9, and so on, making altogether 168 petty sovereignties or chieftainships. The aggressive habits of Indian chiefs and princes is a theme familiar to every writer and reader of Indian history, and it is impossible but that among a community so constituted there should constantly arise invasions of right, breaches of promise and breaches of contracts, injuries and torts,—in fact, all the conditions which in every civilized country have necessitated the institution of tribunals to provide a remedy for every wrong. You spend tens of thousands annually in the transport of troops to India, you expend tens of thousands more in the purchase of the *material* of war, you are spending ten millions in the construction of barracks and military fortifications; while you withhold from the chiefs of States containing fifty-three millions of people, that which it is the first duty of a government to provide—Justice.

Mr. DADABHAI read a letter from General Sir LE GRAND JACOB, as follows:—

“DEAR MR. DADABHAI,

“The subject of your note is too important for me to do it justice in the short letter that my present health permits me to send you. It is one on which I have thought and written much, and I greatly regret my inability to attend at the East India Association meeting to-morrow, for it is far easier to criticize, whether approvingly or otherwise, than to write what may be pertinent without knowing the character of the paper that Mr. Prichard has prepared for us.

“I am sorry not to have read his work, to which you refer, but you know how dependent blindness has made me; it would have been a guide as to the opinions likely to be expressed by him.

“We have hitherto had no fixed policy regulating the ‘relations between the native States and the British Government,’ and the consequence is that they have never known what our objects were or what to depend on. We have literally played fast and loose with them. For instance, the same Government that would do nothing to suppress abuses, on the principle of non-interference, has considered it proper to annihilate them, either for mis-government, as in Oude, or, as in Sattara, on the plea of the so-called ‘*law of lapse*,’ however well governed, as Sattara was admitted to be by the very men who voted for its extinction.

“Who can wonder that under such a system encouragement was given to the perpetuation of abuses on the one hand, and on the other that advice tendered by the agents of Government at native courts should have been fruitless.

“I trust this unjust and unstatesmanlike system has been buried with the victims it created, and that henceforward the noble Proclamation of the Queen on assuming the direct administration of India will be upheld as its Magna Charta.

"I have always strenuously advocated the rights of the native States, but am by no means an advocate for non-interference. These States owe their continuance to the presence of the British power; were it withdrawn they would fall to pieces, either by internal dissension or external attack. Some Runjeet Sing or Hyder Ali would arise—probably dozens of them—to break up present boundaries and change the political condition of India, each in his turn to be subverted by some stronger arm. The British Government, like the keystone of an arch, keeps all beneath it unmoved; but if, in virtue of the stability thus given, princes are allowed to do with their subjects what, but for us, they would never dare, or daring would suffer for, by abstaining from interference we become a party to the wrongs done. Our Government ought to proclaim boldly that whilst it will support the native powers in all their just rights, that of adoption being pre-eminently one, it will not allow abuses that its protective power alone permitted to be carried out with impunity.

"The right of interference being, then, an essential accompaniment of our position, its application should be strictly guarded against vexatious exercise. This is a most delicate and intricate subject, and broad limits can alone be laid down. The general rule should be, that due regard must be paid to the rights of property and to the feelings and usages of the people, and every effort should be made to convince the native rulers that they hold their position quite as much in trust for the benefit of their subjects as from hereditary or other title. In carrying out this view Government ought, I think, to look upon the youthful heir to a Gadee as somewhat resembling a ward in Chancery, and insist on his being trained so as to fit him for his future responsibilities.

"It is essential to the well-being of India that native rulers should look on the British Government as a protective, and not a destroying power, and every effort should be made to establish a conviction that would enable us to do with ease, and to the satisfaction of all, what now can only be effected by force.

"It may be asked, How can the right of interference by the paramount power be exercised without destroying the confidence of native rulers in the desire of Government to maintain their prerogatives, which alone can secure their co-operation? It never can be, so long as the suspicion exists of such interference being made on selfish grounds, and this suspicion must continue, if we absorb an entire State in consequence of the maladministration of any particular ruler, instead of limiting our power to its reformation in consonance with the wishes of the people, and, as far as possible, respecting the dynasty which they naturally revere.

"It would be too sanguine to expect that the evil effects of our past treatment of native States can be obliterated in a generation, but I know no people more amenable to moral influence than those of India."

MR. DADABHAI.—The subject which Mr. Prichard has brought before us to-night is, as he has shown, of such a character and importance that it requires to be treated in a very careful and delicate manner, and he has treated it so. He has shown an ability and a knowledge of the subject which we were prepared to expect from our acquaintance with his work lately published; and I am sure we all feel much indebted to him for his valuable observations. I have paid some attention to this subject for a considerable time past, and I am anxious to speak at some length upon it; but as I have no doubt that when Mr. Prichard's paper has been printed in the *Journal* and circulated amongst the members, this really very important subject will receive a much fuller discussion than we can expect this evening, I shall propose an adjournment. At the same time I shall be very glad if any other gentleman will make any remarks which may suggest themselves to him in connection with the paper to which we have listened with such very great interest.

MR. THOMAS BRIGGS.—I rise to second the proposition made by my friend, Mr. Dadabhai, that the paper be printed and circulated among the members, with a view to an adjourned discussion. Not having been in India I cannot speak as an authority upon the subject dealt with by Mr. Prichard. I can only say that his paper is a very able and a very exhaustive one. It reminds me very much of what has already been said and done upon the same subject, speaking abstractedly, with reference to the principles of political economy generally. After hearing this paper I am more convinced than ever that the policy laid down and attempted to be carried out by Lord Canning, when he was Governor-General of India, was a policy which would lead to an immense reform in the departments treated of by Mr. Prichard. After what we have

heard this evening we can scarcely be surprised at the natives of India not being in love with the British rule. And here again I may say that the policy initiated by Lord Canning was such a policy as would necessarily in a very few years have brought the British people, especially the masses, into harmony with the masses of the Indian people, and would have gained the affection of the people of India for the Government of this country. I need not say that, after the affections of 150 millions of people had been secured for Government, all hostile aggressions from Russia or the other sources referred to might have been treated with contempt. I agree very much with what Mr. Prichard said as to human nature being much the same in India as it is in all other parts of the world; for until you can find some kind of human nature which can do without meat, drink, washing, and lodgings, you must admit that human nature is much the same everywhere. Now meat and drink are things which the natives of India have been unable to secure for themselves, and have died in consequence by millions in the course of a few weeks or months. I was very much surprised to hear that the British Government interferes with the government of the native princes to the extent that it does. It is almost astonishing to think that it could have existed in India so long as it has under such conditions. With these remarks, Sir, I beg leave to second the motion.

MR. H. PESTONJEE.—I must confess this is the first time that I have heard from the lips of an Englishman that there are defects in the administration of India by the English. Mr. Prichard has pointed out in his paper many of these defects: he has shown that India is not so well governed as many people in this country, and some in India, suppose. There is no doubt that the question he has treated is of very great importance. Now, while pointing out several defects, he has suggested a remedy, but I do not think that that remedy can be easily carried into effect; for the simple reason that although an international tribunal may do very well in theory, it will be very difficult to carry it out in practice. What principles are to govern this international tribunal? The principles of common law? of equity? or of natural justice? Some persons hold that the principles of natural justice are the same all over the world. I, myself, doubt that assertion. I believe that in different countries different principles of natural justice prevail. Then how, under such circumstances, is the proposed tribunal to be formed, and by what law is it to be governed? How are native interests to be represented in that tribunal? In order to answer these questions we must have some code of laws established, and when that code of laws comes to be framed, the question arises, by whom is it to be framed? I say, therefore, that an international tribunal, though it sounds well, and seems theoretically sufficient to protect all interests, will be a very difficult thing to carry into effect.

MR. NASMYTH.—I should very much have preferred if some gentleman had preceded me by objecting to the paper, for it always makes a discussion much more lively when both sides are represented; and if it were permitted, in a room of this kind, for some one to object to a paper simply on a species of forensic principle, in order to call out our true sentiments, I think it would be a great advantage to such a meeting as this. Indeed, the observations made with considerable intelligence by the gentleman who spoke last are very valuable; because, while he says that there is a defect which is known to all intelligent men, whether native Indians or English, who are acquainted with the real state of affairs in India, he admits that in theory this impartial international tribunal "sounds well." Therefore I take it that he does not object to the tribunal, if it can be brought into existence upon proper principles; his objection has reference only to the difficulty which attends its institution. I do not think, therefore, that he would be very hostile to the attempt, at least. I am perfectly certain that the relation which exists between England and India is one of the most important subjects to which both the native Indians and the English can turn their attention. They are two of the most influential, and, I may say, two of the most intellectual nations upon the face of the earth, and I have no hesitation whatever in adding, that if a proper understanding can be brought about between the native princes and the higher orders of native gentlemen and the English of every grade, a union will exist which will enable this country to maintain the position which it has maintained for so many years greatly to its own glory, and which will also be a positive and permanent advantage to India; for I think I shall have the sanction of the Indian gentlemen present in saying, that, provided that everything is done that can and ought to be done by Britain, India has very little just cause to complain of our sharing with them the country of their birth. It has been my pleasure to meet in

our Inn numbers of Indian gentlemen from time to time, and I express not only my own opinion, but that of many other English gentlemen, when I say that I have more pleasure in their society than in the society of others who are not Englishmen; that is to say, without making any odious distinctions or mentioning other races, we can find in Indian gentlemen that which is congenial to our own spirit. Mr. Prichard has alluded to one matter which I think is really one of the greatest grievances that can possibly exist, and that is this wretched system of *Amla*. As long as that exists, in any shape or form, it is absolutely impossible for the two nations to feel that they are in a proper relation; because, while an Indian gentleman feels that he cannot get to and freely communicate with an English gentleman, and while an Englishman feels that he cannot freely communicate with a native gentleman, there can never be that confidence which must necessarily exist if satisfactory relations are to be maintained. Looking at it from a selfish point of view, I am perfectly certain that we shall secure our own interests by studying as closely as we can the interests of the higher orders of natives, and I believe that they will render us every assistance in their power to carry out those institutions which shall be beneficial to them and to ourselves conjointly. I cannot resume my seat without thanking Mr. Prichard for his exceedingly able and lucid paper.

CHAIRMAN.—I think Mr. Dadabhai's proposition that there should be an adjourned discussion upon this most important subject, will commend itself to everyone here present, because there are not here some gentlemen whom I should have wished to see, and in whose presence a discussion of this nature could have been most advantageously carried on. If we had seen here some of those political agents and Residents who have lately returned from India, or who have returned some time ago, having served under the old *regime*; and if we could see also here some of those gentlemen in the Civil Service who have been rather celebrated for taking up views opposed to the interests of the native States, then we should have a discussion worthy of the name, because then we should hear the views of parties who have formed, after long consideration, opinions which are directly opposed to one another. As it is more than probable that I shall not be present at the next discussion, in consequence of my parliamentary duties, I will not forego this opportunity of saying a few words upon a subject which I have so much at heart as the interest of the native princes. I may mention that the very first political appointment I held in India was to act for General Jacob, whose letter has been read to-night, and from that time I continued in the political service of India, and have such experience as my comparatively short residence in India could give. The result of that experience is certainly a conviction that the native princes have on many occasions been misjudged by the Government, whose interest it was to judge them justly. That, no doubt, has happened sometimes, I might say invariably, through the influence of the *Amla* who have been mentioned in the paper and in the discussion. The gentleman who spoke last, and who spoke with very great wisdom, is, perhaps, unacquainted with India, and, therefore, he made a suggestion which I believe to be impracticable. He was of opinion that the *Amla* should be swept away; but that is, of course, perfectly impracticable, as we who have been in India know. We must have our moonshoes, we must have our native clerks and *chuprassees*; but it is the duty of every English officer placed at a native court, to give his utmost attention to this matter, and not to allow these men to have an undue influence. I myself have seen the most injurious effects from that influence; but I believe that where an English officer has conscientiously at heart the welfare of the native prince, and where he is well acquainted with the language, and where he is zealous and untiring in the discharge of his duties, there the *Amla* have very little power to do harm. However, be that as it may, we certainly have not the means of sweeping away these native *Amla*. All we can do is to be upon our guard; but the great point is this—the English Government has declared in the celebrated Proclamation issued by Lord Stanley, that from henceforth it does not desire to annex the territories of a native prince. It has declared that it will respect the rights of the native princes; and if we are conscientiously desirous of carrying out that policy, certainly the native princes need have no fear. Once let it be thoroughly understood throughout India that in case of such an unfortunate event occurring as a native prince not being worthy to discharge his royal duties, even then the Government shall be transferred to some more worthy member of his family, and I think there will be no apprehension on the part of the native princes of injustice from our Government. With regard to this particular question of an international tribunal, I need not say that it is extremely difficult to carry out; at

the same time, I do not see why the Governor-General, who must be supreme on all matters connected with our policy, should not refer questions of evidence to a High Court. One of the most unhappy cases of injustice to a native prince in my experience was one which entirely depended on evidence. The evidence had to be judged by an officer who was unacquainted with the native language, and who, therefore, proceeded upon reasoning which was altogether beside the mark. In cases of evidence, then, I think a reference might very properly be made to high English law officers, but the final decision must, of course, remain with the Governor-General. It is impossible for me, in the absence of those whom I expected and hoped to have seen here, to carry this discussion farther; but I cannot conclude without saying that, during my whole career, I have most determinedly endeavoured to support the interests of the native princes, and I feel persuaded that I have done right in doing so. Those native princes with whom I have been acquainted have been well deserving of the friendship, and I believe, although some of them have suffered, that they are really full of loyalty to the Government of this country.

MR. DADABHAI.—I am afraid that my friend, Mr. Pestonjee, who pointed out what he considered would be a difficulty in establishing an international tribunal, did not quite understand what it was that Mr. Prichard proposed. I think what Mr. Prichard meant to say was this:—There arise, from time to time, between the British Government and the native States, or between the native States among themselves, questions either of jurisdiction or of property, or of some political consideration, upon which at present the political agent makes his report, and the Government sometimes commits itself by passing a resolution upon that report. The party against whom the decision is given has no opportunity of coming face to face with the agent, or with the other side, and giving an explanation, or making his defence; the case being, therefore, completely judged *ex parte*. Now, if a tribunal were established to deal with such cases, it would not require a code of laws—ordinary common sense would be sufficient. The native States would be quite satisfied if the tribunal were composed of men in whom they had entire confidence, such as the Judges of the High Court, or eminent civilians, and if they took up the case, and examined the evidence on both sides thoroughly, just as a judge would, and after that gave their decisions, the Governor-General or the India Office being supreme. I think the tribunal which Mr. Prichard meant was something of the kind. It is not a case like that between Britain and America, or Britain and France. If the native States have any grievance against one another, they can only look for justice or redress to the paramount power. They cannot raise their hands against each other; they are, very properly and for the good of India, prevented from doing that by the paramount power of the British Government. The system at present existing to settle such cases is a system full of mischief, exposing the Government to unnecessary odium, and creating difficulties among the native States. With regard to the Amlas, I think Mr. Nasmyth merely meant, that some system should be adopted by which the mischievous effects which he had described as arising from the character of these Amlas should be, if possible, counteracted. The Chairman has very truly pointed out one remedy, and there is another important one besides, which I shall speak of on another occasion, that if only the English officials will try to understand the natives themselves, giving free access to them, instead of being very exclusive, and to be approached only with difficulty, there will be no difficulty in getting rid of the influence of the Amlas, which is so much, but I think to an undue extent, complained of: in fact, by the present system, power is placed in the hands of those who have only learnt a little English, but have not had that complete education to understand how to exercise it beneficially and honestly. I do not think Mr. Nasmyth meant that the whole system of subordinate service should be removed, but that the evils of it might be remedied by giving access to the natives, and that remedy lies in the hands of the English gentlemen themselves.

MR. PRICHARD.—I think that Mr. Dadabhai has met the difficulty which was raised as to the practicability of the suggestion I put forward. He has expressed exactly the idea that I had in my own mind, and if an instance were wanted where such a tribunal has been for a time established, I could point to one or two in the recent history of India. For example, Deewan Moolraj was accused of complicity in the murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Captain Anderson, in 1848. After the war of 1849 was over he was arraigned before a tribunal. There was a regular trial, and he was not convicted of this crime, or punished in any way until his guilt had been brought home to him in the only way in which, as I maintain, guilt can justly be

brought home to any man, namely, after a fair and open trial, where both parties are represented, and the evidence is duly weighed by impartial judges. A similar tribunal was instituted after the mutiny, in regard to the King of Delhi. If there was ever a case in which the nation may be said to have been thoroughly provoked, it was in the case of the King of Delhi, but there justice was allowed to take its course calmly and properly. A tribunal was assembled, and I never heard a word breathed against its impartiality by any one, native or European. The King of Delhi was arraigned before that tribunal, and he had a full opportunity of making his defence, and saying what he had to say to exculpate himself from the charges brought against him. If I were to look back farther into history, I should be able to quote other cases besides these two, but these are sufficient to show that in certain extraordinary cases no difficulty has been found in working this system, and I do not suppose that there would be any difficulty in establishing it upon a permanent basis. The cases I have cited were cases where a criminal charge was brought against individual persons, but by far the greater number of cases which arise are cases of, perhaps, quite as much importance and more difficulty; they are cases where claims arise between different States. I will briefly allude to one, where a tribunal of this kind was necessary; but I wish it to be understood that I express no opinion as to the merits of the case one way or the other. About three years ago, Luckdeor Sing started from the territory of Jeypore, at the head of a very large body of men, and made a regular raid into the Ulwar territory, burning villages, slaughtering men, and carrying off cattle. This went on for some days, and an immense amount of mischief was done. Notice was brought to the Maharajah of Ulwar that his territory was being devastated as if in time of war. He sent off to the political authorities, and by-and-by the matter got into the papers, and orders were sent to Luckdeor Sing to come back, and he retired to the Jeypore territory. Then the Maharajah of Ulwar applied to the Maharajah of Jeypore for compensation for the devastation. His claim amounted to a great many lacs of rupees. Thereupon, the Maharajah of Jeypore brought a counter-claim against the Maharajah of Ulwar for a similar sum. There were, then, these two heads of large and important States at issue. Who was to decide the question between them? If there had been such a tribunal as I have suggested, the whole of the evidence could have been brought before the judges, and adjudicated upon by them. For this purpose no code of laws, no books of common law or equity, would be necessary; you would only want men to exercise their common sense and their sense of justice, to weigh the evidence, and to decide which party was to blame. In the absence of such a tribunal, this case was most unsatisfactorily settled. After a great deal of private correspondence with the Foreign Office, it was patched up in a way which left a sore in the mind of one, at least, of the parties, who felt that injustice had been done to him, which will rankle in his breast as long as he lives. If such a tribunal as I propose were in existence, or could be called into existence when necessity arose, cases of this kind could be settled satisfactorily to both parties; and I am quite certain that, if the matter were cordially entered into, it would be found practicable to carry out such a system. I have had a good deal of conversation with the natives of India upon this subject, and when I have mentioned the matter to them, they have said, "If you can succeed in getting this done, the blessing of the country will descend upon you, for it is above all things needed."

CHAIRMAN.—The instance which has been given by Mr. Prichard is a very happy one. Here we have two of the most important princes in India, the Maharajahs of Jeypore and Ulwar, concerned in a most serious dispute. Now it so happened that after the mutiny, Lord Canning gave his especial thanks to Scindiah, to the Rajah of Jeypore, and to the Rajah of Ulwar, so that these two princes were amongst the most distinguished for their loyalty to our Government. It is clear that it would be in the interest of the British Government to have some tribunal to which to refer a dispute of that kind. That would remove from the minds of the princes of the native States, any suspicion of undue partiality on the one hand, and it would relieve us of a very painful investigation on the other. I am quite sure that the princes would have complete confidence in the decision of such tribunal; therefore, although I do not pretend to give any positive opinion upon the subject, I certainly think it is one which deserves most careful and complete consideration.

MR. SIMMONS.—May I be allowed to ask whether the Governor-General has not the power at present to institute a tribunal such as has been proposed in cases like those referred to by Mr. Prichard?

Mr. PRICHARD.—No doubt the Governor-General in Council has the power to do it—in fact he must have done it in the two cases I have mentioned, of the Deewan Moolraj and the King of Delhi—but the misfortune is that he does not exercise that power. I wish to see a system introduced, either by Act of Parliament or by some orders issued by the India Office, requiring that he should exercise that power in these cases.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Prichard for his able and interesting paper was proposed by Mr. Nasmyth, and very cordially seconded by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR INDIAN SERVICES.

REGULATIONS FOR THE OPEN COMPETITION OF 1870.

N.B.—The Regulations are liable to be altered in future years.

1. On Tuesday, April 5th, 1870, and following days, an Examination of Candidates will be held in London. At this Examination not fewer than Candidates will be selected, if so many shall be found duly qualified. Of these, will be selected for the Presidency of Bengal, [for the Upper Provinces, and for the Lower Provinces,] for that of Madras, and for that of Bombay.*—Notice will hereafter be given of the days and place of Examination.

2. Any natural-born subject of Her Majesty, who shall be desirous of entering the Civil Service of India, will be entitled to be examined at such Examination, provided he shall, on or before the 1st of February, 1870, have transmitted to the Civil Service Commissioners, London, S.W.:†—

- (a) A certificate of his birth, showing that his age on the 1st March, 1870, will be above seventeen years and under twenty-one years.
- (b) A certificate, signed by a physician or surgeon, of his having no disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity unfitting him for the Civil Service of India;‡
- (c) Satisfactory proof of good moral character;‡
- (d) A statement of those of the branches of knowledge hereinafter enumerated in which he desires to be examined.

3. In any case in which a doubt may arise as to the eligibility of a Candidate in respect of age, health, or character, such inquiries as may be necessary will be instituted by the Civil Service Commissioners.

4. The Examination will take place only in the following branches of knowledge:§—

	Marks.
English Composition	500
History of England—including that of the Laws and Constitution	500
English Language and Literature	500
Language, Literature, and History of Greece	750
" " " Rome	750
" " " France	375
" " " Germany	375
" " " Italy	375
Mathematics (pure and mixed)	1250
Natural Science; that is (1) Chemistry, including Heat, (2) Electricity and Magnetism, (3) Geology and Mineralogy, (4) Zoology, (5) Botany	1000

* * The total (1000) marks may be obtained by adequate proficiency in any two or more of the five branches of science included under this head.

* The number of appointments to be made, and the number in each Presidency, &c., will be announced hereafter.

† The proper form of application may be obtained from the Office of the Civil Service Commissioners.

‡ Evidence of health and character must bear date not earlier than the 1st January, 1870.

§ It should be understood that Candidates are at liberty to name, at their pleasure, any or all of these branches of knowledge, and that no subjects are obligatory.

	Marks.
Moral Sciences; that is, Logic, Mental, and Moral Philosophy ..	500
Sanskrit Language and Literature	500
Arabic Language and Literature	500

5. The merit of the person examined will be estimated by marks, and the number set opposite to each branch in the preceding regulation denotes the greatest number of marks that can be obtained in respect of it.

6. No Candidate will be allowed any marks in respect of any subject of examination, unless he shall be considered to possess a *competent knowledge* of that subject.*

7. The Examination will be conducted by means of printed questions and written answers, and by *visd voce* examination, as may be deemed necessary.

8. The marks obtained by each Candidate in respect of each of the subjects in which he shall have been examined will be added up, and the names of the Candidates who shall have obtained a greater aggregate number of marks than any of the remaining Candidates will be set forth in order of merit, and such Candidates shall be deemed to be selected Candidates for the Civil Service of India, provided they are in other respects duly qualified; and shall be permitted to choose,† according to the order in which they stand, as long as a choice remains, the Presidency (and in Bengal, the division of the Presidency) to which they shall be appointed.

9. Selected Candidates, before proceeding to India, will be on probation for two years, during which time they will be examined periodically, with the view of testing their progress in the following subjects:‡—

1. Oriental Languages:	Marks.
Sanskrit	500
Vernacular§ Languages of India (each)	400
2. The History and Geography of India	350
3. Law	1250
4. Political Economy	350

In these Examinations, as in the open competition, the merit of the Candidates examined will be estimated by marks, and the number set opposite to each subject denotes the greatest number of marks that can be obtained in respect of it at any one Examination. The Examination will be conducted by means of printed questions and written answers, and by *visd voce* examination, as may be deemed necessary. The last of these Examinations will be held at the close of the second year of probation, and will be called the "Final Examination," at which it will be decided whether a Selected Candidate is qualified for the Civil Service of India.

10. Any Candidate who, at any of the periodical Examinations, shall appear to have wilfully neglected his studies, or to be physically incapacitated for pursuing the prescribed course of training, will be liable to have his name removed from the list of Selected Candidates.

11. No Candidate will be permitted to proceed to India before he shall have passed the Final Examination, and received a certificate of qualification from the Civil Service Commissioners, or after he shall have attained the age of twenty-four years.

12. The Selected Candidates who, at the Final Examination, shall be found to have a competent knowledge of the subjects specified in Regulation 9, shall be adjudged to have passed, and to be entitled to be appointed to the Civil Service of India, provided they shall comply with the regulations in force, at the time, for the Civil Service of India, and shall be of sound bodily health and good moral character. The Civil Service Commissioners will require such further evidence on these points as they may deem necessary before granting their Certificate of Qualification.

13. The seniority in the Civil Service of India of the Selected Candidates shall be determined according to the order in which they stand on the list resulting from the Final Examination.

* "Nothing can be further from our wish than to hold out premiums for knowledge of wide surface and of small depth. We are of opinion that a Candidate ought to be allowed no credit at all for taking up a subject in which he is a mere smatterer."—Report of Committee of 1854.

† This right must be exercised immediately after the result of the Examination is announced, on such day as may be fixed by the Civil Service Commissioners.

‡ Full instructions as to the course of study to be pursued will be issued to the successful Candidates as soon as possible after the result of the open competition is declared.

§ Including, besides the languages prescribed for the several Presidencies, such other languages as may, with the approval of the Commissioners, be taken up as subjects of examination.

14. Applications from persons desirous to be admitted as Candidates are to be addressed to the Secretary to the Civil Service Commissioners, London, S.W.

1 May, 1869.

NOTE.—(1.) *The Secretary of State for India in Council has authorized the Civil Service Commissioners to state that it is his intention to allow the sum of 50l. after each of the three first half-years of probation, and 150l. after the last half-year, to each Selected Candidate who shall have passed the required Examinations to the satisfaction of the Commissioners, and shall have complied with such rules as may be laid down for the guidance of Selected Candidates.*

(2.) *All Selected Candidates will be required, after having passed the second periodical Examination, to attend at the India Office for the purpose of entering into an agreement binding themselves, amongst other things, to refund in certain cases the amount of their allowance in the event of their failing to proceed to India. For a Candidate under age a surety will be required.*

(3.) *After passing the Final Examination, each Candidate will be required to attend again at the India Office, with the view of entering into covenants and giving a bond for 1000l.; jointly with two sureties, for the due fulfilment of the same. The stamps payable by civilians on these documents amount to 3l. 10s.*

(4.) *Candidates rejected at the Final Examination of 1872 will in no case be allowed to present themselves for re-examination.*

PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR JUNIOR APPOINTMENTS IN THE ENGINEER ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS IN INDIA, TO BE HELD AT THE INDIA OFFICE IN LONDON, IN JULY, 1870.

Candidates must be British subjects, and must not have passed their twenty-fourth birthday (in proof of which a satisfactory certificate must be produced), and they must have complied with one or other of the three following conditions:—

1. They must have passed not less than three years as Articled Pupils of a Civil, Mechanical, or Mining Engineer who is in actual practice; or,
2. Not less than three years in practice under a Civil, Mechanical, or Mining Engineer who is in actual practice; or,
3. Not less than three years altogether, of which part may have been passed in practice under a Civil, Mechanical, or Mining Engineer, and part in studying Civil, Mechanical, or Mining Engineering, in a School or College recognized by the Secretary of State as possessing an efficient class for instruction in one or other of those professions, with the proviso that one year at least of the three must have been passed in practice under a Civil, Mechanical, or Mining Engineer who is in actual practice.

N.B.—*Certificates of time passed with Professors in Schools or Colleges cannot be accepted in lieu of certificates of articled pupilage with, or time passed in practice under, a Civil, Mechanical, or Mining Engineer.*

On these points also they must be provided with satisfactory certificates, and they must likewise produce testimonials of good moral character and conduct from the Engineers or Professors under whom they have served, or by whom they have been instructed.

These documents must be delivered at the Department of Public Works in this Office between the 1st and 27th days of June next, both inclusive, during which period only will applications be received.

The names of the Candidates will then be registered, and they will be directed to appear for medical examination before the Indian Medical Board, on the first Saturday in July, between the hours of 1 and 2 P.M.

If then certified to be constitutionally fit for service in India, they will be required to attend, at 9 A.M. precisely, on the succeeding Monday and five following days at a Competitive Examination which will be held in this Office.

The Candidates will first be required to write English from dictation, and unless found able to do so with accuracy and facility, will not be permitted to remain during the subsequent Examination. The other subjects of Examination and the maximum number of marks obtainable for proficiency in each class of subjects will be the following:—

Mathematics	<i>Arithmetic, Mensuration, and Trigonometry, including heights and distances</i>	220
	<i>Algebra: Elementary Principles; Simple and Quadratic Equations; Surds; Ratios; and Proportion; Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression; Combinations, and the Binomial Theorem</i>	
	<i>Euclid: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, and first 21 Propositions of the 11th Book</i>	
	<i>Statics: Composition and Resolution of Forces, the Centre of Gravity, the Mechanical Power; Roofs, Arches, and Bridges; Strength of Materials; and Friction</i>	
	<i>Dynamics: First Principles; Collision of Bodies; Uniformly Accelerated Motion; Circular Motion and Centrifugal Force; Labour and Machinery</i>	
Engineering	<i>Hydrostatics and Hydraulics: Pressure of Fluids; Specific Gravity, and Equilibrium of Floating Bodies; Elastic Fluids and Atmospheric Pressure; Hydrostatic Machines</i>	180
	<i>Projects for Bridges, Locks, Dams, Harbour Works, Roads, Tramways, and other Engineering Works</i>	
	<i>Irrigation, Drainage, Water Supply, Sewerage, and Mining</i>	
	<i>Making Working Drawings of Machinery, and Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Buildings</i>	
	<i>Carpentry, Ironwork, and Properties of Materials in general</i>	
Surveying	<i>Free-hand Drawing</i>	80
	<i>Map Drawing</i>	
	<i>Framing of Estimates and Specifications from given Plans and Data</i>	
	<i>Trigonometrical Surveying and traversing with the Theodolite</i>	
	<i>Land Surveying with Compass and Chain, and Plotting from a Field-book</i>	
	<i>Levelling and Use of the Instruments employed</i>	240
	<i>Geometrical Drawing</i>	
		1000

No Candidate will be passed who shall not obtain 600 marks, of which not less than 200 must be awarded for Mathematics, not less than 180 for Engineering, and not less than 100 for Surveying. The Candidates who may obtain the prescribed minimum number of marks will be ranked by the Examiners in the order of the numbers they may severally obtain; and of these the forty who may stand highest on the list, or as many more as may be required at the time for the public service, will be nominated.

Each Nominee must, within a month of his nomination, sign a covenant, in the form hereto attached, describing the terms and conditions of his appointment, and must embark for India, when required to do so by the Secretary of State in Council, who will provide for the expenses of his passage. Any Nominee not embarking when required will forfeit his appointment. Otherwise he will be allowed pay at the rate of 170 rupees (which is about the equivalent of 17*l.* in English money) a month from the date of his appointment.

INDIA OFFICE, 10th August, 1869.

Attention is requested by Candidates for Appointments in the Indian Public

Works Department to the following Standing Order, which has recently been issued by the Government of India:—

STANDING ORDER.

JUNIOR CIVIL ENGINEERS UNDER COVENANT.

Public Works Code, Chapter II., Section IV., for para. 5 substitute—

Junior Civil Engineers who, after passing the Competitive Examination, enter into covenant with the Secretary of State, are usually appointed to the 3rd grade, and must as a rule serve in that grade for one year from the date on which they actually take up the duties of their first appointment, before becoming qualified for promotion to the 2nd grade. During that year they will be considered as on probation. If, however, any of these Engineers can show, to the satisfaction of any Local Government, or, in the case of Local Administrations, to the satisfaction of the Government of India, that they have been not less than two years *bond fide* engaged on the actual construction of engineering or architectural work, including earthwork, brickwork, and carpentry on such a scale as to have ensured a solid practical training in their professional duties, this step of promotion may be given before the expiry of the year, and the Examination prescribed in paragraph 18 may be dispensed with for this step of promotion. But the Assistant Engineer will be considered as on probation during his first year of service, and he must pass the Examination above referred to before he can be made an Assistant Engineer, 1st Grade.

N.B.—The papers given at former Examinations have been printed by order of the House of Commons; some of these are now out of print, but the following may be obtained from Messrs. Hansard, of Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Their dates and numbers, and their respective prices are as follows:—

No. 300 of 1864 .. One shilling.	No. 25 of 1867,) Two shillings and
" 426 " 1865 .. Two shillings.	Sess. 2 .. } fourpence.
" 454 " 1866 .. Two shillings.	" 234 of 1868 Two shillings.

The papers given at the last Examination may be obtained of Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, S.W., price two shillings.

The following is a list of Schools and Colleges hitherto recognized by the Secretary of State as possessing efficient Classes for Instruction in Engineering:—

ENGLAND.

University College, London.
King's College, London.
Wimbledon School.
Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.
Proprietary College, Bath.
Queen's College, Liverpool.
Owen's College, Manchester.
The College, Chester.
School of Practical Science and Metallurgy, Sheffield.
Hartley Institution, Southampton.
The College, Cheltenham.
Government School of Mines, Jermyn Street.

SCOTLAND.

University, Glasgow.
Gymnasium, Old Aberdeen.
Madras College, St. Andrew's.

SCOTLAND—continued.

High School, Edinburgh.
Messrs. E. Sang & Son, 2, George Street, Edinburgh.
Dollar Institution, by Stirling.
Perth Academy.
Mr. Rennot's School, Aberdeen.

IRELAND.

Queen's Colleges.
Trinity College, Dublin.
Royal College of Science for Ireland, Stephen's Green, Dublin.

FOREIGN.

McGill College, Montreal, Canada.
Belgian School of Civil Engineers, Ghent.
École Polytechnique, Zurich.
Royal Polytechnic School, Hanover.

According to an official report, dated April, 1866, the position of successful competitors at past Examinations was then as follows:—

Of the 20 sent out from England in 1859,			
6	were 4th Grade Executive Engineers on	Rs. 500	per month.
9	" 1st " Assistant "	" 400	"
1	was employed on Local Works	" 500	"
2	had died.		
2	had resigned.		
Of the 9 sent out in 1860,			
2	were 4th Grade Executive Engineers on	Rs. 500	per month.
1	was a 1st " Assistant Engineer	" 400	"
1	" 2nd " " "	" 300	"
1	had died.		
1	had resigned.		
3	were employed on Local Works.		
Of the 11 sent out in 1861,			
1	was a 4th Grade Executive Engineer on	Rs. 500	per month.
7	were 1st " Assistant Engineers	" 400	"
1	was a 2nd " " Engineer	" 300	"
1	had died.		
1	had resigned.		
Of the 10 sent out in 1862,			
6	were 1st Grade Assistant Engineers on	Rs. 400	per month.
1	was a 2nd " " Engineer	" 300	"
3	had died.		
Of the 10 sent out in 1863,			
4	were 1st Grade Assistant Engineers on	Rs. 400	per month.
4	" 2nd " " "	" 300	"
1	was a 3rd " " "	" 200	"
1	had resigned.		

RULES FOR THE INFORMATION OF CANDIDATES FOR EMPLOYMENT IN THE ENGINEER ESTABLISHMENT.

The following are Extracts from the Rules and Regulations applicable at the present time to the Civil Members of the Public Works Department in India; they are, however, liable to alteration from time to time at the discretion of Government. The grades and salaries are those of the Bengal Presidency, and may be found to differ in some respects from those of Madras and Bombay:—

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—SALARIES AND OUTLINE OF DUTIES.

Extent of application of Code.

Definition of the terms "Local Government" and "Local Administration."

1. The rules contained in this Code are applicable to the Public Works Department in all the territories under the control of the Government of India, excepting only the Governments of Madras and Bombay, which have their own regulations.
2. The immediate control of the operations of the Public Works Department, both Civil and Military, in the territories under the Government of India, is entrusted to the Chief Civil Authority, whether Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Commissioner, or Commissioner of a Province. Larger powers are vested in the Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces than are possessed by other Chief Civil Authorities; and, therefore, in this Code the term *Local Government* will be used to denote the Governments of Bengal, the North Western Provinces, and Punjab; and the term *Local Administration* will be applied to a Chief Commissioner, or Commissioner of a Province, the Resident at Hyderabad, and the Governor-General's Agents in Rajpootana and Central India, who are not vested with the ordinary powers of Local Governments in this Department.

The Executive Engineers, Assistant Engineers, and Upper Subordinates under each Local Government are on a separate list, whilst those under all the Local Administrations taken together form another. The proportions fixed for the various grades of Executive Engineers, Assistant Engineers, as given in paras. 29 to 31, are not necessarily kept to under each Local Administration, but under the whole of these collectively. A like rule holds good with reference to the classes and grades of the Superintending Engineers under the whole or the Local Governments and Administrations, and to Chief Engineers of the 2nd and 3rd classes.

11. In order to assist Local Governments and Administrations and the Government of India in dealing with the promotions of the Public Works Establishments under their respective control, each Superintending Engineer will furnish a half-yearly roll of the members of the Engineer Establishment recommended by him for promotion (Form No. 75). The rolls from the Superintending Engineers in each Province will be submitted by the Chief Engineer, with any remarks he may think fit, to the head of the Local Government or Administration. Local Governments will deal finally with the promotions. Each Local Administration will then send up similar rolls of the Engineer Establishment to the Government of India, with such remarks as it may think fit. The rolls submitted by Local Administrations are to be dispatched on the 15th March and 15th September of each year. The promotions made should be published before the 15th April and 15th October, so that the classified lists of the Establishments, published on the 1st May and 1st November, may be as correct as possible.

16. Local Governments are vested with power to deal with cases of misconduct in members of the Public Works Department by reduction, dismissal, or otherwise. But in the case of members of the Engineer Establishment, though the Local Government may order their suspension, final removal from the Department will rest with the Government of India.

17. The Government of India alone has the power of accepting the resignations of members of the Engineer Establishment.

B.—Strength.

28. The total strength of the Executive Engineers (and Officers ranking as such), under each of the Local Governments, and in the Local Administrations taken together, is determined in each case by adding to the number of sanctioned appointments of Superintendent of Works, Executive Engineer (and Officers ranking as such), one-tenth, with one additional for a fraction greater than one-half, to form a reserve for filling the places of temporary absentees. The number so found will be the strength of Executive Engineers and Officers ranking as such.

29. The distribution of Executive Engineers between the four grades is found as follows:—

Divide the total strength by 16. Three times the whole number thus found will belong to the 1st grade (these will include Superintendents of Works); four times this number to the 2nd grade and 3rd grade respectively; and five times to the 4th grade.

Of any fractional remainder, after dividing the strength as above by 16, one-fourth will belong to each grade, and odd numbers will be distributed, if one, to the 4th grade only; if two, one each to the 3rd and 4th grades; if three, one each to the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th grades.

The total number in each grade under each Local Government, or under the Local Administrations taken together, will be the sum of the numbers for each grade determined in the foregoing calculations.

30. All Executive Engineers will be considered as available for duty as Assistant Engineers, in the event of there being an excess of Executive Engineers present over the number of charges. In such cases it will be left to the Local Government or Administration to determine which of the Executive Engineers shall be so employed, but, as a rule, the selection should be made from the lowest grade.

31. The number of Assistant Engineers fixed for each Province will be that of actual requirements only, no addition being made for absentees, the reserve of Executive Engineers being regarded as affording the needful reserve for the class of Assistants also. Of the total number of Assistants under each Local Government, and under the Local Administrations taken together, one-third, adding one for a fraction of two-

Half-yearly
Promotion
Rolls.

Powers of
Local Go-
vernments in
regard to
cases of mis-
conduct.
Resignations.

Mode of
determining
total strength
of Executive
Engineers,

and propor-
tions of their
grades.

Employment
of Executive
Engineers as
Assistants.

Total
strength of
Assistant
Engineers,
and propor-
tions of their
grades.

thirds, will be Assistant Engineers of the 1st grade, the remainder will be of the 2nd and 3rd grades, and Apprentices.

39. Whenever the total strength of Executive or Assistant Engineers in any Local Government or in the Local Administration taken together, is to be permanently reduced, the strength of each grade must be brought down to the limit determined by the scale, by making a promotion for the second only of every two vacancies, till the excess is absorbed.

Reductions in sanctioned scales, how to be effected.

CHAPTER II.

SECTION IV.—ENGINEER ESTABLISHMENT.

1. The Engineer Establishment of the Public Works Department, as limited by the demands of the public service, is thrown open to all classes of persons duly qualified; the Government of India reserving the right of selecting at pleasure from among all the Candidates. In ordinary cases, no one will be admitted to this branch of the Department except as an Assistant Engineer or Apprentice.

Establishment.

2. Apprentices will be appointed from the Civil Students of Indian Colleges, and Apprentices other Civil Candidates.

3. Assistant Engineers will be appointed—

- (1.) From Officers of the Corps of Royal Engineers serving under the Government of India, who have a prior claim to all other Candidates.
- (2.) From the Civil Engineers sent out from England by the Secretary of State for India under covenant.
- (3.) From passed Students of the Thomason College, and passed Students of the Civil Engineering Branch of the Presidency College, to the extent to which appointments may be guaranteed.
- (4.) From Officers (not above the rank of Captain, regimentally) of Artillery, Cavalry, or Infantry of Her Majesty's British Army serving in India, and of Her Majesty's Indian Army who have passed the examination described in paragraph 11, and who are desirous of, and eligible for, admission to the Indian Staff Corps, and subject to the ordinary rules regarding the withdrawal of Officers from their Corps for Staff employ.
- (5.) From Officers of the Indian Staff Corps, not above the rank of Captain, who have passed the examination described in paragraph 11.
- (6.) From individuals of the Upper Subordinate Establishment, who are considered otherwise qualified, and who may have passed the examination prescribed in paragraph 11.
- (7.) From other persons, European, East Indian, or Native, who may be qualified under paragraphs 13, 14, 15, and 16.

Sources of supply of Assistant Engineers.

4. Officers of the Royal Engineers will usually be appointed in the 2nd or 1st grade, according to the length of their previous service, and will be appointed permanently at once. Previous service to reckon from the date of leaving Chatham.

First appointment of R. E. Officers.

5. Civil Engineers under covenant with the Secretary of State will usually be appointed to the 3rd grade, and must serve in that grade for one year, before becoming qualified for promotion to the 2nd grade. During that year they will be considered as on probation.

of Covenant Civil Engineers.

6. Passed Students of the Government Civil Engineering Colleges will be appointed in the 3rd grade of Assistant or as Apprentices, and will be considered on probation for one year. There is no fixed length of service in the grade of Apprentice, but promotions from that grade to Assistant Engineer, 3rd Grade, will be made half-yearly in the usual way.

of College Students.

7. Military Officers, other than those of Royal Engineers, who have passed the tests given in paragraph 11, will be appointed to the 2nd grade of Assistant Engineer with permanent rank. Military Officers temporarily appointed without having passed the prescribed test will be appointed in the 3rd grade, and will be considered on probation, as laid down in paragraph 5 for Covenanted Civil Engineers.

of Military Officers, not of Royal Engineers.

17. An Assistant Engineer of the 3rd grade, before he can be promoted to the 2nd grade, must pass the examination prescribed in the next paragraph. An Assistant Engineer, desirous of undergoing this examination, will apply to the Chief Engineer;

Promotion from 3rd grade Assistant Engineer.

and in forwarding this application, the Executive and Superintending Engineers under whom the Candidate is serving, will attach a special report upon those points of qualification which cannot be tested by examination, especially in regard to his physical energy and efficiency in practical work, and capacity to manage those under his authority. These reports shall always be considered preliminary to the examination, and the Candidate shall not be entitled to be examined until such reports have been made to the local head of the department, and found satisfactory.

Details of the examination.

18. The examination which every Assistant Engineer of the 3rd grade will be required to undergo before he can be promoted will be such as to show that he is capable of preparing designs and estimates for all descriptions of buildings and works usually required of Executive Engineers; that he is acquainted with the processes for preparing materials, and with the modes of construction in use in India; that he has a good knowledge of the resources of the districts in which he has been employed, as to materials and of the best mode of applying them, and that he understands the management of work-people; also that he has made himself acquainted with the rules of, and is conversant with, the forms of account in use in the Department.

Mode of conducting it.

19. The examination will be conducted by a Committee convened by the Chief Engineer, and composed of one Chief or Superintending Engineer as President, and two Officers of the Engineer Establishment or of the Corps of Royal Engineers, of not less than three years' standing, as members. The record of the Committee's proceeding (Form No. 78), together with the preliminary report prescribed in para. 17, and with the Chief Engineer's observations and recommendation, will be submitted to the Local Government or to the Government of India, as the case may be, by whom the appointment will be made. Successful Candidates will be brought on to the permanent strength of the Public Works Establishments as Assistant Engineers of the 2nd grade with effect from the date of their passing the examination, provided that they have then served one year in the 3rd grade.

Exceptions.

20. The Government of India may, in special cases, dispense with the examination, or reduce the period of service on probation.

Colloquial examination in native languages.

21. Before an Assistant Engineer of the 2nd grade can be promoted to the 1st grade of that class he must pass a colloquial examination in Hindustani, or in the language of the district in which he may be employed. This examination will be conducted by a Committee of three Officers of the Public Works Department, assembled under the orders of a Superintending Engineer. The Committee will prepare twelve questions or short sentences on matters relating to the duty of an Engineer in connection with his works, which the Candidate will be required to translate *word for word* into Hindustani (or other district language), at once on their being read to him, in a sufficiently accurate manner to be intelligible to a Native. If the Committee consider that the translation has been sufficiently accurate, they will certify the fact; and further that the Candidate has conversed intelligibly with a Native workman in their presence. This certificate is to be forwarded, with a copy of the questions or sentences, to the Superintending Engineer, who will add his opinion as to the sufficiency of the questions, and his belief formed on personal communication as to whether the Candidate has really acquired the colloquial knowledge necessary for the satisfactory performance of his duties. On these certificates being approved by the Local Government or Administration, the fact of the Candidate having passed should be notified in the Local *Gazette*, where there is one, and in other cases should be reported for notification in the *Gazette of India*, and the mark † should be entered against his name in the Classified List.

Departmental standard.

22. No Assistant Engineer shall be promoted to the rank of Executive Engineer, 4th Grade, until he shall have passed the examination for the First or Lower Standard, laid down in General Order in the Military Department, dated 3th September, 1864 (see Appendix A) in Hindustani, or a similar examination in the language of the district in which he may be employed. The Candidate must also be able to read Native letters and accounts, and his ability to do so will be established by a report from the Superintending Engineer that he has satisfied himself that the person examined is so capable. This standard (including the Lower Standard, together with ability to read letters and accounts) will be called the Departmental Standard, and the letters D. S. will be placed in the Classified List against the names of those who pass. The fact of Candidates passing the Departmental Standard Examination should be notified in the Local *Gazettes*, where they exist, and in other cases should be reported for notification in the *Gazette of India*.

27. All Officers of the Department, Civil or Military, will be entitled to the rates of remuneration for passing these examinations, that are laid down in the G. O. above referred to. Remuneration.

28. Assistant Engineers who have not passed the necessary examinations in the Native languages may, at such time as is found convenient, obtain three months' special leave for this purpose, without loss of salary or service. The grant of such leave will not affect any privilege leave to which, under the rules, they may be entitled. This leave may be taken in continuation of any other leave. Leave to study languages.

29. The posting of Assistant or Executive Engineers to particular charges will be regulated by the exigencies of the service without reference to the grade to which Officers belong. Posting to charges.

30. The selection of Officers for promotion from one class or grade to another, either by the Government of India or the Local Governments, will be made with reference to the vacancies to be filled up, and on a consideration of the services and merits of individuals, without regard to mere seniority. In the case of the Local Administrations, the special grounds on which any recommendation is made will be stated in the Half-yearly Rolls prescribed in Chapter I., Section II., para. 11. No one will be brought forward who is not considered decidedly deserving of promotion; and the Report will be sent up blank if there are no persons who can thus be recommended for advancement. Promotions.

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All Officers of the Public Works Department are entitled to gratuitous medical attendance.

* * * * *

Every Officer of the Engineer Establishment must supply himself with a copy of the latest edition of the Public Works Code.

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION II.—AUDIT OF SALARIES.

1. The Staff or Departmental salary of any person on first joining the department, or on appointment to a new situation, will commence from the date on which he may enter upon the actual duties of his situation. Salaries from what date claimable.

SECTION III.—TRAVELLING ALLOWANCES.

1. Travelling Allowances will be granted to the Officers of the Engineer Establishment under the following rules. These allowances will in all cases be in addition to the regular Departmental salaries. Travelling Allowances of the Engineer Establishment, Controllers, and Deputy Controllers.

I.—No Travelling Allowance shall (except as provided for in Rules III. and IV.) be granted in any case where an Officer does not proceed to a greater distance than five miles beyond the boundary of his station, or from his ordinary residence, permanent or temporary, or standing camp.

II.—For travelling on public duty any distance not exceeding 20 miles (whether, as in an excursion, 10 miles out and 10 miles back, or the whole in one direction) in one day, Officers shall (subject to the limitation in Rule I.) be allowed as follows:—

Chief Engineers	} Rs. 6 per diem.
Superintending Engineers	
Controllers, 1st and 2nd Classes ..	
Executive Engineers	} Rs. 5 per diem.
Superintendent of Works	
Controllers, 3rd Class	
Deputy Controllers	} Rs. 4 per diem.
Assistant Engineers	
Apprentices	

This allowance is, in each case, to cover all expenses, including the provision of tents or boats, and other travelling equipage.

III.—The same allowance shall be passed to an Officer halting, and obliged to maintain carriage for his tents complete, or to continue to pay the hire of the crew of

a boat, or the hire of a full set (8) of palkee bearers: provided that, when within 10 miles of his ordinary residence, permanent or temporary, he does not halt more than three days. Travelling Allowances are not admissible under this rule to Officers halting, when Inspection Houses are provided by Government, unless specially sanctioned by the Superintending Engineer.

IV.—An Officer halting, who does not keep up carriage, &c., to enable him to draw Halting Allowances under Rule III., may, under similar restrictions with regard to length of halt when near Head-Quarters, be allowed half of the above allowance.

V.—For travelling on public duty any distance greater than 20 miles (whether, as in an excursion, 10 miles out and 10 miles back, or the whole in one direction) in one day, Officers shall (subject to the limitation in Rule I.) be allowed eight annas per mile for the whole distance travelled in lieu of the daily allowance under Rule II.; but if any part of the distance be travelled by railway, the allowance for such portion will only be at the rate of three annas a mile.

VI.—When an Officer makes a journey by Post or Railway, leaving his camp standing, he may draw allowances under both Rules III. and V. The fact of the camp having been moved from one place to another during the absence of the Officer, will not prejudice the claim to both allowances. This rule extends to all cases in which an Officer travels by rail, and necessarily sends his tents by cart; but when a Railway is available for the latter, that mode of conveyance is to be adopted, when allowances can be drawn under Rule VII. In cases of transfer, the mileage rate, or daily rate only, will be admissible under Rule IX.

VII.—Officers travelling on duty by rail, when obliged to carry their tents with them, are permitted to charge the actual cost of carriage of such tents in a Contingent Bill, supported by proper vouchers, in addition to the three annas a mile allowed under Rule V. to cover personal expenses. The counter-signature of the Superintending Engineer will be requisite, as in other bills, for Travelling Allowances.

VIII.—As an exceptional arrangement, Officers, when travelling on duty and taking their horses with them, the necessity for so doing being fully explained and admitted by the Chief Engineer on each occasion, may recover the actual Railway charge incurred on this account, in addition to their ordinary Travelling Allowances, in a Contingent Bill, as in the preceding Rule. In no case will more than two horses be permitted to be thus carried for any Officer at the public charge; and under ordinary circumstances, all horses should be sent to their destination by the ordinary roads.

IX.—An Officer transferred from one situation to another, whether on promotion or not, will be allowed eight annas a mile as Travelling Allowance to join his new appointment, for all journeys exceeding 20 miles a day; for shorter journeys, or for portions of journeys performed at a less rate than 20 miles a day, allowances under Rule II. may be granted. These allowances will be payable from the new Office, after joining, but will be subject to the same conditions as the claim for salary in similar cases (see Section II., para. 31). If an Officer be transferred while on leave, he is allowed Travelling Allowance to join his new appointment, either from his old Station, or from the place where he receives the order, whichever may be the least expense to Government.

X.—Officers of the Royal Engineers, passed Students of the Civil Engineering Colleges appointed to the Engineer Establishment, and Civil Engineers under covenant with the Secretary of State, will be allowed Travelling Allowance under Rule IX. for joining their first appointments in the Public Works Department. The latter class of Officers will also be reimbursed all reasonable expenses incurred on their way to India, on bills being submitted.

XI.—In the case of Chief Engineers, Superintending Engineers, and Assistants to Chief Engineers, the Travelling Allowances shall be passed on bills supported by statements of the places visited, with the dates of arrival at, and departure from, each, and of the distances travelled, with a certificate by the traveller, according to Form No. 81, that the journeys were performed in the discharge of public duty.

XII.—In the case of Executive Engineers and Assistant Engineers, the charges shall be passed on the submission of Journals (Form No. 81), showing, in addition to the particulars required in Rule XI., the object of each journey, the duties performed, and the results of the inspection made on each day. The Journals of Assistant Engineers must be passed on to the Superintending Engineer by the Executive Engineer, with any remarks he may think proper, and all Journals must bear the counter-

signature of the Superintending Engineer in token of his belief that the journeys were properly undertaken in the performance of public duty, and that carriage for tents, boat, establishment, or a set of palkee bearers, was necessarily kept up in those cases in which charges for the same have been made.

APPENDIX A.

SECTION II.—NATIVE LANGUAGES.

G. G. O., Milly. Dept., No. 734, 9th September, 1864.

1. His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, under the authority of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, is pleased to publish the following rules in supersession of existing regulations on the subject of examination in the Native languages. Previous rules superseded.

2. These rules are to be considered applicable to the three Presidencies, and will take effect from the 1st February next:— Date of effect.

I.—There will be two standards of qualification in the Hindustani language,—the first to be in the place of the examination now commonly called the Colloquial Examination, and of the examination for the command of troops and companies in regiments under the old organization, and for a medical charge; and the second to be in the place of the examinations now called the P. H. Staff, Adjutants,* Interpreters, and all similar examinations in the three Presidencies; but all Officers who have passed these latter examinations, or who may pass them before the 1st February next, will be eligible for the Staff Corps, or for ordinary Staff employment, without further examination. New standards defined.

II.—The object of the First Standard is to ensure that Officers passing it shall have acquired such a knowledge of the Hindustani language as shall enable them efficiently to discharge their military or professional duties when serving with Native troops. Object of first standard.

III.—To this end, Candidates will be tested as to their ability to read and translate passages from easy Hindustani books, written in the Persian and *Deva Nagari* characters; and to speak on and interpret common or professional subjects, so as to understand, and to be understood by, any ordinary uneducated native of India. and general description of it.

IV.—First. Reading fairly, and construing with accuracy, not less than half of an octavo page of the under-mentioned works:— Detail of tests for first standard.

1. "Hindustani Selections," in the Persian character.
2. "Hindustani Selections," in the *Deva Nagari* character.

Second. Conversing with the Examiners, or with natives of India, on subjects likely to occur in the performance of regimental or professional duty, in the transaction of ordinary business, or in the course of every-day life.

If this test be applied through the medium of a native of India, he should speak the plain Hindustani of the Presidency or Province in which the examination is held, free from peculiarities of idiom and dialect, and not a *patois*; and though, as regards the performance of professional duties, it must, to a certain extent, be technical in its nature, if in other respects the Candidate prove his ability to comprehend readily all that is said to him and to make himself fairly intelligible, more should not be required.

V.—The object of the Second Standard is to ensure that Officers passing it shall have acquired such a knowledge of the Hindustani language as shall qualify them, so far as that language is concerned, for general employment on the Staff, and for admission to the Staff Corps. Object of second standard.

VI.—To this end, Candidates will be tested as to their ability: 1st, to read and construe passages in books of ordinary difficulty in *Urdu* and *Hindi*; 2nd, to make accurate and idiomatic written translations from English into Hindustani, in both the Persian and *Deva Nagari* characters; 3rd, to read and translate petitions, native letters, &c., in *Urdu* and *Hindi*; 4th, to converse with educated or uneducated natives of India. and general description of it.

* Note.—The word "Adjutants" ordered to be expunged by G. G. O., No 683, dated 11th July, 1865.

Detail of
tests for
second
standard.

First. Reading fluently and construing with readiness and accuracy not less than an ordinary octavo page of the undermentioned works:—

1. The *Bagh-o-Bahar*.
2. Selections from the prose of the *Prem Sadar*.

Second. Translating accurately, and with correctness of idiom and grammar, not less than half an ordinary octavo page of plain English into language similar to that of the *Bagh-o-Bahar*, in the Persian character, and an equal amount, in the *Deva Nagari* character, into language similar to that of the *Prem Sadar*.

Third. Reading fairly and translating readily and correctly Hindustani manuscripts, written in both the Persian and *Deva Nagari* characters.

These MSS. may be selected from the proceedings of a case in Court, from reports or petitions addressed to Civil or Military Authorities, from letters passing between natives of India in the ordinary course of business, or from private correspondence. They should not be written with the clearness of a printed book, nor yet in a very cramped or crabbed hand, but in such a manner as fairly and honestly to represent the written characters as practically employed in the Presidency or Province in which the examination is held.

Fourth. Conversing with the Examiners or with natives of India with fluency, and with such correctness of pronunciation, grammar, and idiom, as to be at once intelligible.

VII.—Every Candidate passing an examination by the *First Standard* in Hindustani, will be entitled to receive an allowance of Rs. 180, and on passing by the *Second Standard*, an allowance of Rs. 180 additional, or, in the case of an Officer passing at once by the *Second Standard*, Rs. 360.

Remuneration for passing.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RULES FOR THE GRANT OF LEAVE OF ABSENCE AND PENSIONS TO UNCOVENANTED SERVANTS IN INDIA.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE TO UNCOVENANTED SERVANTS.

The following are the kinds of Leave allowed:—

- I. Leave on medical certificate.
- II. Leave on private affairs and furlough.
- III. Privilege leave.
- IV. Preparatory or additional leave.

9. Leave on private affairs and furlough will be granted by Government, or by authorized officers on sufficient cause being shown, and when the concession of the indulgence may in no way interfere with the interest of the public service.

10. When an officer on leave in England is permitted by the Home Government to return to duty by a particular vessel, this permission, if necessary, will be held equivalent to an extension of leave until the arrival in India of the vessel on which the officer is permitted to return.

11. Leave on medical certificate, with allowances, must in no case exceed three years in all, and not more than two years may be taken at one time. Subject to these restrictions, leave within Indian limits may be granted, with allowances, on medical certificate, as often as sufficient cause is shown; but beyond Indian limits, such leave cannot be granted more than twice during the whole period of service. Should any further leave be applied for on medical certificate, it may be granted, but without any allowance. Preparatory leave counting as service towards pension can only be admitted in regard to two periods of leave.

12. Leave on private affairs and furlough, with retention of office, may be granted as follows:—

1st. *Leave on Private Affairs*;—for six months in one period,—which leave may be repeated after intervals of six years.

2nd. *Or a Furlough*;—for one year after ten years' service, and a second furlough, also for one year, after eighteen years' service in India,—such absence being limited to two years during the whole period of service.

13. On taking leave, under the preceding rule, for the first time, an officer must decide whether he will apply for leave on private affairs, or for furlough, and having once exercised his option and obtained leave accordingly, he will not, during the remainder of his service, be eligible to the other description of leave.

14. Furlough and leave on private affairs taken in India will reckon from the date of leaving office to the date of return thereto. Furlough and leave on private affairs, taken beyond India, will reckon from the sailing of the vessel on which the officer embarks to the date of his return to India.

15. Furlough or leave on private affairs cannot be taken in continuation of privilege leave.

16. Privilege leave, when it can be granted without injury to the public service and without additional expense to the State, may be allowed for not more than one month in each calendar year, to be taken either in one period or in not more than two instalments. Privilege leave may also be allowed to accumulate up to a limit of three months.

17. Privilege leave for one month in each calendar year may be allowed to officers who have not been absent on leave for eleven months immediately preceding, unless they took their last privilege leave in two instalments, in which case the indulgence will not be available until eleven months after the expiration of the first instalment, and six months after expiration of the second instalment of the previous year's privilege leave.

18. Preparatory or additional leave is allowed to officers proceeding to or from a sanatorium on medical certificate, or to or from the port of embarkation from India to Europe on private affairs, furlough, or medical certificate, and is limited to such period as the authority granting leave may think sufficient. Officers proceeding from Presidency towns, on sick leave beyond sea, will be allowed 14 days for preparation.

19. Officers retiring from the service on pension will be allowed 14 days' leave on half-pay, provided the indulgence can be given without detriment or extra expense to the public service.

Absentee Pay.

20. Absentee pay, if at half salary, shall in no case exceed Rs. 6000, or 600% per annum; or if at one-fourth salary, shall not exceed 300% per annum. Within these limitations, absentee pay will be given as follows:—

I.—To an officer absent on sick leave in or out of India, half salary for the first 15 months of each period of absence (or, if the leave be taken in short periods in India, for the first 30 months taken from time to time, provided that half salary be not drawn for more than 15 months at any one time), and one-fourth salary during the remainder of his absence on allowances.

II.—To an officer on leave on private affairs, one-half of his salary for a period not exceeding six months of continuous absence, and for any further period of preparatory leave which may be granted to him. But if an officer absent on private affairs obtain an extension of leave on medical certificate, he will be subject for the whole period of his absence to the rules for sick leave.

III.—To an officer proceeding on furlough whose salary does not exceed Rs. 200 per month, one-half of his salary; provided, however, that it shall not exceed Rs. 800, or 80% per annum. If the absentee's salary shall be—

Ra.		Ra.		Ra.	Rs.
Above 200	} and not exceeding	400 per month	{ he may be granted an annual allowance of	1300	or 130
" 400		700		2000	" 200
" 700		1200		3000	" 300
" 1200				4000	" 400

IV.—To an officer on preparatory leave, one-half salary before commencement of other leave, and, on return from leave, one-half salary, one-fourth salary, or furlough pay, according to the rate of allowance he may be then drawing.

V.—To an officer on privilege leave, full pay.

21. An officer who overstays privilege leave by not more than one month, will forfeit pay for the period in excess; but if he exceed his leave by more than one month, his office will become vacant. An officer on privilege leave who may resign the service, or who may obtain sick leave without first rejoining, will, in the former case, forfeit his salary for the period of privilege leave, and, in the latter case, be subject to the rules for sick leave for the whole period of his absence.

SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS TO UNCOVENANTED SERVANTS.

Allowances on Retirement.

6. On production by an applicant of such medical certificates as shall satisfy the Government under which he may be serving of his incapacity to serve longer in India, he may be allowed—

I.—Under 15 years' service, a gratuity not exceeding 12 months' salary.

II.—After 15 years' service, one-third of his average salary (and of his personal allowance, if any) during the previous five years; provided, that in no case shall a pension be granted exceeding the sum of Rs. 3000 per annum, whatever the amount of salary, nor of Rs. 2000 per annum, if the salary shall not exceed Rs. 12,000 per annum.

III.—After 25 years' service, one-half of his average salary (and of his personal allowance, if any) during the previous five years; provided, however, that in no case shall a pension be granted exceeding Rs. 5000 per annum, whatever the amount of salary, nor exceeding Rs. 4000 per annum, if the salary shall not exceed Rs. 12,000 per annum.

7. After 30 years' service or upwards, a pension may be granted, without production of medical certificate, of the same amount and subject to the same limitation as that sanctioned for 25 years' service on medical certificate. This pension, as the reward of faithful, efficient discharge of duty for 30 years, is termed a good service pension.

8. Pensions of the full amount authorized in paragraphs 6 and 7 are to be granted only as the reward of approved service. In any case in which an uncovenanted servant, without having incurred the penalty of removal from Government employ, shall nevertheless, in the opinion of the Government under which he has been serving, not be entitled to the full amount of pension, the Local Government will make such a reduction in the amount of pension as it shall consider just.

9. The foregoing rates of pension and gratuity are applicable also, without the production of a medical certificate of unfitness for service, to officers discharged on reduction of establishment.

Service towards Pension.

10. Dismissal for misconduct entails forfeiture of the benefit of past service.

11. Service as a substitute does not count towards pension.

12. Periods of service before the age of 22, or of absence on other than privilege leave and preparatory leave, shall not count towards pension; nor shall preparatory leave be allowed to count as service, if it is granted in addition to leave on medical certificate to an officer who has enjoyed leave of the latter description on two previous occasions.

13. The whole of the service in virtue of which pension is claimed must have been passed in an eligible grade and on a permanent establishment; but claims barred by this rule will be specially considered if the promotion from an ineligible grade was bestowed as a reward for meritorious service or for good conduct.

14. The period of service must be continuous; but, in case of the abolition of the office held by an officer, and his being subsequently employed by Government, his first period of service is to be taken into account.

Gratuities.

15. When an officer is discharged with a gratuity under these rules on reduction of establishment, the gratuity will not be given to him in one sum, but in monthly instalments of a month's pay until the full amount is paid. Should he be re-employed before or after the period for which gratuity is allowed, he will have the option of refunding the gratuity and recovering his former service, or of forfeiting that service by retaining the gratuity. In the latter case, any balance of gratuity remaining undrawn at the date of his re-employment may be paid to him.

Payment of Pensions.

16. Payment of pension will commence from the date on which the applicant ceases to be borne on the establishment, or from that of his application, whichever may be the later date.

17. No pension shall be payable in arrear for a period exceeding six months, without the express sanction of Government obtained through the civil paymaster

unless the cause of the suspension of payment shall have been the neglect, order, or act of some public officer, and beyond the control of the pensioner, when the civil paymaster, on a reference being made to him, shall exercise his discretion in passing arrears for payment, or submit a representation of the case for the information and orders of Government, as he shall consider proper.

18. An officer shall, on retirement, have the option of drawing his pension either in India or from the Home Treasury. After exercising his option on retirement, he may, at a subsequent period, change the place of payment from England to India, or *vice versa*. This change can, however, be allowed but once. The payments in England will be made at the rate of exchange which is annually fixed in communication with the Lords of the Treasury for the adjustment of transactions between the British and Indian Exchequers.

Notes.—The Form of Agreement to be entered into by such of the successful Candidates as may be recommended for appointment as 2nd Grade Assistant Engineers will differ in some respects from the following.

FORM OF AGREEMENT.

Articles of Agreement made the
One thousand eight hundred and

Day of
Between

Gentleman, of the one Part, and the Secretary of State for India in Council of the other Part: WHEREAS, the said Secretary of State in Council has agreed to employ the said

who is herein-after referred to as the said Civil Engineer, as a Civil Engineer, for general service in the East Indies, and has agreed to place the said Civil Engineer, if found duly qualified, on the Establishment of the Public Works Department in India in the capacity of a Civil Engineer, in the Manner and upon the Terms and Conditions herein-after mentioned: Now these Presents witness, That for and in consideration of the said Civil Engineer being provided with a Free Passage from Southampton to India, and a sum of 10*l*. in full satisfaction of all his other Travelling Expenses, including those of his Journey to Southampton, and all necessary expenditure during his Journey to India, and also in consideration of the Monthly Allowance or Pay herein agreed to be paid to him in manner herein mentioned, and for the other considerations herein appearing, he the said Civil Engineer for himself, his Executors and Administrators, doth hereby Promise and Agree with and to the said Secretary of State in Council, in manner following; that is to say, That he the said Civil Engineer shall and will, in such manner and at such Time as he shall be directed by the Secretary of State in Council, proceed to and when he shall be arrived there, shall and will report himself at the office of the Secretary to the Government of in the Public Works Department, and shall and will submit himself to the Orders of the Government there, and if so directed will attend at any Civil Engineering College, or other Educational Institution selected by the Government, and during his attendance there shall perfect himself in the profession of a Civil Engineer and shall and will endeavour, to the best of his ability, to acquire a competent knowledge of such one of the Native Languages as he shall receive instruction in there; and shall and will, as directed by the Government, on being placed on the Establishment of the Public Works Department in manner herein-after mentioned, whether he shall have attended at any Educational Establishment as aforesaid, or not, serve the Government of India in the capacity of a Civil Engineer wherever he may be ordered by the Government to serve. And also shall and will submit himself to the Orders and Instructions of the properly authorized Officer or Officers under whom he shall from time to time be placed whilst he remains in the Service of the Government, and conform to and obey all Rules and Regulations in force in any College or Institution where he shall from time to time be directed to attend; and to all Rules and Regulations of the Public Works Department for the time being. And also that he, the said Civil Engineer, shall not nor will, during the

period he shall be completing his studies, absent himself from such College or Institution; and when employed as a Civil Engineer in the Service of the Government, shall not nor will absent himself from his said Service without having first obtained the Permission of the Officer or Officers under whom he shall, from time to time, be placed, or, in case of Sickness or inevitable Accident, without a sufficient Medical Certificate that he is unable and unfit to attend at such College or Institution, or to perform the Duties of his Office. And also shall not nor will, during the whole Period in which he shall remain in India, either when attending at any College or Institution under the orders of the Government, or as a Public Servant in the Public Works Department on his own account or otherwise, either directly or indirectly carry on or be concerned in any Trade, Traffic, or Business whatsoever, but devote his whole Time and Attention to his Professional Studies and Duties. And also shall and will well, truly, and faithfully account for and pay over to the proper Agent or Agents of the Government authorized to receive the same, all Money, Goods, Wares, Merchandises, Materials, and Effects which shall at any Time come to his Hands or be under his Charge on account of the Government. Provided always, and it is hereby agreed between and by the Parties to these Presents, that in case the said Civil Engineer shall be guilty of any Insubordination, Drunkenness, or other Intemperance or Misconduct, or shall be guilty of any breach or non-performance of any of the Provisions or Agreements herein contained, then and in any or either of the said Cases it shall be lawful for the Government, or their Agents or Officers having competent authority for that purpose, whether before or after his being placed on the Establishment of the Public Works Department, to discharge him from the Service of the Government of India. And it is also agreed by and between the Parties hereto, that after the said Civil Engineer shall be placed on the Establishment of the Public Works Department, he shall and will thenceforth continue in the Service of the Government upon the Terms and Conditions herein contained or referred to for the period of Ten Years, commencing from the date of his being placed on the said Establishment. And these Presents also witness, That the said Secretary of State in Council doth hereby promise and agree with the said Civil Engineer, that in case, and upon condition, that he, the said Civil Engineer, shall observe, perform, and keep all the Agreements and Provisions herein contained, and on his part to be observed, performed, and kept, he shall be retained in the Service of the Government, and that when he shall have been pronounced sufficiently qualified for effective service in the Public Works Department by the President of any College or Institution at which he may be ordered to attend, or by any other Officer nominated by the Government, or at any earlier period if the Government shall think fit, he shall be placed on the Establishment of the Public Works Department as an Assistant Engineer, 3rd Grade, and shall thereupon become entitled to all the Rights and Privileges in respect of Pay and Promotion, accorded by the Rules and Regulations of the Public Works Department for the Time being, of the Presidency in which he may be required to serve and to leave of absence and retiring pension under the Leave and Pension Rules of the Uncovenanted Service for the Time being. Provided always that for the first year after he shall have been so placed on the Establishment of the Public Works Department, the said Civil Engineer shall be considered as on probation and subject to dismissal as herein-after mentioned. And these Presents further witness, That, in consideration of the Premises there shall be paid to the said Civil Engineer an Allowance or Pay at the rate of Rs. 170 per mensem, such Allowance or Pay to be paid monthly in the East Indies, commencing from the Date of these Presents and to cease on the Day of his dismissal from the Service of Government by reason of Misconduct, Failure in Qualification for the Establishment of the Public Works Department within the Period herein-after specified, or breach of any of the Clauses herein contained, or on the Day of his being placed on the Establishment of the Public Works Department, and this Salary shall be his sole legal remuneration; and if he shall die before being placed on the said Establishment then such Allowance or Pay to cease on the Day of his Death. And also that the Government in India shall and will provide for the said Civil Engineer all necessary articles which may be required by him for the due performance of his Public Duties in the East Indies according to the Rules of the Service. And also shall and will make such Allowance for his Travelling Expenses to be incurred in the prosecution of his Duties as shall be awarded by the Rules of the Public Works Department for the time being. And also that whilst he shall be completing his Studies he shall be allowed Free Quarters in addition to his Monthly Allowance or

Pay; and shall, if he be compelled through ill-health, whether before or after being placed on the Establishment of the Public Works Department, to quit the Service, before the Expiration of Ten Years from the Date when he shall be so placed, be provided by the Government with a Free Passage to England, and be paid a sum of 10*l*. in full satisfaction of all other Travelling Expenses and other necessary expenditure whatsoever during his return to his Home. Provided always, and it is hereby expressly declared and agreed, that in case the said Civil Engineer shall be guilty of any Insubordination, Drunkenness, or other Intemperance or Misconduct as aforesaid, or shall be guilty of any breach or non-observance of any of the Provisions or Agreements herein contained, whereby he shall, under the Proviso before mentioned, subject himself to the Penalty of Dismissal from the said Service, then he shall and will pay to or for the Use of the Government a Sum equal to One Year's Allowance, or Pay, or Salary, as the case may be, as liquidated Damages in respect thereof. And also in case he shall absent himself from the said Service without first obtaining Permission as aforesaid, or in case of Sickness without forwarding the requisite Medical Certificate of the fact to the Officer or Officers under whom he shall from time to time be placed, then he shall pay to or for the Use of the Government the Sum of Rs. 10 per Diem for every Day he shall be so absent as and by way of liquidated Damages, for breach of these Presents in that respect, and shall and will, upon demand forthwith pay such liquidated Damages to such Person or Persons, or in such manner as may be directed by the said Government; or it shall be lawful for the said Government to order the same to be deducted out of any Money which may be due by them to him, his Executors or Administrators, on any account whatever. And it is also declared and agreed by and between the Parties to these Presents, that the Proceedings, Letters, and Reports of the Governor-General of India in Council, or of any of the Governors in Council in India, and of all other the Agents or Officers of the Government in the East Indies, or any Copies or Extracts thereof, which shall be sent home to the Secretary of State in Council, or officially to any of the Officers or Servants on the Establishment of the Secretary of State in Council in England, or to any Officers or Servants in the Indian Service of Her Majesty in the East Indies in any way relating to the Sums of Money to be paid or allowed to the said Civil Engineer, or to the Conduct of the said Civil Engineer in the East Indies, or in any way relating to the Premises, shall be received as conclusive Evidence of any Matter therein contained in any Action or Suit at Law, or in Equity, or in any Legal Proceedings by or between the Parties to these Presents, or in any way relating thereto. Provided lastly, and it is hereby expressly agreed between and by the Parties hereto, that in case the said Civil Engineer shall not proceed to India in the Manner and at the Time the Secretary of State in Council shall direct, or in case at or before the expiration of One Year from the Date of his arrival in India he shall not be pronounced by the President of the College or Institution which he shall be ordered to attend or other Officer nominated as aforesaid by the Government sufficiently qualified to be placed on the Establishment of the Public Works Department, or in case at the end of his first year's service as an Assistant Engineer, 3rd Grade, during which he will be under the Rules of the Department on probation, he shall be reported to the Local Government or Administration by the Chief Engineer under whom he shall have been serving incompetent to discharge the duties of a Civil Engineer, which may be required of him, then and in either or any of such cases, it shall be lawful for the Government to cancel his Appointment, and thereupon these Presents and everything herein contained shall become void. IN WITNESS whereof

being two Members of the Council of India, have hereunto set their Hands the Day and Year first above written.

Signed by the above-named

in the

presence of
Signed by

being two Members of the Council of India,
in the presence of

REGULATIONS FOR THE EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT SURGEON IN HER MAJESTY'S INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

- Limit of age.** 1. All natural-born subjects of Her Majesty between 22 and 28 years of age at the date of the examination, and of sound bodily health, may be Candidates.
- Declaration to be submitted.** 2. They must subscribe and send in to the Military Secretary, India Office, Westminster, a declaration according to the annexed form.

This declaration must be accompanied by the following documents:—

- a. Proof of age, either by extract from the register of the parish in which the Candidate was born, or by his own declaration, pursuant to the Act 5 & 6 Wm. iv. c. 62; such extract and declaration respectively bearing the stamps required by law.
- b. A certificate of moral character from a magistrate, or a minister of the religious denomination to which the Candidate belongs, who has personally known him for at least two preceding years.
- c. The Candidate must possess a Diploma in Surgery, or a licence to practise it, as well as a Degree in Medicine, or a licence to practise it in Great Britain or Ireland.
- d. Degrees, diplomas, licences, and certificate of their registration in accordance with the Medical Act of 1858, must be lodged at the India Office, for examination and registry, at least one fortnight before the Candidate appears for examination.

- Subjects for Examination.** 3. On producing the foregoing qualifications, the Candidate will be examined by the Examining Board, at Chelsea Hospital, in the following subjects:—

Anatomy and Physiology.

Surgery.

Medicine, including Therapeutics, the Diseases of Women and Children, Chemistry and Pharmacy, and a practical knowledge of Drugs. (The examination in Medicine and Surgery will be in part practical, and will include operations on the dead body, the application of surgical apparatus, and the examination of medical and surgical patients at the bedside.)

4. The eligibility of each Candidate for the Indian Medical Service will be determined by the result of the examinations in these subjects only.

5. Candidates who desire it will be examined in Comparative Anatomy, Zoology, and Botany, with special reference to *Materia Medica*; and the number of marks gained in these subjects will be added to the total number of marks obtained in the obligatory part of the examination by Candidates, who shall have been found qualified for admission, and whose position on the list of successful competitors will thus be improved in proportion to their knowledge of these branches of science.

- Text Books.** The subjects for this part of the examination will be taken from the following books:—

- (1.) "Animal Kingdom," by W. S. Dallas, F.L.S.
- (2.) "Outlines of the Structure and Functions of the Animal Kingdom," by Rymer Jones; or "Cours Élémentaire d'Histoire Naturelle," par Milne Edwards.
- (3.) Lindley's "School Botany," Lindley's "Medical and Economic Botany," Henfrey's "Elementary Course of Botany."

6. Candidates who may desire it may also be examined in the Elements of Physics and in Physical Geography. The following books are recommended for this purpose:—

- (1.) "Elements of Natural Philosophy," by Golding Bird and C. Brooks.
- (2.) "Physical Geography," by Mrs. Somerville.

7. The Examiners in London will prepare a list in order of merit, with the marks affixed in the different subjects, to be transmitted to the Director-General, and communicated to the Professors of the Army Medical School. If any Candidate is found to be deficient in any particular subject, this shall be stated, in order that he may receive special instruction on the point at Netley.

8. After passing his preliminary examination, every Candidate will be required to

attend one entire Course of Practical Instruction at the Army Medical School, before being admitted to his examination for a Commission, on—

- (1.) Hygiene.
- (2.) Clinical and Military Medicine.
- (3.) Clinical and Military Surgery.
- (4.) Pathology of Diseases and Injuries incident to Military Service.

These courses are to be of not less than four months' duration.

9. At their conclusion, the Candidate will be required to pass an examination on the subjects taught in the School. The examination will be conducted by the Professors of the School. Examination at Netley.

The Director-General, or any Medical Officer deputed by him, may be present and take part in the examination. If the Candidate give satisfactory evidence of being qualified for the practical duties of an Army Medical Officer, he will be eligible for a Commission as Assistant Surgeon. The Commissions of Assistant Surgeons bear date from the day of joining at the Army Medical School. Date of Commissions.

10. During the period of his residence at the Army Medical School, each Candidate will receive an allowance of 5s. per diem with quarters, or 7s. per diem without quarters, to cover all costs of maintenance; and he will be required to provide himself with uniform (*viz.* the regulation undress uniform of an Assistant Surgeon of the British Service, but without the sword). Pay while at Netley.
Uniform while at Netley.

11. All Candidates will be required to conform to such rules of discipline as the Senate may from time to time enact.

The persons who shall be pronounced by the Examiners to be the best qualified in all respects will be appointed to fill the requisite number of appointments as Assistant Surgeons in Her Majesty's Indian Army. Their position on the list of Assistant Surgeons will be determined by the combined results of the preliminary and of the final examinations, and, so far as the requirements of the service will permit, they will have the choice of Presidency in India, according to their position on that list. Position on List of Assistant Surgeons, how determined.

12. All Assistant Surgeons, who shall neglect or refuse to proceed to India under the orders of the Secretary of State for India within two months from the date of their appointment, will be considered as having forfeited it, unless special circumstances shall justify a departure from this regulation. Date of embarkation for India.

13. The physical fitness of Candidates will be determined previous to examination, at Chelsea Hospital, by a Board of Medical Officers, who are required to certify that the Candidate's vision is sufficiently good to enable him to perform any surgical operation without the aid of glasses. A moderate degree of Myopia would not be considered a disqualification, provided it did not necessitate the use of glasses during the performance of operations, and that no organic disease existed. Physical Examination.

Every Candidate must also be free from organic disease of other organs, and from constitutional weakness, or other disability likely to unfit him for military service in India.

INDIA OFFICE, November, 1866.

N.B.—The examinations for admission to the Indian Medical Service will usually take place twice a year, *viz.* in February and in August.

DECLARATION AND SCHEDULE OF QUALIFICATIONS.

To be filled up by Candidates.

Christian and Surname at full length.

I _____
 _____ Years of Age in _____ last, *vide accompanying Certificate*, a Candidate for employment as Assistant Surgeon in Her Majesty's Indian Medical Service, do hereby attest my readiness to engage for that Service, and to proceed on Duty immediately on being gazetted.

I declare that I labour under no Mental nor Constitutional Disease, nor any imperfections or disability that can interfere with the most efficient discharge of the Duties of a Medical Officer.

The Dates of Graduations and the Universities or Colleges are to be stated.

I have the Degree of A.M. or A.B. from the _____

I have the Degree of M.D. or M.B. from the _____

I have a Licence to Practise Medicine from the _____

I have a Diploma in Surgery from the _____

I have a Licence to Practise Surgery from the _____

(Signature at full length) _____

(Date) _____

(Place of Residence) _____

Candidates who desire to be examined in Natural History, are to sign the following declaration:—

It is my intention to undergo the examination in Natural History.

N.B. This paper, when filled up, is to be returned, under cover, to

The Military Secretary,
India Office,
London, S.W.

MEMORANDUM REGARDING THE POSITION OF MEDICAL OFFICERS TO BE APPOINTED TO HER MAJESTY'S INDIAN FORCES.

INDIA OFFICE, December, 1869.

1. The regulations are those in force at the present time. They are subject to any alteration that may be determined on.

2. Passage allowance to India, on appointment, will be given, or a passage provided. When passages are provided on board the Indian troop ships, a charge for messing will be made at the rate laid down in the Royal Passage Warrant of 1865.

3. Pay at 10s. a day will be allowed from date of passing final examination at the Army Medical School.

4. Time of service for pension will reckon from date of arrival in India. The period of residence at the Army Medical School will reckon as service for the full-pay pension only. Indian Medical Officers, on first appointment, only come into receipt of Indian pay and allowances from the date of their arrival within the limits of the Presidency to which they have been gazetted. When provided with passages on the troop ships, they draw Indian pay and allowances from date of disembarkation at Bombay.

5. The duties will be those hitherto performed by the Medical Officers of the East India Company's service, with the exception of those relating to European troops.

6. Surgical Instruments are provided in India by the Governments for the use of Medical Officers.

GRADES.

7. The grades of Medical Officers in the Indian Military Forces shall be four in number, viz. :—

1. Inspector-General.

2. Deputy Inspector-General.

3. Staff or Regimental Surgeon, who, after 20 years' service, shall be styled Surgeon-Major.

4. Staff or Regimental Assistant Surgeon.

Resolutions of the Secretary of State in Council, dated 18th August, 1864, and 19th March, 1868.

G. O. G. G., No. 52 of 1869.

Royal Warrant, 13th January, 1860, Clause 1.

PAY AND ALLOWANCES WHEN IN INDIA.

8. Officers who may hereafter be appointed to the Indian Medical Service will receive pay in India according to the following scale:—

Despatch to the Government of India, No. 310, dated 7th November, 1864, para. 22.

Rank.	Years' Service.	Pay per Mensem.		
		R.	A.	P.
Surgeon-Major	25	888	12	0
"	20	852	3	7
Surgeon	15	677	6	11
"	12	640	14	6
Assistant Surgeon	10	410	9	5
"	6	392	5	2
"	5	304	14	2
"	under 5	286	10	0

9. The salaries of the principal administrative and military appointments are fixed at the following consolidated sums:—

Despatches to the Government of India, No. 340, dated 7th November, 1864, para. 28 and No. 167, dated 23rd August, 1866, para. 17.

	Ra. per Mensem.	
Inspector-General, Bengal	2700	
" Madras	2500	
" Bombay	2500	
Deputy Inspector-General	1800	
Surgeon-Major in charge of Native regiments	1000	with Rs. 90, horse allowance in Cavalry regiments.
Surgeon in charge of ditto	800	with Rs. 90 ditto.
Assistant Surgeon above 5 years' full pay service in charge of Native regiments	600	with Rs. 60 ditto.
Assistant Surgeon under 5 years' do.	450	with Rs. 60 ditto.

Note.—A Medical Officer will, however employed, be restricted to the rate of pay laid down in para. 8, until he shall have passed the examination in Hindustani, known as the "Lower Standard."

Despatch to the Government of India, No. 235, dated 16th November, 1866, para. 7.

10. The salaries of other Medical appointments in the Civil and Military Departments are consolidated, and vary from Rs. 1800 to Rs. 400 per mensem.

FURLOUGHS.

Indian Military Furlough Rules, 1st July, 1868.

11. An Officer will be eligible for two years' furlough on the completion of eight years' actual service in India, for a third year after six years' actual service from the date of his return to duty, and for a fourth or fifth year after similar intervals of six years.

General Order of Government of India, No. 613, 19th June, 1868.

12. While on furlough, an Officer will be allowed to pay at the rate of 50 per cent. of his allowances.

13. No absentee shall draw more than 1200l. or less than 250l. per annum.

14-15. The aggregate amount of furlough, with pay and retention of appointment, whether on private affairs or medical certificate, that may be granted to an Officer during his service, will be limited to eight years.

16. Assistant Surgeons under six years' service, and in receipt of Indian allowances as subalterns, on returning to England on sick certificate, receive passage allowance.

Despatch to India, No. 105, dated 9th June, 1865.

ENGLISH FURLOUGH PAY.

17. Officers of the Indian Medical Service will receive pay while on furlough in Europe according to the following scale:—

Rank.	After 30 Years' Service on Full Pay.	After 25 Years' Service on Full Pay.	After 20 Years' Service on Full Pay.	After 15 years' Service on Full Pay.	After 12 years' Service on Full Pay.	After 10 years' Service on Full Pay.	After 5 years' Service on Full Pay.	Under 5 years' Service on Full Pay.
Inspector-General	£ s. d. 2 5 0	£ s. d. 2 5 0	£ s. d. 2 0 0*	s. d. ..	s. d. ..	s. d. ..	s. d. ..	s. d. ..
Deputy Inspector-General	1 14 0	1 10 0	1 8 0*	..	..	..	..	..
Surgeon-Major .. ..	..	1 5 0	1 2 0	..	..	..	..	..
Surgeon .. ..	..	..	..	18 0	15 0	..	..	..
Assistant Surgeon .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	13 0	11 6	10 0

RETIRING PENSIONS.

18. Officers of the Indian Medical Service will be allowed to retire on the following scale of pension, on completion of the required periods of service:—

After 30 years' service in India	£. 550
" 27 " " " " " " " "	456
" 24 " " " " " " " "	365
" 21 " " " " " " " "	292
" 17 " " " " " " " "	220

19. The scale for Medical Officers of privileged furlough and leave of absence, to be allowed to count for the retiring pension, will be as follows:—

1 year 8 months in 17 and under 20 years' service.	
2 years 0 " " " " " " " "	20 25 "
3 " 0 " " " " " " "	25 33 "
4 " 0 " " " " " " "	30 and upwards.

20. An Inspector-General, after five years' active employment in India in that grade, will be entitled to retire upon a pension of 350*l.* per annum, in addition to that to which he may be entitled under the above scale.

21. A Deputy Inspector-General will, after five years' active employment in India in that grade, be entitled to retire upon a pension of 250*l.* per annum, in addition to the pension to which he may be entitled under the above scale.

22. In each of the cases stated in paras. 20 and 21, six months' absence on Medical certificate will be allowed to count towards actual service in these grades.

23. Officers compelled to leave the service on account of ill-health, and entitled to half-pay pension under present regulations, will be allowed the half-pay of their relative rank, as laid down in the Royal Warrant of 13th January, 1860.

Rank.	Relative Rank.	Rates of Half Pay.	
		Per Day.	Per Annum.
Surgeon-Major	Lieutenant-Colonel	s. d. 11 0	£ s. d. 200 15 0
Surgeon	Major	9 6	173 7 6
Assistant Surgeon	Captain	7 0	127 15 0
" " " " " " " "	Lieutenant	4 0	73 0 0†
" " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " "	2 6	45 12 6†

Officers cannot retire in India on half-pay (No. 54, 28th February, 1860).

* Or on promotion, should these periods of service not be already completed.
† Under the Regulations of the Indian Service.

Despatch to Government of India, No. 152, dated 13th May, 1864, para. 13.

Despatch to Government of India, No. 152, dated 13th May, 1864, para. 13.

half-pay pension.

Despatches to Government of India, No. 152, dated 13th May, 1864, para. 13, and No. 154, dated 28th February, 1860.

24. A Medical Officer, retiring after a service of twenty-five years and upwards, may, if recommended for the same by the Head of his Department, receive a step of honorary rank, but without any consequent increase of pay.

Royal War-rant, dated 13th January, 1860, para. 14. Despatch to Government of India, No. 340, dated 7th November, 1864, para. 43.

PROMOTION.

Rules for the Examination of Assistant Surgeons previous to Promotion.

25. This examination is intended as a test for promotion, and may be taken at any time after the Assistant Surgeon has served five or more years.

26. When Assistant Surgeons have served the requisite time they will be examined in the following manner:—

A series of printed questions, prepared by the Inspector-General of the Presidency, will be sealed and sent to the Principal Medical Officers of stations where Assistant Surgeons may be eligible for examination. It will be the duty of the Principal Medical Officer of the station to deliver these sealed questions to the Assistant Surgeons, and to see that they are answered without the assistance of books, notes, or communication with any other person. The answers are to be signed, and delivered sealed to the Principal Medical Officer, who is to send them, unopened, to the Inspector-General of the Presidency, together with a certificate from the Surgeon of the regiment, or other superior Medical Officer, that the Assistant Surgeon has availed himself of every opportunity of practising surgical operations on the dead body.*

Regulations of Army Medical Service adopted for the Indian Service.

27. The Assistant Surgeon will also be required to transmit, together with his answers to the Inspector-General of the Presidency, a Medico-Topographical account of the station where he may happen to be at the time, or of some other station where he may have been resident sufficiently long to enable him to collect the necessary information for such a report. Failing this, he will send a Medico-Statistical Report of his regiment for a period of at least twelve months.

28. If the Inspector-General of the Presidency is satisfied with the replies to the questions, and with the certificates and Medico-Topographical or Statistical Report, the Assistant Surgeon will be held qualified for promotion.

29. The Assistant Surgeon will thus be subjected to three separate examinations within the first ten years of his service, each examination having a definite object. The *first*, to ascertain, previous to his admission into the service as a Candidate, his scientific and professional education, and to test his acquirements in the various branches of professional knowledge; the *second*, after having passed through a course of special instruction in the Army Medical School, to test his knowledge of the special duties of an Army Medical Officer; and the *third*, previous to his promotion, to ascertain that he has kept pace with the progress of medical science.

30. The promotion of Assistant Surgeons will be regulated by length of service, and not, as heretofore, by succession to vacancies in a fixed establishment of Officers of the higher grades.

Promotion to Rank of Surgeon.

31. Assistant Surgeons of 12 years' service from the date of first commission (of which two years shall have been passed in charge of a native regiment), who shall have passed the proscribed examination in professional subjects, will be promoted to the rank of Surgeon.

Despatch to the Government of India, No. 340, dated 7th November, 1864, paras. 23 and 23.

32. A Surgeon, whether on the Staff or attached to regiments, must have served ten years in India, of which two must have been passed, with the rank of Surgeon, in or with a regiment, or as a Civil Surgeon, before he will be eligible for promotion to the rank of Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals.

33. A Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals must have served three years in India as such before he shall be eligible for promotion to the rank of Inspector-General.

Promotion to rank of Deputy Inspector-General.

34. In cases, however, of emergency, or when the good of the Service renders such alteration desirable, it shall be competent for the Governor-General in Council to shorten the several periods of service above mentioned, in such manner as he shall deem fit and expedient.

Promotion to rank of Inspector-General.

35. With a view to maintain the efficiency of the Service, all Medical Officers below the rank of Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals shall be placed on the Retired List when they shall have attained the age of 55 years, and all Inspectors-General and Deputy Inspectors-General when they shall have attained the age of 65 years.

Compulsory retirement.

* The Assistant Surgeon may see this certificate before it is sent to the Inspector-General.

Despatch to the Government of India, No. 340, dated 7th November, 1864, paras. 31 and 33.

36. With a view of promoting the efficiency of the Service, it has been further determined that the tenure of office by a Deputy Inspector-General of the Indian Service shall, as in the case of Inspectors-General, be limited to five years; Officers being, however, if not disqualified by age, eligible either for employment for a second tour of duty in the same grade, or for employment in the higher grade of Inspector-General by promotion thereto.

37. The rank of Inspector-General and Deputy Inspector-General conferred upon Officers of the Indian Medical Service under the Royal Warrant of the 13th January, 1860, is to be considered as substantive rank.

Pay, while unemployed, of Inspector-General and Deputy Inspector-General.

These Officers, on vacating office at the expiration of the five years' tour of duty, will be permitted in future to draw respectively an unemployed salary of Rs. 1200 per mensem in the former, and Rs. 900 in the latter case for a period of six months from the date of their vacating office, after which they will be placed while unemployed on the rate of pay laid down in para. 17 of this Memorandum for Officers of corresponding rank in Europe. These sums, deducted from the consolidated salary, will regulate the moiety of Staff salary to be drawn by Officers of those grades during absence on sick certificate.

An Inspector or Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals, who has completed his term of service, and has reverted to British pay, may reside in Europe, at the same time qualifying for higher pension.

Despatch to the Government of India, No. 166, para. 17, dated 24th June, 1869. Royal Warrant, dated 13th January, 1860, paras. 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, and 12.

RELATIVE RANK.

38. The relative rank of the Medical Officers of Her Majesty's Indian Military Forces shall be as follows:—

Staff or Regimental Assistant Surgeon as a Lieutenant, according to the date of his Commission; and after six years' service as Captain, according to the date of the completion of such service.

Staff or Regimental Surgeon as Major, according to the date of his Commission; and Surgeon-Major as Lieutenant-Colonel, but junior of that rank.

Deputy Inspector-General as Lieutenant-Colonel, according to the date of his appointment; and after five years' service in India as Deputy Inspector-General, as Colonel, according to the date of the completion of such service.

Inspector-General of Hospitals as Brigadier-General, according to the date of his appointment; if with an army in the field, or after three years' service in India as Inspector-General, as a Major-General, from the date of his joining such army in the field, or according to the date of the completion of such service.

PENSIONS (WOUND AND FAMILY).

39. Medical Officers shall be entitled to all the allowances granted to Her Majesty's Indian Military Forces on account of wounds and injuries received in action, as combatant Officers holding the same relative ranks.

40. The widows and children of Medical Officers will be granted pensions not less than those to which they would be entitled under the provisions of the Royal Warrant of June 15th, 1855.

41. The claims to pension of widows and families of Medical Officers shall be treated under the provisions of such Royal Warrant regulating the grant of pensions to the widows and families of British Officers as may be in force at the time being.

Despatch to the Government of India, No. 340, dated 7th November, 1864, para. 46. Despatch to the Government of India, No. 132, of the 30th June, 1866.

FOREST DEPARTMENT IN INDIA.

PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES FOR NOMINATION TO JUNIOR APPOINTMENTS.

INDIA OFFICE, October, 1869.

The Secretary of State for India in Council having resolved to send out annually a certain number of young men, properly trained and well educated, from this country for service in the Forests of India, with a view to their being ultimately promoted to the superior posts in that Department, the following are the conditions required of persons seeking to be nominated to one of those appointments, and the advantages

held out to them. The number required this year will be ELEVEN, if so many are found duly qualified.

Applicants must be British subjects, above 17 and under 25 years of age. They must be unmarried, and if they marry before they leave this country for India, they will forfeit their appointment as junior assistants.

They must send to the Revenue Department of the India Office, on or before the 25th of November next,—

1. Their names and parentage, a certificate, or other satisfactory evidence of their birth, and, if under age, a statement of consent from parents or guardians.

2. A statement of the places of education at which they may have been since they were nine years old, accompanied by testimonials of good conduct during the last two years, and proof of their having attained a certain standard of proficiency in the following branches of knowledge:—

I.—English writing from dictation, and English composition.

II.—Arithmetic in all its branches.

III.—Algebra, elementary principles, simple and quadratic equations, ratios and proportions, logarithms, arithmetical and geometrical progression.

IV.—Geometry (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 6th books of Euclid) and plane Trigonometry.

V.—Free hand-drawing.

VI.—A good colloquial knowledge of either German or French, with the facility of translating from one of these languages.

A preference will be given to those Candidates who, in addition to the above, show proficiency in—

I.—Surveying and Land Measuring.

And in the elements of Geology and Mineralogy.

II.—Candidates may also obtain marks for proficiency in the elements of any of the following subjects:—

Plan-drawing.

Botany.

Mechanical and Natural Philosophy.

Chemistry.

They must appear personally at the India Office on the 6th or 7th of December next, between the hours of 11 and 4, or before 12 o'clock on the 8th.

As active habits and a strong constitution are most important, such applicants as are admitted to be Candidates will then be directed to appear for medical examination before the Indian Medical Board.

Those who are passed by the Board will be examined on the 9th and following days in the various branches of knowledge mentioned above, by the Civil Service Commissioners.

The regulations above stated are liable to alteration in future years; but no Candidate, in this year, or hereafter, will be chosen who does not come up to the requisite standard of proficiency in each of the prescribed subjects.

The Candidates accepted by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, must undergo a regular course of training of two years and a half in the management of forests and the science of Forestry, in surveying, road-making, and the natural sciences. For this purpose those Candidates who possess a sufficient knowledge of German will be directed to proceed to Germany; and for those who are acquainted with the French language the course of training will be arranged in France.

The course of training will commence on the 1st of March, 1870, and be concluded on 1st September, 1872. The arrangements made for this purpose are detailed in a Memorandum appended to this paper; but Her Majesty's Secretary of State reserves to himself the right from time to time to make such alterations in the course of studies and training as may appear expedient.

During the course of training the Candidates will be expected to conduct themselves throughout in a proper and gentlemanlike manner, to obey the injunctions of the officers and professors appointed to instruct them, to use due diligence in the practical work and in their studies, and zealously to improve every opportunity for learning that may be offered them. Candidates who do not conduct themselves in a proper and gentlemanlike manner, or do not show satisfactory progress in their studies,

will be removed from the list of Candidates on the report of the officer intrusted with the general direction of their studies.

After completing the course prescribed, an examination will be held by the officers and professors intrusted with the instruction of the Candidates. Those who give proof of a satisfactory progress in the subjects in which they had been instructed will be nominated Junior Assistants in the Forest Departments in India.

According to the estimates framed, the cost of this training, whether in Germany or in France, will not exceed 500*l*. This sum will, it is believed, cover the cost of board, lodging, and instruction for the whole term of two years and a half.

To those Candidates whose conduct and progress are satisfactory, Her Majesty's Secretary of State engages to pay a stipend at the rate of 50*l*. for each half year. This stipend will ordinarily be paid half-yearly, on the recommendation of the officer intrusted with the general direction of the studies and training of the Candidates; but in the case of the French students the first payment is made after eight, instead of six, months.

In the interval between the conclusion of the course of instruction on the Continent and the departure for India, the Candidates will be required to pass some time, probably not less than a month, with one or more approved foresters in Scotland.

Within a month of his nomination as Junior Assistant, each nominee must sign a covenant, in the form appended hereto, describing the terms and conditions of his appointment; and he must embark for India when required to do so by the Secretary of State, who will provide for the expenses of his passage. Any nominee not embarking when required will forfeit his appointment. Otherwise he will be allowed pay at the rate of 250 rupees (which is about the equivalent of 25*l*. in English money) a month, from the date of his signing the covenant.

On arrival in India, the nominee will be required to report himself to the Government of India (or to the Government of Bombay or Madras, in case he should be sent to one of these Presidencies), and he will then be posted to such part of the forests as the service may require.

The salaries of the appointments in the three Presidencies range between 300*l*. and 1900*l*. a year. Promotion to them will depend upon efficiency, and the occurrence of vacancies.

On reaching the place to which he may be appointed, the nominee will become entitled to all the rights and privileges, in respect of pay and promotion, accorded to officers of the Forest Department by the rules and regulations for the time being, and to leave of absence and retiring pensions under the leave and pension rules of the Uncovenanted Service for the time being. No rise of pay or promotion will, however, take place previous to his passing an examination in such one of the native languages as may be prescribed by the Government under which he is serving.

APPENDIX.

I. MEMORANDUM ON THE COURSE OF INSTRUCTION PROPOSED.

Those Candidates who possess a sufficient knowledge of German will proceed to Hanover, and report themselves to Mr. Burckhardt, the Director of Forests in the former Kingdom of Hanover, who will undertake the general direction of their studies and practical training.

During the first year the Candidates will be placed with an executive forest officer in charge of a forest district (Oberförster), where they will serve their apprenticeship in the practical work of a forester, and, at the same time, receive instruction in the science of forestry. They will be provided with board and lodging in the family of the "Oberförster." The Director will from time to time see them, and they will occasionally accompany him on his tours of inspection.

During the remaining three half years the Candidates will live at Hanover, where they will receive practical instruction in surveying, land measuring, and road-making, and be taught those branches of the natural sciences, and the science of forestry, which are requisite for a forest officer in India. Certain portions of pure and applied mathematics will also be studied.

They will live either with the Director or with another of the principal forest officers at Hanover; they will occasionally accompany these officers on their journeys,

and will from time to time be sent to different forest districts, to become acquainted with the different kinds of forests, and the various methods adopted for their management. Should such hereafter appear expedient, part of the time assigned to Hanover may be spent at a forest school or at an university, as may be arranged by the Director.

At the end of the course of training the Candidates will be required to pass an examination in the subjects of their studies.

The cost of board, lodging, journeys, and instruction has been estimated as follows:—for the first year, 1000 thalers; for the second year, 1500 thalers; for the last half year, 750 thalers; total, 3250 thalers, or 487l. 10s.

Those Candidates who are not acquainted with German, but possess a sufficient knowledge of French, will proceed to Paris and report themselves to one of the principal officers at the "*Direction Générale des Forêts*." They will first spend eight months in a forest district for practical training. By the 1st November, 1870, they will proceed to Nancy, where they will be received as students at the Imperial Forest School. The course is biennial, and closes on 1st September, 1872. Before leaving they will be required to pass an examination in the subjects in which they have been instructed.

II. FORM OF COVENANT.

Articles of Agreement made the _____ in the year of our Lord, 18 _____ between _____ of the one part, and the Secretary of State for India in Council of the other part. Whereas the Secretary of State in Council has retained and engaged the said _____ to serve Her Majesty, as an officer in the Forest Department, in any part of Her Majesty's dominions in India:

1. Now these Presents witness that, for and in consideration of a first-class passage being provided for him, and all necessaries for his accommodation at sea, including the expenses of transit through Egypt of himself and his personal baggage, and also in consideration of the salary agreed to be paid to him, as hereinafter mentioned, he, the said _____, for himself, his executors and administrators, doth hereby promise and agree to and with the said Secretary of State in Council in manner following, that is to say:—

2. That he, the said _____, shall and will, at such time and in such manner as he shall be directed by the Secretary of State in Council, proceed to _____, for which purpose the Secretary of State in Council shall provide for the said _____ a first-class passage and accommodation at sea, and defray the expenses of the transit through Egypt of himself and his personal baggage, but not of hotel accommodation, or any other expenses which may be incurred on land in the course of his transit to India.

3. As soon as the said _____ shall arrive at _____, he shall report his arrival to the Secretary of the Government of _____ in the _____ Department, and submit himself to the orders of the said Government, or of the officer or officers under whom he shall from time to time be placed by the authority of the said Government.

4. The said _____ shall continue in the service of the Government, at any place or places to which he may be sent by the officer placed over him as hereinafter mentioned, subject to the provisions hereinafter contained.

5. He, the said _____, during the time of his service, shall employ himself wholly, efficiently, and diligently under the orders and instructions of the said Government, or of the officer or officers who may be placed over him, in the improvement, care, and general management of the forests, and in the formation of nurseries and plantations; and for that purpose shall, to the best of his skill and knowledge, superintend all operations and work connected with the said forests, and take the charge and management of the forests, as he may be directed by the said Government, or by such officer or officers, and shall do all other acts, matters, and things, and discharge all duties which may be required of him by the said Government, or by such officer or officers, to be done in his capacity as an officer of the Forest Department, and shall, in addition thereto, make himself in other

respects generally useful in his calling, as may be required by the Government, or by such officer or officers aforesaid, and also shall, to the utmost of his skill, instruct and train the natives and others who may be placed under him, and as he may be required by the Government, or such officer or officers, in forestry, and all duties connected with the management of the forests.

6. During his said service, the said shall not on any pretence absent himself therefrom, without having first obtained the permission of the officer or officers under whom he shall be placed, or, in case of sickness or inevitable accident, without obtaining, whenever possible, a sufficient medical certificate that he is unable to perform the duties of his office, and he shall not, during the said service, on his own account or otherwise, either directly or indirectly, carry on, or be concerned in, any trade, traffic, or business whatsoever, but shall devote his whole time and attention to the duties for which he is engaged.

7. It is further agreed that the said shall at all times during the said service well, truly, and faithfully account for and pay over or deliver to the proper agent or agents of the Government authorized to receive the same, all monies, goods, wares, merchandises, materials, and effects, documents, and reports, which shall at any time come to his hands, or be under his charge on account of the said Government. He shall also, during his continuance in the service, well and truly conform to all the rules and regulations of the Department of the service to which he shall belong, and also conform to and obey all such orders and directions as he shall from time to time receive from Government, or such officer or officers as aforesaid, at a place where he shall from time to time be stationed.

8. And it is hereby further agreed that, in case the said shall be guilty of any insubordination, drunkenness, or other intemperance, misconduct, or disobedience of orders, or shall be guilty of any breach or non-observance or non-performance of any of the matters herein contained, then, and in any of the said cases, it shall be lawful for the said Government, or any of their officers having authority from the said Government for that purpose, to discharge him from the said service, and he shall and will thereupon, forthwith, upon being so discharged, peaceably and quietly, in an orderly manner, leave the service.

9. And the Secretary of State in Council agrees that, upon condition that the said shall keep the several matters herein contained on his part, and shall be able to perform, and shall actually perform, the services hereinbefore mentioned, but not otherwise, there shall be paid to him by Government, during the time of his service in India, a salary at and after the rate of 250 rupees per month, to be paid monthly in India, commencing from the day of his signature of this agreement, provided he embarks for India within the time specified by the Secretary of State in Council for his so doing. And it is further agreed that the said shall, on joining the station to which he may first be posted in India, become entitled to all the rights and privileges in respect of pay and promotion accorded to Officers of the Forest Department by the rules and regulations for the time being, and to leave of absence and retiring pension or gratuity under the leave and pension rules of the Uncovenanted Service for the time being, and that the time of his service shall be computed from the day of his joining the said station.

10. And it is further agreed, that the said shall and will, on his arrival in India, diligently study those native languages which may be prescribed by the Government under which he is serving, and that no rise of his pay or promotion will take place previous to his passing an examination in one of these languages, as may be prescribed by Government.

11. In case the said shall be discharged from the said service on account of insubordination, or drunkenness or other intemperance, or misconduct, or by reason of any breach or non-observance of any of the matters herein contained, he shall repay to the said Secretary of State in Council any sum which he may have received by way of passage-money; and in case he shall absent himself from his said service without obtaining permission as aforesaid, or, in case of sickness, without forwarding the requisite medical certificate of the fact to the Officer or Officers under whom he shall be placed, he shall pay to or for the use of the said Secretary of State in Council the sum of one day's pay which would then have accrued due had he performed his duty for every day he shall be so absent.

12. All such sums as may be due from the said, as aforesaid, to Government shall be paid as and by way of liquidated damages and the

said shall and will, upon demand, forthwith pay such liquidated damages to any person to whom he may be directed by the said Government to pay the same, or it shall be lawful for the said Government to deduct the same out of any money which may be due to him from them, either under these presents or on any account whatever.

13. And it is also agreed by and between the parties to these presents, that the proceedings, letters, and reports of the Governor-General of India in Council, or any of the Governors in Council, or other Governor or Government in India, or any of them, or any of their agents or officers, or any copies or extracts thereof, which shall be sent to the Secretary of State in Council, or officially to any of the officers or servants on the establishment of the Secretary of State in Council in England, or to any officers in the Indian Service of Her Majesty in the East Indies or elsewhere, in any way relating to the sums of money paid or to be paid to the said under these presents, or relating to the conduct of the said in the East Indies, or to any matter in any way relating to the premises, shall be received as conclusive evidence of any matter therein contained or referred to in any action or suit at law or in equity, or in any legal proceedings by or between the parties to these presents, or in any way relating thereto.

In witness whereof, the said , and , being two Members of the Council of India, have hereunto set their hands, the day and year first above written.

Signed by the above-named

in the presence of

Signed by the above-named

being two Members of the Council of India, in the presence of

III. EXTRACTS FROM THE RULES* FOR THE GRANT OF LEAVE OF ABSENCE AND PENSIONS TO UNCOVENANTED SERVANTS IN INDIA.

(See pages 62 and 63.)

MEMORANDUM OF THE TESTS TO WHICH NOMINEES WILL BE SUBJECTED, AND OF THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS ON WHICH THEY WILL BE ADMITTED INTO THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Nominees must be of pure European descent or British-born subjects, and must be of not less than 18 nor more than 24 years of age on the day appointed for the beginning of the first of the educational examinations referred to below.

A nominee will be required, immediately after receiving a nomination, to furnish a certificate showing the date of his birth, and also a certificate of good conduct for the previous two years; and he must be passed by the Medical Board of this Office as possessing a constitution sufficiently vigorous to withstand fatigue and exposure in a tropical climate; the medical examination taking place, at his option, either immediately after his nomination, or at any other time previous to his attending the educational examination next to be referred to, of the time and place of which due notice will be given to him, and the subjects of which, as well as the prescribed maximum and minimum marks for each subject, will be as follows:—

SUBJECTS.										Marks.	Minimum that will be allowed to count.
Writing in English from dictation, for which no marks will be given, but failure in which will at once disqualify a candidate.											
<i>History.</i>											
English	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	250	400
Roman	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	250	
Indian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	250	
Greek	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	250	

N.B.—Two at least of these historical subjects must be taken up in order that any marks obtained in them should count.

* N.B. These are subject to alteration from time to time by the Government of India, under the sanction of the Secretary of State.

		SUBJECTS.	Marks.	Minimum that will be allowed to count.
		<i>Geography.</i>		
Indian	.. .. .		350	} 350
General	.. .. .		350	
		<i>Mathematics.</i>		
Arithmetic, including square and cube root	.. .. .		450	250
Mensuration	.. .. .		250	100
Book-keeping	.. .. .		250	100
Euclid, I., II., III., IV., and VI. books	.. .. .		450	200
Algebra, to quadratic equations	.. .. .		450	200
Plane trigonometry, including heights and distances, and the use of logarithmic tables	.. .. .		650	300
Higher Mathematics	.. .. .		1500	150
		<i>Languages.</i>		
Latin	.. .. .		500	100
Greek	.. .. .		500	100
Any one or two of the following modern languages, viz. French, German, Italian, Hindustani; not more than two modern languages being permitted to be taken up			500	200
<i>N.B.—Full marks may be scored in one language.</i>				
		<i>Drawing.</i>		
Freehand	.. .. .		250	100
Mechanical	.. .. .		250	100
		<i>Physics.</i>		
Chemistry	.. .. .		500	150
Electricity and Magnetism	.. .. .		500	150
Heat, Light, and Sound	.. .. .		500	150

A nominee may either be examined in all, or may choose in which of the above subjects he will be examined; but an aggregate minimum of 3000 marks must in either case be obtained. Nominees should give notice in writing, some time before the beginning of the examination, of the subjects which they will take up.

Of nominees who may fulfil the above conditions, and may be reported by the Examiners to be sufficiently deserving, so many as may be needed to fill the appointments offered for competition will be selected in the order of the aggregate marks gained by them. These selected Candidates will be required to prepare for further examinations. With this view each, unless by special permission from this office left to make his own arrangements for subsequent technical instruction, must attend a physical class or classes approved by the Secretary of State, for further instruction in Mathematics, Chemistry, Electricity, and other branches of Physical Science connected with Electric Telegraphy, and must produce a certificate of having done so to the satisfaction of the teacher. He will then be subjected to a test examination in all these several subjects. Also, either previously or subsequently to the said test examination, he must place himself under an authorized telegraph engineer, to be named by the Secretary of State, for the purpose of receiving instruction in the practical construction of telegraph lines, testing, &c., and must obtain from the said engineer a like certificate of satisfactory attendance.

Not less than six months must be spent in the physical class, and not less than four months in the study of practical construction.

The sum of 100*l.* (one hundred pounds) to cover all expenses of college fees, &c., will be granted to him, or to trustees on his behalf, on his or their (as the case may be) signing a bond and giving security for the refund of the same in the event of his either failing to pass satisfactory final examinations in the prescribed subjects of study on the expiration of the prescribed periods, or to proceed to India in due course.

After passing the final examinations, nominees must sign covenants with the Secretary of State for India, and will in general be required to proceed to India within one month after date of signature.

Any nominee, however, who may be reported by the Examiner in Physical Science

at the final examination to be possessed of high proficiency, will, as a special privilege, be allowed to spend three months extra in an additional course for the purpose of qualifying himself in the practice and principles of making delicate electrical measurements and tests, and will be granted 50*l.* to pay his fees and other expenses while so doing. This sum will not, however, be paid until the additional course is completed, nor without production of a certificate from the conductor of the course that it has been properly attended.

100*l.* (one hundred pounds) will be allowed to each successful nominee as passage money.

On arrival in India the nominee will join the Telegraph Department as Assistant Superintendent of the 4th Class.

Revised Organization and Annual Salaries of the Superior Grades of the Indian Telegraph Establishment.

	£.	£.	£.
1 Director General	8000, rising to 3600.		
1 Deputy Director-General ..	1800, "	2160 by annual increments of 60.	
4 First-class Superintendents ..	1260, "	1800	80.
8 Second-class	960, "	1200	60.
7 Third-class	720, "	900	36.
88 *Assistant Superintendents of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Grades	240, "	500.	

In addition to the above, liberal allowances are granted for travelling, &c.

W. T. THORNTON,
Secretary,
Public Works Department.

INDIA OFFICE,
3rd February, 1870.

P.S.—The next of the Educational Examinations referred to in the second paragraph of this Memorandum will begin on the 1st of September 1870. The number of appointments then open to competition will be .

N.B.—The nomination list is closed for some time to come.

* Assistant Superintendents begin in the fourth grade on 240*l.* per annum, increased to 270*l.* after one year, provided they pass a colloquial examination in a vernacular language, &c. Every additional year of approved service entitles them to a further increase of 30*l.*, until they obtain the maximum of 500*l.* per annum. These periods may be prolonged or shortened in special cases.

Assistant Superintendents, drawing 420*l.* per annum, are in the first grade; those drawing 360*l.*, in the second; and those drawing 300*l.*, in the third grade. Promotions to Superintendents are only made as vacancies occur, not by right of seniority, although seniority is considered to give great claim, but by merit.

LIST OF DONATIONS FOR 1866-1868.

	£	s.	d.
The Earl of Kellie	25	0	0
†H.H. The Thakore of Bhownugger, K.C.S.I.	100	0	0
Sir George Pollock	5	6	0
H.H. The Thakore of Rajcote	40	0	0
H.H. The Rao of Kutch	100	0	0
†H.H. Bahdur Khan	100	0	0
By Donations under 5 <i>l</i>	11	14	0

LIST OF DONATIONS TO THE PERMANENT FUND.

	Rs.	A.		Rs.	A.
Cowasjee Jehangir Readymoney, Esq., C.S.I.	1000	0	Nakhoda Mahomed Alee Rogay, Esq.	100	0
H. H. The Rao of Kutch	1000	0	Venayackrao Jagonath Sankerset, Esq.	50	0
†H. H. The Maharajah of Indore	1000	0	Messrs. Ghelabhoy Khanbhoy, and Bros.	20	0
H. H. The Chief of Sanglee	200	0	Rustomjee Sorabjee Pooneger, Esq.	7	0
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JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING, HELD AT BOMBAY, DECEMBER 22, 1869.

VENAYEKRAO JUGGONTHJEE SUNKERSETT, Esq.,
IN THE CHAIR.

A GENERAL Meeting of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association was held on 22nd December, 1869, at the Framji Cowasji Institute, Mr. VENAYEKRAO JUGGONTHJEE SUNKERSETT, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair. In opening the proceedings he said:—

We have met here to-day to hear a paper which my friend Mr. Pherozshaw Mehta will presently read to you on the subject of Grants-in-Aid. The paper will speak for itself, and will, I have no doubt, be a valuable addition to the papers which are printed under the auspices of the East India Association. If the members will be induced to contribute their quota towards the Journal, we shall be handing to posterity productions which will be interesting and instructive. When the inauguration of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association took place, I stated in my remarks the great assistance this body will be giving to the Government, and I have no doubt that the example which Mr. Pherozshaw, the able and energetic Honorary Secretary, has shown will be an incentive for many to follow him. I will now introduce to you Mr. Mehta, who will read his paper.

Mr. PHEROZSHAW M. MEHTA then read a Paper

On the Grant-in-Aid System in the Presidency of Bombay.

When I read my paper on the Educational System in the Presidency of Bombay before the East India Association in London, I found myself under little or no necessity of vindicating the morality or policy of educating the natives of India. It seemed to me that I should have imposed on myself a work of pure supererogation, if I had undertaken any such task. I should have been slashing and fighting away at Quixotic phantom-giants. Only a little while before, a book had been published which, though its writer modestly judged it a *sicciissimus hortus*, yet was hailed from all sides as containing an admirably trustworthy and genuine brew of the concentrated quintessence of "the Ideas of the Day on Policy." On referring to its chapter on Indian Policy, I found that Mr. C. Buxton had thus described the leading idea on the subject:—"The great principle which distinguishes our government of India from that of almost any other dependency by any other conquerors, is the idea that we are to govern her, first and foremost, not for our own good, but for that of her own people. Despite many exceptions and many drawbacks, this noble principle has been strongly grasped by the British rulers of India, and has in very truth been the life-blood of their policy." At that time my own studies and observations had all combined to verify this description. Since my return, however, to this country, the conviction has forced itself upon me that the party which ridicule this principle as based upon a hysterical system of sentimental morality, and sometimes condescend to warn both their countrymen and ourselves on the terrible results of so self-destructive a policy, is not a very inconsiderable or unimportant section of the Anglo-Indian community. It is true that they do not represent, so to speak, the party "*in power*;" but they certainly form a very compact and powerful "*opposition party*." They systematically set their face against all measures at all calculated to train the natives of India up to the highest standard of the civilization of the day. They condemn in no measured terms the impolicy or inexpediency of imparting a liberal education to them. They solemnly shake their heads at the progress which the educational institutions have already made. They are overborne—perhaps more with sorrow than with anger—at the

dimensions which the educational budget has already been allowed to assume to the detriment of works of more solid and undoubted utility. Their cherished ideal of government in India is a perpetual strong-handed patriarchal government which would assure to each of its subjects or slaves a modicum of the primitive happiness of the golden times, *i.e.* "The happiness of beasts with lower pleasures, and of beasts with lower pains," to paraphrase it in the language of historical reality.

I have referred to the existence of this party—Jesuistical in its aims and opinions, without the Jesuistical organization—not with any object of undertaking a refutation of their creed, of pointing out to them that, if they studied the comparative history even of Western civilizations, they would find that the fallacies on which all their arguments and their reasonings depend, have been long since exploded; that the only difference between the imbecile morality which they desire and the practical expediency which they invoke, is only one of degree, inasmuch as morality is the expediency proclaimed, not by the partial and narrow-sighted view of life taken by individual presumption, but the expediency woven into the very warp and woof of the growing web of civilization by the tentative and slowly-maturing cumulative experience of generations after generations—in short, that morality is far-sighted expediency; nor of proving to them that the maxim is applicable with respect not only to the relations of private life, to the relations between private families, but also to the larger social relations of that larger community of nations.

My sole object in referring to them is to state from the beginning that this entire paper rests upon the assumption that it is the *duty* and *interest* of the English rule in India to initiate the natives into the fullest and highest mysteries of modern civilization, and to promote a system of public instruction commensurate with this aim.

Starting from this point of view, it would be ungrateful to ignore or deny the great efforts that have been already made, and the great results that have been already achieved, in the cause of the advancement of native education. Especially we must not forget that when the problem was first taken into hand, there were formidable objections to be overcome; there were uncertain experiments to be hazarded. The first forty years may be characterized as years of groping and stumbling in the dark. In the year 1854, however, it was thought that the time had arrived for a safe induction of principles, and the inauguration of a system founded upon them. The great Educational Despatch of 1854 was accordingly issued. I propose in this paper to discuss one of its main features, *viz.* the Grant-in-Aid system which it introduced in India.

The Despatch was not unworthy of that peculiar body of statesmen from whom it emanated. It possessed not a few of the merits of a weighty State-document, carefully meditated and carefully worded. Its review of all the past experience on the subject was just and impartial; it summed it up in a series of clear, concise utterances at once weighty and dispassionate. It traced with a sure and rapid hand a system for the future, perfect in itself and in all its parts. Thus it conferred an incalculable benefit on the cause of Indian education by pronouncing for the primary introduction of Western literature and science, as against the antiquated, though valuable, lore of the East. It closed the long-continued controversy between the Anglicists and the Vernacularists by declaring for a proper co-ordination of both the English and Vernaculars of the country. It directed a departmental organization for public instruction, without altogether discarding the aid and advice of the amateur boards and councils which had till then reigned. It propounded a regularly developing series of elementary schools, High schools and colleges, and crowned the whole edifice with a university.

While laying down such a comprehensive programme of public instruction, the Despatch almost rises into a sort of grave eloquence not devoid of a generous enthusiasm. But one step more, however, and the comprehensiveness is forgotten, and the enthusiasm wanes away. With merits which we have pointed out above, essentially English, the Despatch, as soon as it proceeds to devise ways and means to carry out its vast scheme, is marred by faults also essentially English. It no sooner promulgates its sanguine and symmetrical programme than it hastens to impress the "impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India." It complacently congratulates itself upon the progress which has been already made, and the satisfactory state of most of the schools and colleges already established, particularly that of the institutions for the higher classes of education, *i.e.* institutions where value is rather specu-

lative to the *soi-disant* practical people, and whose cost is considerable. It soon works itself up into the belief that all that is really necessary to be done could be done by a system which would enable the Government to dole out its pecuniary grants most slowly and sparingly. And then the adoption of the Grant-in-Aid system, with respect to native education, was advocated by an argument irresistible to an English mind. "It has been carried out in this country," says the Despatch, "with very great success." In his book on the Study of History, Lord Babingbrooke has remarked that "There is scarcely any folly or vice more epidemical among the sons of men than that ridiculous and hurtful vanity by which the people of each country are apt to prefer themselves to those of any other, and to make their own customs and manners and opinions the standard of right and wrong, of true and false."

Driven by these powerful motives, the Despatch grasps hold convulsively of the Grant-in-Aid system, and proclaims it the best thing in the world for the just and proper promotion of native education.

I have said in my former paper that it is the peculiar misfortune of India that she is liable to suffer from a double set of errors of the most opposite kinds. She is debarred from the benefit of English institutions, which she has urgent need of, while others are forced upon her, which are entirely unsuited to her circumstances. In the present case the bitterness of the reflection is not assuaged by the conviction that even in its native country the days of the Grant-in-Aid system are probably numbered, and the reasons which recommended its introduction there will sooner or later, perhaps, cease to exist. However this may be, it is not difficult to show that the conditions which alone justified the trial of the system in England have never existed, and do not exist, in India—*viz.* 1stly, the wide-spread perception of the general and special advantages of education; 2ndly, the existence of a more or less complete and richly-endowed set of colleges and grammar-schools; and 3rdly, the necessity for the recognition of a denominational system of education.

I. The absence of the first condition will be hardly denied by Englishmen, whose sole justification for a conquest has been said to lie in that very circumstance, by an impartial critic, like Mons. Louis Blanc. But, in truth, the perception of the direct and indirect enlightening benefits of a general, particularly a general liberal education, is very faint indeed among the mass of the natives of India. The old systems of Society and Government never allowed any large scope for it. And since the advent of the English, its growth is still in its infancy. At any rate, it is not so far advanced as to induce people to invest money to any large extent in profitable educational institutions, especially of the higher order. And it is very rarely indeed that in any other country of the world High schools and colleges have been started by private enterprise, except at distant intervals of time.

II. This brings us to the second condition we have laid down. The trial of the Grant-in-Aid system was possible in England, only because it then already possessed grammar-schools and colleges, magnificently endowed by some of its old liberal monarchs and State dignitaries. And perhaps it is not totally uninteresting to remark here that even these endowments were founded more with a view to the promotion of theological zeal, than from any appreciation of the unmixed benefits of education, as education, or mental cultivation. But, however prompted, there they were, these fine establishments, for purposes which, though they might have been originally collateral, were now at least the principal ones. Now, what did the Directors find corresponding to them in the Bombay Presidency when they issued their Despatch? We shall give them the benefit, or otherwise, of reviewing the principal schools and colleges established by Government—not as they existed in 1854, but as they flourish at the present moment. Now let us take first of all the High schools, which, according to the programme sketched out in the Despatch, were to teach up to the Matriculation standard of the University. They would then correspond to the great public grammar-schools of England, such as Eton, Rugby, Harrow, Westminster, &c., or to the lycées of France, such as some of the great lycées of Paris—Louis the Grand, Napoléon, Saint Louis, Bonaparte, &c. Let us now compare the state of our High schools with that of one of these schools, *e.g.* the Lycée Saint Louis, so ably portrayed by the masterly hand of Mr. Matthew Arnold. A French lycée will serve better for our purpose than one of the English grammar-schools—for there is an organization and precision about the former, of which the latter are mostly devoid. As our schools will be more easily described by negatives, we shall take the principal features of the lycée and see if we can trace them in our schools.

The Lycée Saint Louis, first of all, is located in a handsome, commodious, and comfortable building, admirably adapted to meet all the wants of a school of 800 boys. Its sanitary arrangements, its conveniences for recreation and exercise are carefully looked to, though entailing heavy expense on the Government. Now, to take the largest of our High-school buildings, that of the Central school—the most that could be said of it would be that it got built up somehow, and therefore let it stand. There are repeated complaints in the Director of Public Instruction's Reports of its being in a ruinous state. It hardly accommodates all its pupils, much less the numerous candidates who are qualified to enter it, but are obliged to be refused for want of space. As to sanitary arrangements, there are none; and the same remark may be repeated as to any arrangements for recreation and exercise. Some of the Mofussil High schools have lately been provided with new buildings. But it seems as if the designs were got made for them under the imperative condition that there should be four walls and a covering on the top, and nothing else.

Next, Saint Louis is a complete boarding-school, which our schools do not even pretend to be. There was some excuse formerly for not venturing upon the experiment of resident schools; there were grave reasons for doubting their eventual success. But now that it has been abundantly shown, *e.g.* in the Elphinstone and Deccan Colleges, that facilities for residence in the schools themselves, under certain conditions, are eagerly demanded and would be largely availed of, there is not a vestige of an excuse for any further delay in taking the necessary steps for establishing at least a few model boarding-schools. Independently of educational reasons, there is a social and a political necessity for boarding-schools in India. As I have said elsewhere, the formation of a school and university *esprit de corps* would go far towards originating a national *esprit de corps* which would work powerfully upon the estrangements of caste and creed, and melt them under the warmth generated by the healthy collisions of young minds.

We shall now compare the teaching staffs of the lycées and our High schools. It is now generally admitted on all hands that the efficiency of a school depends, in a great measure, upon its teaching power. France makes provision for this urgent need in its famous *École Normale Supérieure*. "Its pupils at present number 110; they are all bursars, holding a scholarship of 40*l.* a-year, which entirely provides for the cost of their maintenance. The course is a three years' course. To compete, a youth must, in the first place, be over eighteen years of age, and under twenty-four; must produce a medical certificate that he has no bodily infirmity unfitting him for the function of teacher, and a good-conduct certificate from his school. He must enter into an engagement to devote himself, if admitted, for ten years to the service of public instruction, and he must hold the degree of bachelor of arts, if he is a candidate in the literary section of the school; of bachelor of sciences, if in the scientific." I may mention here that in the French schools no master or professor is allowed to teach in any other subject except that in which he has qualified himself. The successful candidates run a course of three years, as I said before, during which their intellectual training is carried to a very high degree, with a special eye for the future function which they are bound to undertake. The salary of a professor in a French lycée varies from 7500 francs or 300*l.* a-year, to 3500 francs or 140*l.* a-year. In this manner France gets its teachers picked out from the *élite* of the lycées, and trained specially in the most elaborate manner. Let us look now at the other picture. Till lately there was no Normal school at all, unless we are obliged to designate as such some bungling attempts at "some such sort of thing," as Lord Dundreary would say. Since the transformation, however, of the Poona and Ahmedabad Vernacular Colleges into training schools, a more serious attempt may be admitted to have been made. But, after all, what are these training schools and colleges? For it must be remembered that Normal colleges are worse than useless, if they have not the best *matériel* of the schools and do not carry the training of the pupils to the highest educational standard that prevails in the country. The Poona and Ahmedabad training schools have no such conditions of entrance as we said above were exacted by the *École Normale*. And no wonder, for they have got no such bursarships as at the *École Normale*, and which, as we saw above, "entirely provides for the cost of the maintenance of the pupils." As constituted at present, *i. e.* as ordinary schools of very modest pretensions indeed, they are useful in no other respect, except perhaps in that of teaching the experience of costly failures. And meanwhile the schools suffer from a universal want of efficient teachers. The posts of head masters are, some of them,

held by university graduates of fair abilities; all the other posts, badly remunerated, are filled by young men who hardly know anything more than the pupils they are called upon to train. The disorganized state of these schools, of which such repeated complaints are to be met with in the reports of the Inspectors, is fundamentally owing to this circumstance. Indeed it is a hopeless destiny for these schools, unless they permanently secure a more thoroughly disciplined and better paid staff of masters.

We may now proceed to the comparison of the programmes of studies. And here it may very properly be said that tables of matters to be taught afford a very unsafe criterion, where there are no efficient professors to teach them. Still it is not without its use to compare the points which are attempted to be attained in these programmes. The programme of a French lycée which, being fixed by authority, is the same throughout the whole country, is precise and definite. A lycée has eight classes, of which the lowest two, *i. e.* the eighth and the seventh, would coincide with the classes of our "Anglo-Vernacular schools," the rest with those of our High schools. To pass from one class into another takes a year, and a boy may generally enter at the age of eight years. After this preliminary explanation we will take a rapid view of the programme itself. To borrow again from Mr. Arnold, who leaves us no escape out of his style, apt, pure, and crystalline: this is his description of it. "The very good exercise of learning by heart, from the classics of the mother tongue, begins from the lowest class and is continued to the top of the school. Latin begins in the *classe de huitième*, and is carried further in *septième*. After *septième* begins another division. Here begins Greek and also the study of the modern languages. These may be English, German, Spanish, or Italian, according to the wants of the localities and the wishes of the parents. Drawing and singing are likewise obligatory matters of instruction in the French lycées, and are not paid for as extras. Two hours a week are on an average given to each. Drawing is taught as a matter of science, not of amusement, and the pupil is carried through a strict course from outline up to ornament and model drawing.

"The fifth class reads our old friend Cornelius Nepos, but it reads also authors not much, I think, in use in our schools, Justin, Ælian, and Lucian. The division of lessons is the same here and in the sixth class; ten classes, as they are called, a week, and two hours of singing, one of drawing, and two of gymnastics. A class lasts two hours; so this gives (not counting gymnastics) twenty-three hours of lessons in the week. The classes are thus divided: seven classes and a half (fifteen hours) of classics; one class (two hours) of history and geography; two half classes (two hours) for modern language; one half (one hour) for arithmetic.

"In *quatrième*, Latin prosody in the classical instruction, geometry in the scientific, appear as new subjects. An hour less is in this form given to classics, an hour more to mathematics. An hour more is given to drawing.

"A divisional examination and the boy passes into humanities. In *troisième*, Latin verse begins; and here, for the first time in the school, Homer appears. Among the books read in extracts by this form I noticed Terence, Isocrates, Plutarch's *Morals*, and the Greek Fathers. Mathematics now get four hours a week; history, which we have just seen dividing its class with geography, gets the whole two hours; geography and modern languages become additional lessons, the first with one hour a week, the second with two. Music is reduced to one hour. The number of lesson-hours has thus risen from twenty-four to twenty-six.

"In *seconde*, the same proportion between sciences and letters; but in sciences the programme is now algebra, geometry, and natural history, instead of arithmetic and geometry. The *Agricola* of Tacitus, the easier Dialogues of Plato, the easier Orations of Demosthenes appear among the books read.

"Then the boy rises into our sixth form, called with the French from old time not first class, but '*classe de rhétorique*.' In the mother tongue the pupil studies the *Pensées* of Pascal, the *Oraisons funèbres* of Bossuet, La Bruyère, Fénelon's *Lettre à l'Académie Française*, Buffon's *Discours sur le Style*, Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, Boileau's *Art Poétique* and La Fontaine's *Fables*. Letters have eight out of the ten classes in *Rhétorique*, which is the great classical form of the school. Sciences have only one class divided between geometry and cosmography."

Whatever differences of opinion there may be on points of detail and arrangement, this is a programme which any system of secondary instruction may well be proud of. If we had some High schools at all professing to carry out such a scheme, we might

well be justified in resting content with them. But is it so? We shall allow some of the Public Instruction Reports to enlighten us on the point. We find the following in the Report for 1865-6. "Even were the High schools more universally efficient than they are at present as manufactories of matriculated students, I should not be satisfied," says the Director, "with this result. The High schools, in order to play their part, require to be characterized by a literary and classical spirit such as we find in the great public schools in England. They should send up boys to the Colleges not only just able to pass University entrance examination, but also imbued with a fair amount of English literature, and thoroughly grounded in the rudiments of Sanscrit or Latin (to which I would humbly add at least one of the two modern European languages, French or German)." "Up to this time," says another part of the Report, "men as a rule have seriously commenced their classical languages only after entering the College. It was hoped that before this the High schools would have made arrangements to enable their scholars to take up classical languages to their Matriculation examination. As yet they have not done so. No undergraduate has joined the College after having matriculated in either Latin or Sanscrit." In his Report of 1866-67, the Director remarks, "In speaking generally of the backward condition of the Government High Schools of this Presidency, I refer (among other things) to the raw and uncultivated state of even these passed (*i.e.* matriculated) candidates who come to the College with very little general knowledge, without taste or literary feeling, and generally without even the rudiments of a classical language; and next, to the inaccurate way in which English is taught in the High schools, as testified by the mistakes of idiom and grammar which cling to the University students throughout their career, and which only a few of the best graduates even ultimately succeed in shaking off."

After the High schools we come to the Colleges. It were useless to detain ourselves on as minute an examination of them as that we instituted for the schools, for it were chimerical to expect that anything pure could proceed from a tainted fountain-head, that good colleges should grow out of bad schools. But as if it were not enough—a tainted fountain-head, the channels should also be full of shoals and impediments. There are incessant complaints of both the Colleges being undermanned in teaching power. "Connected with the whole University of Bombay," says the Report for 1866-67, "which is the fountain-head of science and literature for fifteen millions of people, we have not a single professor of history, nor of Latin, Greek, Arabic, or Hebrew (*not to add from our own part, French or German, drawing, music*), though every one of these subjects are entered in the University list of subjects for examination. And in almost all of them numerous candidates are constantly presenting themselves. There is only one professor of chemistry, and no professor of geology or astronomy, or applied sciences, or even of Indian law." The last Report, *viz.* that for 1867-68, continues the same complaint. "The disproportion of teaching power to the number of students in Elphinstone College has," it says, "now become almost ludicrous." These revelations cannot be characterized in too hard terms, particularly when we find that the work of tutorship is not less feebly provided for.

After this rapid review of the state of the High schools and Colleges, we may safely assert that the second condition which we laid down for the justification of the Grant-in-Aid system, *viz.* the existence of a more or less complete and richly endowed set of grammar-schools and colleges, does not exist even at the present day, and did not exist in the Bombay Presidency at the date of the issuing of the Despatch. Perhaps the Directors hoped the action of the system itself would go far towards creating such institutions for higher education. Now it is nearly fifteen years since the Despatch proclaimed the Grant-in-Aid system throughout India. And we have seen the results of its operations.

III. But even the existence of both the above-stated conditions would hardly have been a sufficient reason for the adoption of the system in England, had it not been imperatively forced upon its statesmen as the only means of reconciling the stubborn and bigoted pretensions of all its various religious sects which urged their rights in the sacred name of religious toleration. In England neither Churchmen nor Dissenters would consent to be taxed for State schools imparting a purely secular education. And both would have schools in which their own peculiar theological dogmas were an essential portion of the school programme. The only escape, therefore, from these conflicting bigotries was in a system which, accepting the various religious schools of the several sects, paid certain allowances for the secular education imparted in them.

Happily, however, in India this paramount condition had never any scope given it to do mischief. The principle of religious neutrality was firmly laid down and steadily recognized from the first. From the famous Educational Minute of Monstuart Elphinstone, in which he resolutely said that "To the mixture of religion, even in the slightest degree, with our plans of education I must strongly object," down to the Despatch of 1854, which may be called the Educational Charter of the present day, there is the expression but of the same opinion and same policy on the subject. Before leaving this subject, it may be as well, however, to take the standpoint of the missionaries, and examine the argument that the cessation of the Grant-in-Aid system would deprive them of the small aids they derive from the State for the secular education they impart in their schools. In the first place, a complete system of State-education does not necessarily preclude every aid to private schools under certain conditions, for what we have been fighting against in this paper is not so much the partial or occasional application of the Grant-in-Aid system as against its systematic introduction for each and every educational want. In the second place, whether the Missionary schools have any right in justice to such aid is a question requiring apparent consideration, for they are no portion of the people of the country who object to have their children taught in any but schools of their own persuasion. If some amiable and kind-hearted gentlemen are anxious to achieve the pious work of the salvation of the people of India, they will certainly not grudge the full expense of such a noble undertaking, particularly when, as forming part of the richest gentry in the world, they are fully able to bear the burden of it.

We may now conclude that the state of things which alone recommended the adoption of the Grant-in-Aid system in England does not meet us in India in any one single particular. We shall see, however, whether there are any special reasons advanced in the Despatch which rendered it specially desirable to introduce the system in India. In the first place, the Directors profess to discover and rejoice "over an increased desire on the part of the native population, not only in the neighbourhood of the great centres of European civilization, but also in remoter districts, for the means of obtaining a better education; and we have evidence," they say, "in many instances of their readiness to give a practical proof of their anxiety in this respect by coming forward with liberal pecuniary contributions." The Directors advance this assertion more emphatically with respect to the higher classes. Nothing could be more delusive and fallacious than this string of facts and arguments. A growing desire to take advantage of educational facilities is very far removed from the feeling of appreciation which prompts a person to endow educational institutions or to start educational enterprises. It might induce persons to invest money in the shape of fees; for we should not be understood to mean that the State schools should exact no fees of its pupils; on the contrary, we are strongly of opinion that the scale of fees should be steadily raised at opportune intervals of time. But the real question is different, and it is this, whether native enlightenment is advanced enough to found these schools of itself within a reasonable time. The Directors congratulate themselves upon the tendency already displayed in that direction. But here, again, the question is not that of a possibility of isolated endowments, but whether there are good chances of private liberality being able more or less fully to supplement existing institutions into the extensive system proposed by the Directors themselves in the beginning of their Despatch. As to the higher classes, if what is meant by them is the richer classes, so far from their displaying that systematic laudable appreciation, the signs of which the Directors profess to discern in 1854, but which have not discovered themselves even in 1869, except in certain exceptional times—the richer classes do not even come forward to give to their children the education which is provided ready for them. The Directors have fallen into the confusion of assuming that the higher education given in the Presidency is appreciated and availed of by the higher, i.e. the richer classes. But the terms higher classes and richer classes are by no means synonymous in India. The Brahmins, high in social and religious rank, have certainly been the most forward of all the classes in India to avail themselves of the institutions for higher education. But they are generally miserably poor. So that while the Directors disburthen their minds of all anxiety in respect to higher education on the strength of the ability and willingness of the higher classes, the facts are that the higher classes, meaning thereby richer classes, though undoubtedly able, are no less certainly far from being willing, to devote the superfluities of their wealth to cure the present Government educational institutions of all their defects, nay, hardly think seriously

of bestowing a high education on their children even at the cost of the State; while the higher classes, high by birth and intellect, though certainly willing to avail themselves to the utmost of all opportunities for receiving high education even at the sacrifice of moderate payments in the shape of fees, are certainly not able to found magnificent endowments for higher education.

There is, however, another argument advanced by the Directors in favour of the system. "It possesses the advantage," they say, "of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combinations for local purposes, which is itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation." We cannot sufficiently commend the highmindedness of the Directors in thus displaying their anxiety for the development of the spirit of local self-government in India. But is it not rather arguing in a circle to require that our educational plans should be delayed from being fully carried out for the sake of a result which is more likely to be realized through the successful operation of these very plans themselves. Nothing is more calculated to induce the instinct of self-government than a thorough liberal education of a high order. It may be said, indeed, that these things are examples of those concurrent developments which react upon each other in the double capacity of cause as well as effect. The argument would be faultlessly valid if it were urged in the case of a country whose civilization evolved itself out of its own original impulse. But in India the question is not that of an entirely original development, but of a development founded upon a foreign civilization, which is to a certain extent cut and dried, and ready at hand. Under such circumstances there is no wisdom in losing time, when you can, instead of simply sowing seeds, engraft branches; when, instead of proceeding by a long circuitous route, you can at once establish a full-grown educational system, and thereby secure most expeditiously both the system and those habits of self-government on which the Directors lay, and most justly, so much value in their Despatch.

Before we proceed to draw the general conclusion of failure irresistibly suggested by these facts and arguments, it remains to see whether there has been any result in any direction from the actual operation of the system since 1854 which may be called favourable. The line of argument we have pursued has obliged us already to pronounce upon its working with respect to higher education. As to primary and popular education there is certainly good reason to believe the boast that it is the strong point of the Bombay educational system, that, at least, it is far from being in a very unsatisfactory state, though, perhaps, not quite so flourishing as it ought to be. Unfortunately, however, this very success is the condemnation of the Grant-in-Aid system; for this success was achieved only by the abandonment of the system, of course, not openly, but by a quiet metamorphosis. About the year 1864 the Bombay Government hit upon the simple expedient of procuring local voluntary contributions somewhat in the Tudor fashion of "levying benevolences." It directed the revenue authorities to collect what it facetiously called an 'extra voluntary land-assessment or education-cess of a per cent. or so. The Educational Inspectors are full-mouthed in their praises of the wondrous efficacy of this local cess. But what is in reality this mighty invention? Stripped of its mask, it is simply direct land-taxation for educational purposes. It would not be easy to find stronger practical evidence on any subject than this.

We have now, we hope, shown that the Grant-in-Aid system is unsuited to the educational wants of India, and we have by necessary implication asserted some of the merits of a more direct system of State education. We have shown that the Grant-in-Aid system has totally failed in supplying a sufficient number of good private institutions for higher education. We have shown that it has equally failed in tendering assistance to the defective existing Government institutions for the purpose, and providing for their most urgent necessities. We have shown that it has not even so much as earnestly approached the problem of establishing an efficient Normal college. We have shown that it was obliged to be transformed into an educational fiction for the purposes of primary education. We could have gone farther, and shown that, even under the most favourable auspices, the system would fail to secure that invaluable systematic organization which allows no waste of money or intellect, which allows no isolated efforts to dissipate themselves by the ignorant repetition of experiments, and which loses no lesson of experience, and still is found compatible with the trained freedom of modern civilization. But here we are told by the advocates of the Grant-in-Aid system that, numerous as may be the faults and imperfections of their system, the difficulties in the way of superseding it by the other are

more insurmountable still. "We cannot but be impressed," say the Directors, "with the almost insuperable difficulties which would attend such an extension of the present system of education by means of colleges and schools entirely supported at the cost of Government as might be hoped to supply, in any reasonable time, so gigantic a deficiency, and to provide adequate means for setting on foot such a system as we have described and desire to see accomplished." Elsewhere I have attempted to show the threefold attitude in which the English Government stands towards the subject of Indian Education, *viz.*: first, as rulers; secondly, as landlords; and thirdly, as the apostles of a civilization infinitely superior to the indigenous civilization of the country. But not to speak of the obligations arising from this threefold position, the gigantic difficulties of the task which the Directors conjure up before their mind are very much exaggerated. We must carefully guard ourselves from falling into the confusion of supposing that the adoption of a system under the primary and direct support of the State would of itself immediately entail the establishment of a full-grown system, irrespective of any calculation of existing requirements; *e.g.* that it would entail the establishment of ten colleges, when the average number of students that might be expected to enter them could be accommodated in half that number, or that a hundred competitions should be opened for a Normal college when the real demand is only for fifty. What it would entail, and it is well to enunciate it distinctly, is this: that in the first place the State should establish such a framework of a complete co-ordinated system of primary schools, secondary schools, or, as we call them, High schools, Normal schools, general and technical Colleges and Universities, as, without being too elaborate, might be capable of expansion and development with the progress of the times; and secondly, that whenever an educational institution, say a High school, could be established in a certain locality, the Government should set about directly to supply the want with private, local, and other aid if it was forthcoming, without waiting for it if it was not; and further, that it should do so in a thoroughly efficient manner, without leaving it unprovided in any essential particular. If, without resting satisfied with the contemplation of the excellence of their own British Institutions, the Directors had turned their eyes towards Germany, France, Italy, or Switzerland, they would have found that the giant had been thus approached, and had proved by no means so formidable as it had been imagined to be. With proper care and organization the supersession of the Grant-in-Aid system in favour of a system such as we have indicated above, would entail no extravagant increase of expenditure. For each of the three years, 1865-66, 1866-67, and 1867-68, education has cost here in the Bombay Presidency something less than nine and a half lacs of rupees, bearing a ratio of about $1\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. to the Presidential revenues. "Were two per cent. per annum on the Presidential revenue," says the Director of Public Instruction in his Report for 1866-67, "allowed to Bombay, the whole aspect of the Department and the Universities might, in my opinion, be speedily changed for the better." If two per cent. could do so much, as we are told on such very trustworthy authority, we may easily see that direct State education would not, after all, be so very expensive an affair. Even if it were a per cent. or so more, would it really be bad economy to pour a veritably vital life-blood into the shrunken veins of Indian culture at such a cost, and thereby, indirectly but surely, accelerate the buoyancy of the Indian revenues through a thousand unforeseen channels. If we look the question steadily in the face, undeterred by the fear of being condemned as flighty and impractical, this is no visionary problem. There is no doubt that an intelligent and educated population is the best means of developing indefinitely the resources of a country. On the Continent this idea has of late gained immense ground. It was first started by those grand statesmen of the French Revolution, even as they were hurling defiance and armies at a coalition of almost all the crowned heads of Europe. And though the original plans of Condorcet and Robespierre fell through for the time, yet ever since France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, have been sparing no efforts, even in times of trouble and difficulty, to re-construct their systems of public education under the direct administration, management, and support of the State. And their educational budgets testify fully to this anxiety. It is well known that in Switzerland education is allowed to cost something like one-third of the whole public expenditure. In 1865 the State expenditure in Italy on the whole of public instruction was, in round figures, 576,900*l.*, something like between 57 and 58 lacs of rupees. In France it was for the same year 756,725*l.*, or something like between 75 and 76 lacs of rupees. What valuable hints and lessons do these simple figures not give

with respect to the position which the item of educational estimates ought to hold in the Indian budget? And then it must not be thought that these large sums were voted by those countries for their public instruction because they had flowing exchequers and superfluous surpluses. They were voted in times of deep anxiety, in the face of disasters political and financial. Nothing but a stern sense of necessity could have inspired them with hopes and courage to undertake such an expenditure for such a purpose. It was about the beginning of the present century, when all Europe was lying prostrate at the feet of Buonaparte, that Prussia began the organization of its public instruction on its present basis. France was groaning under the gigantic burden of her mighty wars and incessant revolutions when she undertook it. Italy was doing penance for the "sins of her fathers," the miserable grasping tyrants who had made her their prey, and were sucking away, like leeches, her very life-blood, till in 1860 they were swept off from her face by Garibaldi. Since her consolidation, Italy has been passing through financial crises of no ordinary magnitude; indeed, there can be no more striking proof of her faith in a State-system of public instruction than is afforded by the fact of the burden she has imposed on herself in that respect, while still struggling against large debts and incessant deficits. I have thus dwelt at length upon this point, because I am constrained to believe that it is the want of faith in the true efficacy and importance of education in the economy of national prosperity which has led the Government of India and the Home Government to ignore its claims to a larger share of expenditure. It underlies all the arguments advanced for their incessant refusals. For it must be stated, in justice to the Local Government and the Educational Department here, that they have been by no means ignorant of some of the defects of our educational institutions, and have lost no opportunities of beseeching for means to remedy them. But a deaf ear has been turned to their most passionate appeals. I have no doubt that the people of England entertain a genuine desire to govern India on principles of the most liberal and far-sighted policy; and I firmly believe that, if only once they are brought to renounce their want of faith with respect to the value of education, we should soon see the reconstruction of our system of public instruction. England has been found capable of submitting even to immense pecuniary sacrifices, once she overcomes the mental sluggishness so characteristic of her, and acquires faith, rightfully or wrongfully, in the principles which demand them. We all know the enormous costs she voluntarily incurred for the emancipation of her colonial slaves, once she was convinced of the sinful impolicy of such an institution. Therefore, as I have said above, let the English people have once faith in the mission of education, and the days of the Grant-in-Aid system would be doomed for ever. And there is great hope of such a consummation at the present juncture, when a feeling of deep dissatisfaction has lately sprung up in England in regard to their own educational system, which is sure, at no considerable distance of time, to find utterance in their newly-reformed and larger-minded parliaments. Concurrently with the movement which inaugurated the system of international exhibitions, and appointed commissions for inquiry into the state of schools and colleges, English and foreign, a new generation has then sprung up with broader instincts and larger sympathies, which dares to penetrate beyond the conventionalism born of exhaustion, and to seek for deeper and more comprehensive insights into all social questions, and has the hardihood to propose them for practical application whenever their quest is crowned with results. Scouted at first as turbulent demagogues, or jeered at as dreamy enthusiasts, they have succeeded in rendering themselves a power in the State, under the leadership and countenance of such men as Mr. Mill for their philosophical, and Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone for their political patriarchy. Under these circumstances, there is every likelihood of the whole question of education being earnestly taken up and elaborately dealt with by the present Ministers at an early date; and we may fairly expect that, if we urge our own humble but pressing claims through the agency of the East India Association, the Secretary of State for India may, under the stirring inspiration of a general agitation, be persuaded to supersede the Despatch of 1854, and grant another educational charter of greater comprehensiveness and greater liberality. An imposing and systematic array of well-organized public establishments for education would in the long run do more for the consolidation of the British power in India than the dread of all the bayonets or needle-guns or chassepots at its command, which she may invent or imitate. They would represent the State, as Mr. Matthew Arnold has pointed out, "in a striking visible shape, which is at once a noble and civilizing one;

giving the people something to be proud of, and which it does them good to be proud of;" and it would not be long after, we may say, that the alien origin of its authors would be forgotten in this pride and this civilization.

Dr. J. M. MENDOZA said that they were all very much indebted to Mr. Mehta for the very able and learned paper which he had just read to them, and expressed a hope that the other members of the Association would follow his example, and produce a series of papers of a similar character. The question of Indian education was one of the most important questions upon which depended the welfare and prosperity of this country; and he had no doubt that a calm and judicious examination of it, such as they had just heard, could not fail to be at once instructive and interesting. He begged to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Mehta.

Mr. M. G. RANADE.—I feel great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to our Secretary, which has been proposed by the gentleman who spoke before me. My pleasure, however, would have been unmingled if the paper now read to us had been free from one or two blemishes, which greatly detract from its value. In speaking of the Court of Directors who framed the Great Educational Despatch of 1854, it behoves us all to assume a most respectful tone, and I confess I was very sorry to miss it in the paper read to us this evening. In his general observations upon Englishmen and their ways, on which Mr. Mehta is pleased to call their singular backwardness to carry out to the fullest extent their own generous resolutions, there was a patronizing criticism, which came with little grace from us, from any one of us who have such leeway to make up before we can presume to sit in judgment upon the speculative or practical defects in the character of the English nation. I can never bring myself to think that the framers of this great Despatch erred in their magnificent conception of a national scheme of education, suited to the circumstances of India at the present day. The Despatch inaugurated three great changes in the machinery of State education. It directed the abolition of the old Board of Education, and raised public instruction to the status of a great Department, with a responsible officer at the head. The second point was the institution of the Universities to regulate the scheme of higher education throughout the country, and stimulate a noble rivalry in the higher places of education by its system of examinations. And thirdly, we come to the Grants-in-Aid system, the subject of to-night's discussion. I cannot understand how, within such a short time that the system has been allowed free scope to work, we can take upon ourselves to condemn it as erroneously conceived, and practically worse than failure. It is hardly more than five years since the rules were first framed, and during that time a considerable number of schools have availed themselves of the State subsidy allowed to them in proportion to actual results shown. For it must be remembered throughout the discussion of this subject, that the assistance now given to private institutions, missionary or secular, is seldom in the shape of a lump sum of money, totally irrespective of its working efficiency. In that case I should have seen some reason to object to the grants to missionary schools. But as it is, the amount of the grant is almost mechanically adjusted to the progress of the institution so subsidized in the secular branches of education. By the way, I must observe that Mr. Mehta, in passing unmerited strictures upon the good policy of such assistance to purely missionary institutions, and questioning their title to such assistance, gave expression to a feeling which it is to be hoped none here share with him. I do not see why these missionary bodies should receive nothing of the State's help for undertaking successfully to educate the State's subjects both in the elementary and the higher department of public instruction. If fault there be, it is rather on the side of a too sparing use of these Grants-in-Aid on the part of our educational officers, than in any excessive waste of the public money. I know of private schools which have for years together succeeded in matriculating twice as many candidates at the University examinations as many of our costly High schools, but they have been refused all assistance from State funds upon the ground that they were not permanent foundations, but mere speculations, undertaken with a view to profit by private gentlemen, and as such not coming within the class of institutions for which alone Grants-in-Aid were meant. In course of time, the increased demand for education will stimulate private munificence and enterprise, and the usefulness of the Grants-in-Aid rules will be more and more acknowledged. The time, therefore, is not come when we can sit in judgment upon the merits of this system, and proclaim it to be an utter failure. As far as it has worked, it has proved a great success *prima facie*; Government, with the assistance of private liberality or enterprise,

must accomplish greater work than pure Government agency can hope to achieve, and I do not see why such a plain and obvious truth should find no application in this country. Of late years especially, owing to the levy of the local cess of one anna for education and public works, the hands of the educational officers have been greatly strengthened. I have my own views about the political justice of this levy; but standing in this place, I regard it as a contribution from the masses of the people for their own elementary education. We should all wish to see the State or Imperial contribution to the education of the people raised to two or three per cent. upon the entire land revenue of the country, but owing to a thousand and one contingencies, the Imperial Government finds itself not in a position to render this assistance, and the great question is to utilize to the greatest extent the money actually contributed out of the State revenue by clubbing it with the contributions from the people. In this view of the case, the levy of the cess, like the levy of the school fees, though for the most part it is an involuntary impost, must be regarded as a most hopeful experiment undertaken to secure a most desirable result—the spread of elementary education among the people. In all our lower schools, the income derived from the cess is joined with a small contribution in the shape of the schoolmaster's pay, and thus a valid Grant-in-Aid is made to do double work. It is true the local cess, though nominally in charge of local committees, is now disposed of very much at the discretion of the officers of Government: this is however a defect which will cure itself in time with the growth of public spirit among us. At present no other class has the intelligence or the leisure, or the sense of responsibility which such a work requires, and we must be content with the State machinery as the only one available. Upon the whole, as I have said, the working of the system of Grants-in-Aid, far from giving any cause for disappointment, has proved a great success, and promises to develop in usefulness in the course of the next twenty years. Barring the points above referred to, I gladly join in the vote of thanks which has been already proposed.

MR. BAL MANGESH WAGLE.—My friend Mr. Ranade, in his address to you on the subject of to-night's paper, seems to labour under some misapprehension in supposing that Mr. Mehta is not sufficiently respectful towards the Court of Directors in his comments on the great Educational Despatch of 1854. No doubt the conception of that Despatch was a grand move, and reflects great credit on the Court of Directors. But I do not think there is any discourtesy or want of respect in saying that you differ from certain principles laid down in that Despatch. And that is just what Mr. Mehta has done. He finds fault with the Grant-in-Aid system as laid down therein, and in his comments on that Despatch he gives expression to those views. In his opinion that system is not suited to the present condition of the people of this country. And are we justified in finding fault with him for that? Certainly not. It is well known that our countrymen have not yet begun to appreciate the value of education, much less to feel its necessity. They send their children to school, not because they wish to see them educated, but because their grand ambition to see their children enter Government service would not otherwise be accomplished. Our countrymen do not hesitate to spend thousands of rupees on the marriages of their children, and yet how often do we hear their grumbling at having to pay two or three rupees a month as school-fees. I may mention here that some time ago a lad, on whose marriage more than 5000 Rs. were spent by his parents only a month before, came to me and asked for a certificate of poverty, that he might be admitted as a free student in the Elphinstone College. Knowing these things in the way we do, are we justified in saying that the system of Grants-in-Aid is suited to the wants of this country? We must have education, and if the people do not understand its value, the British Government must undertake this task and carry it through, whatever it may pecuniarily cost, and not say we shall help when people come forward to help themselves to a certain extent: for that, if I understand it correctly, is the principle of the Grant-in-Aid system. I admit that primary schools have increased to a considerable extent since the inauguration of this system and the levy of the local cess, and a well-organized department of Public Instruction has stepped into the duties of the late Board of Education. This is all right so far as it goes. But have we had nice, comfortable school-buildings instead of the old *chowdi* dhuramsala, or village temples? I limit my observations now to this tight little island, and ask how many new schools, seminaries and colleges have come into existence, which would not have existed at all, but for the system of the Grants-in-Aid? The missionary schools being founded with a special object in view, come into existence independently of this system, and I have no doubt that they will con-

tinue to flourish even if it were abolished to-morrow. How many new buildings for schools and colleges have come into existence without this Grants-in-Aid system, which would not have existed otherwise? Then again private individuals who have opened seminaries and have sent in pupils prepared up to the Matriculation standard are denied this aid because their schools are not founded permanently. Under the present system the Government say to people, if you want a school in your village, open it yourselves, and if, at the end of the year, the pupils come up to a particular standard, we shall give you a sum of money as a Grant-in-Aid. I need not say that under existing circumstances very few people come forward with money in their hands and demand a school to be opened. Good school-houses and efficient teachers are what we want most at this present moment and in the present state of this country; it is the State that can supply these wants, and the sooner the State undertakes to do it unshackled by the system of Grants-in-Aid, the better for us all.

Mr. THAKERDAS ATMARAM thought the Grant-in-Aid system was a very good system, and had produced very successful results with respect to education in India. The local cess had also worked successfully, and on the whole he was inclined to think that there was not much ground for complaint.

Mr. RAMKRISHNA G. BHANDARKAR thought that there was something to be praised as well as something to be condemned in the Grant-in-Aid system. As to the local cess which had proved so successful, he could not see how Mr. Ranade thought it of the characteristic nature of Grant-in-Aid. He agreed with Mr. Mehta in calling it simply direct local land-taxation for educational purposes.

Mr. NARAYEN MAHADEVA also made a few brief remarks.

Mr. MEHTA, in reply, said that, as the hour was waxing late, he would not attempt a long reply. His friend Mr. Ranade found fault with him for not doing justice to the magnificent programme laid down in the Despatch of 1854. So far, however, from being guilty of any such thing, he had actually spoken of that programme in terms of the highest eulogy. What he found fault with was the way in which it was sought to provide for carrying out such a grand scheme. In the second place, Mr. Ranade had misunderstood the scope of his paper. He had attempted an answer to this question, whether the Directors ought not to have and could not have hit upon a more efficient scheme of ways and means for carrying out their splendid programme. He had never denied that the Grants-in-Aid system had been able to effect something. But could not more have been done without any extravagant outlay? Mr. Ranade had objected that he had imported into the discussion of this question facts from the educational systems of the Continent. Now, was not a comparison of a number of existing educational systems more likely to prove instructive than confining yourself to only one set of precedents, as the Directors had done, *viz.* the English precedents? They might thus arrive at general principles, which might afterwards be modified to suit special conditions and requirements. With regard to grants to missionary schools, he was sorry Mr. Ranade had not thought proper to hear him more attentively before he criticized what he had said on that subject. While the Grants-in-Aid system prevailed, it was only fair and just that the missionary schools should be paid for the secular instruction imparted in them. What he had said bore reference to this only, that supposing it was resolved to supersede the Grant-in-Aid system in favour of a more direct system of State education, would the missionaries have any right to object to the supersession on the ground that they would be thereby precluded from receiving the small grants which they were receiving at present? He had answered that question in the negative; but that conclusion was by no means inconsistent with their present claims to Government aid. In conclusion, he hoped that a careful perusal of his paper, when printed, would tend to obviate most of the minor misconceptions which had originated during the course of the debate.

Mr. WEDDERBURN, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, observed that, in discussing what educational system should be adopted by Government, it was necessary to understand clearly what is the province of the State in such matters. It must be borne in mind that in spending public money, that is, money raised by taxing the general population, Government is acting as trustees of the public, and can only properly allot funds to purposes clearly tending to advance public interests. Now there may be some difference of opinion as to the extent to which higher education should be subsidized, but there can be no doubt that it is the duty of the State to provide primary education for the mass of the population, and the chief

expenditure should be directed to this object. Government undertakes the duty of sanitation, having regard to the physical health of the people, and so also it is both its duty and its interest to provide intellectual and moral sanitation for the masses, so that each man may have not only a healthy body but a mind sufficiently healthy to perform the duties of a good citizen. The system now at work to provide primary education in this Presidency seems well adapted to secure the end in view. By the local cess a fund is provided out of which the local committees can build schools, and, if necessary, partially endow them, while the system of payment by results encourages the schoolmasters in proportion to their efficiency. Mr. Wedderburn added that he was very glad to see Mr. Venayekrao Juggonhjee in the chair when a subject of this kind was being discussed, as representing the wealthier and more influential classes, who can do so much for education, not only by giving money, but by giving their personal co-operation.

Mr. MURTA had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks, as he knew that Mr. Venayekrao had come there under great personal inconvenience. The vote was carried by acclamation, after which the meeting separated.

MEETING AT WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, FRIDAY,
FEBRUARY 25, 1870.

COLONEL P. T. FRENCH IN THE CHAIR.

Lieut.-Col. J. C. PHILLIPS read the following Paper:—

The Bonus System in the Indian Army.

THE grievance to which I would this evening draw your kind attention turns on the death-blow which the amalgamation of the Queen's and Company's armies dealt to the old Bonus system, as it existed in the latter during the last thirty years of the old Company's rule. Under that system any regimental officer below the rank of Lieut.-Col. could, if he chose, get bought out of active service by means of a retiring bonus, to which his juniors in the regiment contributed their several shares. The amount of the bonus varied, not only with the rank and special circumstances of the retiring officer, but with the scale of bonuses adopted in different regiments. One regiment might have more money to spare than another at a given moment, or the market value of a particular step might be less or greater than the theoretic value. Sometimes an officer would have to take less than his nominal due, or else hold on a while for a more favourable season. But the average variations in these respects were not very large, and very few indeed were the cases in which an officer failed to secure a bonus proportioned to his rank. The applicant about to retire into the invalida, and the officer at home on sick furlough, might look with equal certainty for their shares of the common boon.

Nine times out of ten the money for this purpose was borrowed from the Agra or some other Indian Bank, at a high rate of interest on the joint security of all the borrowers. If one of these died, his liabilities were taken up by his juniors; in other words, they had to pay something even for an ordinary death-step. The same thing happened when an officer was dismissed the service, or left it to avoid dismissal. In these ways the purchase system struck so firm a root, that what at first was purely optional, came in time to impose itself as a duty on all who were likely to benefit from a step thus obtained. Every officer, however straitened at the time for money, felt himself bound to aid in buying out the expectant senior, even though the process left him clogged with heavier and still heavier burdens. For he knew that sooner or later he too, if he lived, would realize the natural recompense for his former sacrifices. Two, three, or four thousand pounds, besides his captain's or major's pension, would enable him to return home betimes on a modest competence, to give his children, if he had any, a decent education, or a fair start in life, and, in the event of his dying early, to leave his widow some small addition to the annuity assured her by his subscriptions to the military fund.

But how did this system work with reference to the power these officers served?

To what extent was it countenanced by the East India Company? On the evidence before me, I can only say that the answers given to these questions by the Royal Commission of 1863 are simply astounding. "The Home Government carefully guarded themselves against any public recognition of the practice." Their attitude towards it was purely "passive." They merely gave "an express assurance that they would not interfere to prevent it, unless under circumstances of financial pressure, and with due notice."

As far back as March, 1832, the Court of Directors, in answer to more than one appeal from the Indian Government, avowed themselves, "disposed cordially to encourage the institution of funds in furtherance of that desirable object," to wit, "the comfort of their officers upon retirement." Under certain conditions they offered material help towards the establishment of such funds. But the scheme of a general retiring fund fell through, and the Retirement Rules of 1835 proved the readiness of the Court of Directors to further the same ends by any available means. The old question, however, came up again soon afterwards in a different form. Failing a general retirement fund, it was still possible for the officers of a regiment to buy out a regimental senior who wanted to retire. In answer to some memorials from India bearing on the subject, the Court of Directors in November, 1837, could "see no necessity for interfering with the arrangements which the junior officers of a regiment may make for adding to the comforts of a senior officer on his retirement from the service, upon the pension to which he may be entitled." Such arrangements they held, "must conduce to the contentment of the officers, and the efficiency of the army." In furtherance of these views they promised to waive until further notice—which was never given—a regulation which would else have neutralized the proffered boon. Their attitude, therefore, was anything but "passive." Moreover, about 1854 they informed the Indian Government of their intention yet further to legalize the Bonus system by means of a special Act of Parliament, an intention which the Mutiny alone prevented them from carrying out.

In 1858 the Bonus system received its death-blow, although it may have lingered through a few last fitful struggles down to the formation of the Staff Corps in 1861. Promotion in the interval was almost stagnant, and no one cared to buy out a regimental senior just as the old system of regimental promotion was about to be done away. One hope only remained to the many sufferers. A special clause in the Act of August, 1858, provided that the transferred officers and men should "be entitled to the like pay pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company." In 1860, when the Amalgamation Bill was before the House of Commons, Sir Charles Wood, then Minister for India, gave unwilling assent to the reaffirmation in that Bill of the pledges contained in the Act of 1858.

How the Government of which Sir C. Wood was a member kept the promise thus formally renewed, I need not illustrate in much detail. His scheme for reorganizing the Indian army, as finally promulgated in the Despatch of January, 1861, quietly ignored every restriction involved in the Parliamentary guarantees, and stultified in every way the pledges which his own lips had sealed but a few months before. Hardly an existing right or privilege but was swept away by his improving hand. One half the army found itself cruelly mulcted for the undue benefit of the other half. A loud cry of indignation rolled up from all parts of India to the doors of the India Office, and onwards to the House of Commons.

In 1863 the Bonus question was studied by Lord Cranworth's Commission from the imperfect data supplied by Sir C. Wood. Of the hundreds of petitions sent in to Parliament from Indian officers, not one was laid before the Commissioners. No officer was examined in person, nor were the replies of the Indian Office shown to the officers' committee. At length, in November, 1863, the Commission handed in its Report, which affirmed that in five instances the Parliamentary guarantees had been set at naught. But the great Bonus grievance found no place in the list of wrongs that needed righting. On that subject, remarked Lord Cranworth eighteen months afterwards, "the Act of Parliament said nothing at all." It merely declared "that the army was to retain in its new organization the same privileges which it did under the old." But the officers "certainly could not expect that sanction should be given to what had already been decided by the Court of Common Pleas as an illegal transaction." All they could possibly expect was "that Government should be as passive upon the subject as the Company had been."

Lord Cranworth's reading of the guarantee rises up in judgment against his Lordship's contemptuous dismissal of the claims of more than 700 officers to compensation for their forfeit bonuses. Those officers simply asked that the guarantee should not be broken, that the army under its new organization should indeed "retain the same privileges" which is enjoyed under the old. It was no answer to their averments to plead the silence of the Act on a point said to have been already decided against the petitioners in one of the higher courts of justice. A lawyer of Lord Cranworth's mark ought to have armed himself with stronger proof of the illegality of the Bonus system, than Sir C. Wood's misleading references to a judgment notoriously founded on a wrong issue, and since shown by competent lawyers to be, anyhow, very questionable law.

His Lordship owned himself blind to the existence of any previous "rights" which could thus be renewed for the benefit of those officers. In other words, they had no right whatever to the pay and the pensions promised them from the outset of their career under given conditions! Whether his Lordship was quibbling like a mere lawyer over the meaning of the word "rights," or really meant to say that Indian officers had no sort of valid claim on the successors of the East India Company, I cannot tell; but his assertion implies a doctrine which would strike at the root of all claims to compensation for harm done to any man's property, life, or means of living.

Lord Cranworth's argument, however, counts for nothing in view of the measures afterwards carried through by Government, in partial accordance with the conclusions reached by the Commission of 1863. The very concessions doled out by the India Office in 1864, reasserted in effect the right of the Indian officers to fair compensation for losses incurred at the hands of their new masters. The Commissioners decided that in certain points the Parliamentary Guarantee had indeed been violated; and the Government of the day gave practical effect, however grudgingly, to some of their decisions. One great grievance, the greatest, perhaps, of all, was deliberately put out of sight by both parties. The Commissioners admitted that many officers had lost all chance of receiving bonuses similar to those which they had helped to secure for their predecessors; but, acting on the imperfect information supplied by Sir C. Wood, they pronounced the Bonus system "illegal," and, therefore, wholly ignored its place among the "privileges" embraced by the Guarantee. In what way, then, was the system illegal? We have seen that it was repeatedly sanctioned, both in word and deed, by the highest Executive authorities in the land; for the Court of Directors could order nothing without leave from Her Majesty's Ministers on the Board of Control.

If the Bonus system in the Company's army was contrary to law, the Purchase system in the Queen's army must be contrary to law, for both are essentially the same thing under different names and aspects. But everyone knows that the Purchase system is strictly legal up to a certain point. Nay more, in spite of the limits placed by law on the selling value of an officer's commission, the practice of paying more than the regulation price has long been openly sanctioned by the Government of the day. So strong too is the reluctance of military reformers to set at naught the sanctions of time-honoured usage, that when Mr. George Trevelyan brought forward his motion for abolishing purchase in the army, he proposed to compensate the officers not for the legal only, but for the extra-legal prices they had paid for their commissions. Again, when Mr. Gladstone brought in his Bill for disestablishing the Irish Church, he proposed to compensate not only the actual clergy for the loss of their benefices, but the young men preparing to take orders for the loss of their "expectations." Mr. Cardwell again has just been compelled to forego his attempt to ignore the extra-regulation sums paid for the purchase of officers' commissions. And yet when a few hundred Indian officers, who are more or less out of pocket, through their employers' own act, ask for some small concession to far stronger claims, they are met with quibbling references to legal judgments based on the narrowest and flimsiest grounds.

With regard to the moral justice of the claim here advocated, there can hardly, I trust, be two opinions. In examining the Court of Exchequer judgment on the case of *Grame v. Wroughton*, both Sir John Rolt and Mr. H. James avowed their firm belief that the Bonus system must be regarded as legal *in foro conscientie*. In this respect they are virtually at one with Lord Salisbury himself. As Lord Cranborne, and Minister for India in 1866, that nobleman uttered these words in the House of

Commons on rising to announce the measures he proposed to take in accordance with the vote on Colonel Jervis's motion of the previous year:—

"Putting the guarantee aside, I think it is clear that *if your servants have been largely diminished by any sudden or unexpected acts of yours, the principle that ought to be observed in every branch of the public service is, that we ought to do something to compensate them*; and assuredly, if there is any branch to which we should desire to apply this principle, it is to those who risk their lives in our defence."

The principle, then, was fully acknowledged, and its application to the Indian army was emphasized in his Lordship's subsequent avowal of the "duty" of the Government "to attempt in some way to meet the complaints of officers on this head," namely, the Bonus question. But how did he proceed to fulfil the admitted obligation? To what extent did he recognize the admitted losses?

"Our proposal is," said his Lordship, "that in each Presidency a committee shall be appointed, which, as soon as an officer retires, shall inquire into his case, in order to ascertain how much money he is really out of pocket in payments to officers who have retired, and the loss, whatever it may be, the Government propose to make good to him." In the adjustment of such claims no interest was to be allowed, "either for or against the officer." "The amount of compensation thus offered would probably," his Lordship added, "cost about 8000*l.* a-year for twenty years."

Loud were the acclamations that greeted his Lordship's cheap generosity from the outside public. The better informed, however, could see small reason for rejoicing. They were little inclined to bless the bounty that offered nothing with so free an air. It was easy to see that a concession so carefully qualified might prove in practice no better than the Barmecide's feast. Their fears were soon to be confirmed. On the 8th August, 1866, two days after the speech in question, a Despatch on the subject was signed by Lord Cranborne for transmission to India. Its purport was as follows:—A committee in each Presidency was to investigate all claims for compensation made by officers who were borne on the strength of the Indian army, on February 18th, 1861. This was the first deduction from the seeming boon, for it ignored the claims of those officers who had retired between 1857 and 1861, without receiving a penny from their juniors, owing to the uncertainty which everywhere prevailed as to the future of the Indian army. During that period promotion and purchase were equally at a standstill, because no one could tell exactly what changes were in store for the old service, while it was almost certain that the old order of regimental promotion, the very backbone of the Bonus system, was about to be done away. The next piece of injustice was the instruction given to the committees to disallow all claims for payment made to officers who accepted invalid pay in India in preference to returning home on their pensions, although it is a well-known fact that officers invaliding in India were bought out as regularly as those who retired in England.

After estimating the money value of the steps an officer had gained by purchase, the committee were to repay him, on reasonable proof shown, the balance of his claim, less any sums he himself might have received from his juniors, and less the value of any annuity granted him in excess of his ordinary pension. In this last deduction was involved a third piece of injustice. The special annuities had been granted without reference to the Bonus system, at a time when the illegality of that system was assumed as a thing of course by Sir C. Wood. They were offered as a direct bribe to induce the retirement of the surplus field-officers, who would else have held on to Indian service until they were entitled to retire on colonels' allowances—A very costly prospect for the Indian Government. That there was no idea of granting them as compensation for bonus, is evident from the fact that those officers who, under the old rules, might have claimed a bonus from their regiments, really received far smaller annuities than those whose higher rank would have disqualified them from obtaining the bonus. Had such an idea been present to Sir C. Wood's mind, he would surely have granted a higher rate of extra pension to those who had lost their bonuses than to those who had already gained an equivalent for theirs. It is plain that the extra pensions were given in lieu of prospective advantages, not as compensation for actual losses. And in no way could such annuities make up for the loss of a good round sum of money, the mere interest of which would have equalled the amount of extra pension, while the principal would have remained intact to benefit the retired officer's family after his death. Very few officers with families dependent on their professional earnings would have sunk their bonuses in life annuities, of which death might, at any moment, rob their wives and children.

In carrying out the instructions received from home, the Indian Government added a fourth piece of injustice to those already named. They instructed the committees to take no account of "any deaths of officers subsequent to retirement" as a set-off to the advantage their juniors had gained from buying them out. It may, of course, be argued that such accidents were always on the cards, and that nothing which happened after an officer's retirement could affect the character of a bargain previously made. But, in the present case, such reasoning is clearly beside the mark. The question set before the committees was one of relative loss and gain. They had to strike a balance between the sums expended in buying steps and the money value of the steps so bought, no interest being allowed on either side. They should therefore, in common fairness, have considered all the facts bearing on either head of the main problem.

But why talk of these minor grievances when the whole basis of Lord Cranborne's concessions is itself fallacious? How is it possible to estimate "the money value of the advance in rank or position" which accrued to an officer from his payments to the Bonus Fund? So far from being a pecuniary gain, his promotion, if he held a staff appointment, not seldom proved a pecuniary loss. It is absolutely impossible for any committee in the world to find out by any amount of calculations how many pounds' worth of quickened promotion any officer gained by his previous outlay. The methods laid down for that end were equally fallacious. Even in ordinary cases the mere cost of purchasing the higher rank was often incomparably greater than the immediate gain. To talk therefore of deducting the latter from the previous outlay was to take away with one hand what was offered with the other.

And what has been the result? The awards of the Bonus Committees are now before me. The total of claims sent in from the three Presidencies amounts to about 22,300*l*. The sums granted make up a round total of 19,000*l*, or rather more than a fifth of the sums claimed. This proportion holds good for each of the Presidencies. But let us look at individual cases. Major Le Gallais, an officer not remarkable for quick promotion, claimed 252*l*. He gets back nothing, because he is said to have gained nearly twice that sum by quickened promotion. Captain F. J. S. Verner, a subaltern of fifteen years' standing, claimed about 500*l*, and got nothing, his gain by quickened promotion being set down at more than 1000*l*. On the same plan, Lieut.-Col. Thorburn, a subaltern of fifteen years, got nothing in return for a claim of 400*l*. Captain Pearson's small claim of 182*l*. was utterly swamped by the 471*l*. placed to his debit on the score of increased pay and allowances. Lieut.-Col. R. M. Annesley asked for 215*l*. Of course he asked in vain, because the value of the steps gained by this lucky subaltern of eighteen years' standing amounted to 462*l*. How the Bengal Committee came to such a conclusion remains a mystery. Captain Hilton, one of the unluckiest officers in the service, recovers not a penny of the 150*l*. he paid in buying out seniors, because his retirement "took effect" before 1861.

Of the 110 Bengal claimants, twenty-two are virtually told to consider themselves paid twice and thrice over with their special annuities, of whose utter disconnection from the Bonus question I have already said enough. In no one case has a special annuitant recovered a single penny on his outlay.* Instances of hardship only less grievous might be quoted by the dozen. All claims on account of bonus paid to invalid officers have of course been disallowed. For this and other reasons of a like nature, Lieut.-Col. Bouverie's claim of 425*l*. was cut down to 10*l*. On the same principle, Lieut.-Col. M. Nightingale was put off with 17*l*., instead of 338*l*. In several instances, a claim made in good faith has been rejected for want of sufficient proof. Here again we may see the utter futility of any attempt to settle the Bonus question by a balance of pecuniary profit and loss. In nine cases out of ten anything like valid proof must have been wholly wanting; for how could Indian officers have been expected to foresee the fatal consequences of making no provision against a seemingly impossible danger?

Thus it has happened that of the 110 claims sent up from Bengal—including thirteen still unsettled—fifty-six have been utterly rejected; fifteen have been cut down by two-thirds and more, sometimes very much more; twenty-two have been doled of less than two-thirds, and only four have been settled in full. On the Bombay side the proportion of rejected to admitted claims is about the same as in Bengal; in Madras it is decidedly smaller. In Bombay three claimants out of thirty-five, in Madras three out of fifty get the full amount of their claims. Everywhere one notices

* Except Lieut.-Col. R. Harvey, who actually received 22*l*. in return for a claim of 385*l*.

the same ruthless docking upheld by reasons of the same worthless sort. I might safely assert that out of 195 cases, not twenty have been treated with common fairness, in the spirit of Lord Cranborne's Parliamentary pledges, to say nothing of the larger allowance due to men who had lost, through no fault of their own, the chief reward of all their past outlay.

In proposing to ascertain how much money each officer "is really out of pocket in payments to officers who have retired," Lord Cranborne evaded the far wider question of the amount each officer is out of pocket for want of the bonus he was entitled in one shape or another to receive, as I have shown, under the Parliamentary Guarantee. This, and not the amount of his own previous payments, is the question still to consider, after so many years of fruitless waiting. The money value of an officer's commission on the eve of his retirement, forms the only true starting-point for adjusting the claims of several hundred gentlemen to the compensation they have hitherto asked in vain. No other mode of settlement can meet either the rights or the difficulties of their case. Lord Cranborne's method has practically condemned itself. Unjust in principle, it has issued in an utter mockery of the little justice to which it made so large a pretension. It is impossible, as I said before, for every claimant, or even for two out of three, to show "reasonable proof" of what they actually spent in bonus payments, and therefore any scheme based on such considerations must lead to injustice more or less sweeping. The simplest method is also in this case the fairest. It would be as easy as walking to ascertain, by comparison of the scales adopted in different regiments, the average value of each officer's step, from the major down to the junior lieutenant. I am probably within the mark, in roughly estimating the senior captain's price at three thousand pounds, the senior lieutenant's at one thousand, and the major's, let us say, at four thousand. Let the amount of compensation be fixed in all cases at two-thirds or one-half of the sums nominally due on the average thus indicated. Let every officer otherwise eligible, who has retired from the service since 1858, the true year of amalgamation, receive his full share of the compensation thus limited, provided he can sign a solemn declaration that he has received nothing in the way of bonus from his juniors. If he has received less than the bonus now open to him, he might be allowed to claim the difference. All claims should be considered in this country, not in India, and no one should be rejected who had not left the service in disgrace. Indian officers are not unreasonable. All they ask for is common courtesy and some appearance of fair play. Let that be shown them, and they will thankfully receive whatever settlement of their just claims a Parliament of honourable Englishmen may, on full inquiry, see fit to decree.

Mr. PRICHARD wished to make a remark or two with reference to Col. Phillips' paper, having given a great deal of attention to the subject, and having heard a good deal about it in India. He agreed in the view taken by Colonel Phillips that the decision in *Grame v. Wroughton* was bad law, and he thought that that would be fully admitted now in any court, if the case were properly brought forward. He belonged to the Indian army for many years, and he was one of those who had suffered in consequence of the amalgamation, though he never had any idea of prosecuting his claim to any bonus. There can be no doubt that the Bonus system was legalized; that system being that the juniors of every regiment should pay a certain sum to the senior when he retired; but the difficulty was, the Indian Government having taken over the government of the Company, how we were to fix upon the Government the liability to make those payments now.

Colonel RATHBORN said the Bonus system was established at the same time that the Medical Fund was established, in order to facilitate the retirement of Indian officers by means of purchases by their juniors, when the Government itself had not the funds at command to increase promotions to the extent necessary. That system continued to the time of the amalgamation of the Indian army with the Royal army. At the time of that amalgamation, a clause was specially introduced into the Act that no alteration whatever should take place in respect of promotion and the advantages enjoyed by the officers then in the service. As to any officer who might thereafter come into the service, power was reserved to the Council to establish any regulations they thought proper. Very soon after that, an entire alteration was made in the system of promotion by the establishment of the Staff Corps, which gave to officers transferred to it, promotion independently of regimental promotion; the result of which was that the whole system of purchase fell to the ground. The officers there-

upon applied to the Government for compensation, the Bonus system having thus fallen to the ground by their direct violation of the guarantee which had been given by Parliament. A committee, presided over by Lord Cranworth, was then appointed to inquire into the matter, which committee laid down the doctrine that notwithstanding any such guarantee, the Crown had the power of making such arrangements as regarded the promotion of its officers as it thought proper. The officers' reply was, Granted you have the power, but if we have suffered from your use of that power, you should make us compensation. Some gentlemen then suggested that the proper way of making compensation would be that which Colonel Phillips suggested at the end of his paper, *etc.* that the Government should come forward and pay this bonus. Others thought that was hardly a reasonable view of the matter. He (Colonel Rathborne) took that view which was always taken by a Court of Equity of a purchase which could not be carried into effect, that you must give the person the actual damage he has received, but not any prospective damage, or any advantage he might have been able to obtain. He (Colonel Rathborne) wished to speak with all respect of a Minister of the Crown, but Sir Charles Wood, in answer to the claim made by the officers, did one of the most immoral things it was possible to do. He rose in his place and said, "We cannot pay any attention to this claim, because the purchase itself was in violation of an Act of Parliament, and therefore a misdemeanour." If the officers in making such purchase had been guilty of a misdemeanour, the Secretary of State, the Court of Directors, the Council of India, and the President of the Board of Control, with whose concurrence the purchase moneys had been paid, were also persons guilty of a misdemeanour; for the same Act of Parliament which created it a misdemeanour to purchase a commission, made it also a misdemeanour to aid, abet, or assist in the business. It was therefore perfectly obvious to most persons that Sir Charles Wood, in saying what he did, was merely using a figure of speech; because, if he had really been under the impression that he and his predecessors, and those acting with him, had been guilty of a misdemeanour in abetting this system of purchase, they would have done what was always done under similar circumstances, come for an Act of Indemnity, to cover the misdeeds of the Ministers of the Crown and their officers. Instead of doing that, what Sir Charles Wood said was this, "We have had the advantage of this system, and you have bought out these worn-out officers, you have increased the efficiency of our service, now it is inconvenient for us to settle this affair, and therefore we say it is a misdemeanour." On that view of the matter being taken by Sir Charles Wood, a gentleman came to consult him (Colonel Rathborne), and he looked carefully into the whole question. He thought it was utterly absurd to suppose that the practice in question could be a misdemeanour. The decision in the case of *Grame v. Wroughton* went adversely to the defendant, owing to the form which the pleadings took. Unfortunately the counsel for the defendant, instead of traversing the facts, demurred, that is to say, they admitted the facts, but alleged that the practice disclosed by the admitted facts was not contrary to law, and the decision was, that if the facts were as stated, it was contrary to law. The real question was, whether the thing was done with the sanction of the Crown or not. The forty-ninth of George the Third, chapter 126, was directed against the sale of commissions otherwise than by a regulation made by His Majesty, and as a matter of course a regulation made by the Court of Directors, with the approval and concurrence of the Minister, was a regulation made by His Majesty. However, the matter appeared to him (Colonel Rathborne) of such great importance, that, at his suggestion, a case was laid before Mr. Rolt (just before he was made Attorney-General), and Mr. Henry James, of the Common Law Bar. Those gentlemen entirely concurred in the view that there was nothing illegal in the Bonus system at all, that had a demurrer not been taken, but had it been tried out on the facts, the Bonus system would have been held to be legal.* That opinion

* *EX PARTE LIEUT.-COL. A. B.*—Two questions have been submitted to us: 1. Whether the payments which have been made by the officers in the Company's service under "the Bonus system" are legal or illegal? and, 2. If there be any means by which the officers who have made such payments can recover the sums paid by them? Upon the first question, the case of *Grame v. Wroughton*, 24 L. J. Ex 265, is an authority that such payments are illegal, or rather the dictum of Mr. Baron Martin is to be so construed. The case itself did not directly determine the question involved. In that case an action was brought on a bond to secure the repayment of money lent, for the purpose of contributing to the fund to be paid to a retiring officer. A plea was pleaded, setting out some of the facts in this case, but alleging that the money was corruptly paid. To this plea there was a demurrer. Before the demurrer was heard the issues of fact were tried. The learned Judge at the trial held that the plea was not proved in fact, and without leaving any question to the jury, directed a verdict for the plaintiff. A motion for a new trial

was duly forwarded to the Government. On that, and on other grounds, no doubt, Lord Cranborne decided to abandon altogether the plea of illegality, and to make a settlement of the claims. Everyone who knew anything of Lord Cranborne could not but believe that he was a man of the highest honour and principle, and there could be no doubt that his intention at the time was to make as fair a settlement as possible of the claims, and, as far as his Despatch of the 8th of August, 1866, went, there was not much to complain of in it; but, unfortunately, the following clause (Clause 16) was inserted in it:—"On the other hand, the Committee will estimate the value in money of the advance in rank and position which accrued to the officer from the above arrangement, and will debit him therewith." The whole of the mischief which had since been occasioned had been owing to that clause. He (Colonel Rathborne) believed, if the thing were put before the Government by the Association in a fair and reasonable way, the matter might be settled, and a good understanding might be arrived at. Unfortunately, the Government seem to have been labouring under this misapprehension; they supposed that, because a man got an advance in rank and position, he ought to be debited with the pay he received in respect of that; but they forgot that when a man was promoted, he had the higher duties to perform, and higher expenses to contribute to in the way of mess funds, band funds, and different other funds, and that the additional money he received was not a sum to be deducted, but a sum which he had already fairly earned by his services. If that unfortunate clause had been omitted, and if the Government had simply said, We will give these men back what they have actually subscribed on the faith of this guarantee without any interest, but without deducting what they have received for their services, that would have been a proper and fair ending to the matter. The foundation on which the officers rested their claim was this, that the collapse of the Bonus system was caused by Government's violating a Parliamentary guarantee that the system of promotion should not be altered. Had not the system of promotion been altered, the system of purchase would have gone on as before, but in consequence of that alteration the system had fallen through, and on that ground they were entitled to the compensation they sought.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that Colonel Rathborne, in conjunction with Colonel Phillips, should draw up a memorial to the Government, setting forth the injustice of the 16th clause.

Colonel RATHBORNE stated that a memorial, setting out the whole of the case, had been sent in.

Mr. PRICHARD stated that Colonel Sykes was going to bring the matter before the House of Commons.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that Colonel Rathborne and Colonel Phillips should communicate with Colonel Sykes on the matter.

A vote of thanks was passed to Colonel Phillips for his paper.

and the demurrer were argued together, and the Court of Exchequer, by its judgment, determined that if the averment in the plea were true, it was a good plea, and that therefore the issue raised upon it should have been left to the jury. A new trial was therefore directed. But the plea alleged that the transaction was a corrupt one, and, for the purposes of demurrer, this was of necessity assumed to be true. What would have been the judgment of the Court if these words had been struck out, or if the jury had negatived them, as doubtless any jury would, is but a matter of conjecture. Even to the extent to which the case determines the question involved, we have grave doubts whether it would on further consideration be held to be good law. The tendency of the common law, and also of the statutes affecting the subject (24 Geo. III., c. 25; 33 Geo. III., c. 52; 49 Geo. III., c. 126) is to control the corrupt sale of offices and commissions. In this case we doubt whether there has been any sale or transfer in the sense contemplated by the statutes. Neither in letter or spirit does the retiring officer sell or transfer his commission. He receives a sum of money which is more in the nature of superannuation allowance than the price of a sale. In this case, also, what has occurred has been expressly sanctioned both by the Board of Directors and by the Governor-General of India. We presume that, in their judgment, no illegal act has been committed, and certainly their approval negatives all idea of the transaction having been corrupt. We incline, therefore, to be of opinion that if an opportunity occurs for reviewing the decision of the Court of Exchequer, the dicta in the judgment referred to will not be concurred in, and that "the Bonus system" will be held to be legal. It certainly must be so regarded *in foro conscientie*. We are of opinion that there is no remedy either at law or in a Court of Equity for those we are advising. There was no express contract with the Government, or any of its departments, and certainly those who received the money cannot be called upon to refund it. (Signed) JOHN ROLL (now Sir John Roll, Attorney-General).—H. JAMES.

MEETING, FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1870.

W. S. FITZWILLIAM, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Paper was read by WILLIAM TAYLER, Esq. :—

The Delay of Justice to Indian Appellants in England ; its Causes, Consequences, and possible Remedy.

THE subject which I have selected for consideration this evening does not, I fear, comprise those elements of general or special interest which have characterized so many of the papers read on former occasions by members of this Association. It is, however, a subject which affects the comfort, the happiness, and the welfare of many thousands in India, and is, as it appears to me, peculiarly fitted for the consideration of our Society, because, while the evil is admitted, and the remedy, if not easy, is far from difficult, it is just one of those matters which is not likely to be effectually dealt with unless it be seriously pressed upon the attention of the authorities. The subject, as already intimated in the Association's card, is, "The Delay of Justice to Indian Appellants in England, its Causes, Consequences, and possible Remedy." This question, which has for many years past been canvassed and discussed in private circles, has, within the last few months, attracted public attention. Some short time ago, I think in June or July last, Mr. W. Forsyth, an eminent member of the bar, practising in the Privy Council, addressed the following letter to the 'Times':

SIR,—I wish to call attention to the state of appeals from the East Indies, before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It is a matter which affects the interests of 180 millions of the native subjects of the Crown, and affects also the credit of Great Britain, to whom those natives look for the speedy administration of justice in the Court of the last resort. The number of Indian appeals in which the records have already arrived at the Council Office since the 1st of January, 1869, from Calcutta and Agra alone, is thirty-nine. The number that arrived the preceding year, from the same localities, was forty. It is well known, that after the admission of an appeal to the Queen in Council by the Courts in India, a period of four or five years generally elapses before the record reaches this country, that being the average time occupied in completing the translations, from the want of a sufficient staff of translators, and transmitting the records to England. Taking, therefore, an average of fifty or sixty appeals from Calcutta and Agra yearly, distributed over the five years that intervene between the admission and transmission of an appeal, it follows that there are from 250 to 300 Indian appeals from the Presidency of Bengal now waiting for transmission to England; and I am assured, on competent authority, that this, in point of fact, is about the actual number. Now, taking the list of cases before the Judicial Committee for the sittings in November, 1868, and in February and June last year, I find that in February, 1869, out of the thirty-nine Indian appeals then down for hearing, twenty-two were remanets from the preceding November sitting, and two of these still remain to be heard at the present sitting. There are in the present list seventeen remanets (I speak only of Indian appeals), from the last sitting in February, and the number of appeals from India set down for hearing at the present sitting is thirty-nine out of a total list of fifty-six cases. It is, of course, obvious that there must again be several remanets which cannot be heard till next November. This, surely, is not a satisfactory state of things. I need not say that no blame whatever attaches to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; it would be impertinent in me to speak in praise of a tribunal which is above all eulogy. Nothing can exceed the quickness with which business is there dispatched, except the patience with which causes are heard, and the legal acumen with which they are decided; but the Court is not a permanent Court, and sits only, on an average, three times a year. It has to hear and decide appeals from all our colonies, besides those from the East Indies, and appeals from the Court of Admiralty and the Ecclesiastical Courts; and, as may easily be believed, is overwhelmed with work. It is clearly impossible to get through it in a satisfactory manner with the present organization of the Court, notwithstanding the great abilities and unwearied industry of its unpaid members. Formerly, the number

of appeals from India waiting for hearing, was so great, that the Act 3 and 4 William IV., cap. 41, was passed, whereby the duty was imposed upon the East India Company of appointing agents for the appellants and respondents respectively, and seeing that the causes were set down for hearing. At that time there was, if my memory serves me right, an arrear of 400 Indian appeals in this country. That Act, however, was afterwards repealed. But this does not touch the question that constitutes the real difficulty. There is no lack of active and intelligent agents in England whose interest it is to get appeals from India set down and heard as quickly as possible; but expedition, at present, is not possible, and agents and suitors are alike disheartened by the weary tedium of the law's delay. To send an appeal to England from India is like casting bread upon the waters, in hopes of finding it after "many days"—and many they are, indeed. It is surely not fair in a great and wealthy empire like Great Britain, that such a condition of things should continue to exist. There is an obvious remedy, which, to prevent the possibility of misconstruction, I forbear to specify; but I trust these few remarks may attract the attention of those with whom rests the responsibility of devising the best mode of securing the speedy administration of justice here, to suitors from the distant dependencies of the Crown.

What effect this letter had upon the authorities I cannot say, but some inquiries were, I understand, demi-officially made; and shortly after, Sir Charles Wingfield, who is ever ready to afford his aid in matters connected with the interest of India, asked a question in the House of Commons, as to whether any means had been, or would be, adopted to expedite the transmission of the records of appeal. This question, it is obvious, referred only to the delay which takes place in *India* as specially set forth in Mr. Forsyth's letter, an important question, but one which has only indirect connection with the subject of this paper. It is, of course, difficult to surmise, in the absence of accurate information on the subject, to what extent the Courts in India are answerable for the delay of which Mr. Forsyth complains. With respect to Madras and Bombay, I have no statistics at all. The litigation in Bombay is either much smaller in amount or far less intense in character than in any other Presidency, for few, very few, cases reach the Privy Council. As regards Madras also, the cases are few in number compared with those from Bengal, and I have just read a paragraph extracted from a journal of that Presidency, in which, with what amount of justice I cannot say, Mr. Forsyth's imputations of delay are "indignantly repudiated." There remains Bengal, which, from the number of cases that come from that Presidency, must, if delinquent there is, be the principal offender.

Now the appeals from the Punjab, Lucknow, and N.W. Provinces, all of which are in the Bengal Presidency, are at present few in number, though doubtless, under the fostering encouragement of our Courts, and the fruitful exertions of our Legislature, they will in due time be decorously multiplied. With regard to Calcutta, I have myself no very elevated idea of the promptitude or dispatch with which the work of the High Court is performed, and have little doubt that an injunction from the Home Government would have great effect in expediting its proceedings. But I am bound to say that, from the information before me, the delay for which there is the least excuse or justification, and for which there is the easiest remedy, takes place in this country. In India the work of translation, and generally of printing, has to be done; and, when the voluminous character of the records in most Indian cases is regarded, and it is remembered that there are many such records to be translated at the same time, it is not impossible that some plausible excuse may be given for the delay that occurs. Translation is always a tedious work, especially the translation of accounts, and memoranda, and documents, illegibly written with bad ink on worse paper, and it would be a matter of some difficulty to say what time such translation, if accurately performed, would occupy.

Moreover, in India, the litigants themselves, their agents and vaheels are constantly present, to urge the expedition of the work in the Indian Courts, and have their remedy in case of neglect, by representation to the Court itself.

It is not, therefore, with this part of the subject that I at present propose to deal, except in so far that, if the East India Association determine upon making any representation to the Secretary of State in regard to the principal matter before it, a desire may be incidentally expressed that injunctions should be issued to the Indian Courts to expedite the transmission of all cases as far as possible. But the root of the evil, and that which, it appears to me, gives the Indian litigants just cause of complaint, is

the inadequacy of the judicial machinery in England to discharge its duties to the Indian public, and it is to this point that I would wish to direct the special attention of the Association.

I have already read to you Mr. Forsyth's statement, in regard to the number of cases which, at the time he was writing (*viz.* in 1869), had during that portion of the year reached the Privy Council Office from Calcutta and Agra, and the number that had been received during the whole previous year of 1868. I may now add, that during the remaining months of 1869, forty-nine cases have been received, making the total, for 1869 only, no less than eighty-eight, so that the calculation made by Mr. Forsyth of the average number of appeals actually hanging fire between the date of decision in India and arrival in England is rather below than above the mark.

It is doubtless known to the members of this Association that the Court of final appeal for all cases coming from India and the colonies of Great Britain is the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council.

It were needless to add that with the character and competency of the individual judges who compose the Court no fault can possibly be found, and I have reason to know that all who, in the capacity of client, counsel, solicitor, or agent, have had any connection with it, are unanimous in their satisfaction with the proceedings, and grateful for the care and patience with which the pleadings are listened to. But this Court, unhappily, dispenses its benefits during three short terms, or sittings, in the year; and having, during those brief and tantalizing intervals, to dispose of a vast amount of work—all the appeals, in short, of all kinds from British dependencies—it is necessarily compelled to leave undone that which ought to be done.

I do not here wish to trespass on your patience with any dry statistical table of cases set down, heard, and left unheard, and, in fact, I have found it difficult to prepare such table, with sufficient accuracy to warrant its being placed on record. I will merely, therefore, observe that in February and March, 1869, the Court sat for *twenty days*; thirty-nine cases, many of them being remanets of the past year, were set down for hearing, of which twenty only were heard, and nineteen remained unheard; that of the nineteen (the remanets of February and March) only twelve were decided at the next sittings in June and July; and thus seven remained over from February to December, a period of ten months. Again, in February of the present year, the Court sat for the hearing of Indian appeals for twenty-one days; twenty-two cases were set down for hearing, of which thirteen only were decided, and of these eleven were remanets from former sittings. Now, without wishing to make any invidious comparison between this and any other Court, or to aggravate the fact of this number of cases remaining undecided, I think I am justified in pointing out that if the Court could have sat for one, or at the most two months more in the twelve, this vexatious and harassing delay—entailing, as it necessarily must, disappointment, anxiety, and expense upon all the parties concerned—might have been entirely avoided, and a clean file attained to the satisfaction of all concerned, and not the least, I apprehend, to that of the learned judges themselves.

Having now laid before the meeting all the statistical information which I have been able to collect, and which bears in any way upon the object in view, I would wish to add a few words on the general question of *delay of justice*.

We are all familiar with the adage *bis dat qui cito dat*, and if ever there was a subject to which the principle of that world-wide maxim applies it is to the proceedings of a Court of Justice. This has indeed been ever so acutely felt, that it has given rise to a fellow saying of some antiquity, in which, paradoxical as it may appear, there is much truth, *viz.* that "Speedy wrong is better than tardy justice." And if these outward indications of popular feeling of different ages of the world are applicable to any country in the universe, they are so *par excellence* to British India.

Those who are acquainted with the character of the natives of India, are well aware that litigation in them is a passion, of which the never-ending excitement fills up the vacuum of minds unoccupied by aught but frivolous pursuits or unmeaning recreations, and that this ruling passion is, in the case of the wealthy, fostered and encouraged by thousands for their own interested purposes. It would, perhaps, be almost impossible for an Englishman to conceive, and certainly hopeless for one to set forth, the variety and extent of intrigue, trickery, and fraudulent machinations, which are the invariable concomitants of a heavy suit in India, on one side or the other, most probably on both.

But, irrespective of this feature of *actual litigation*, the mere fact of a dispute

between large proprietors of land, especially on a question of succession or inheritance, being even in prospect, is in itself sufficient to set in motion a machinery of mischief, which those only can appreciate who have had opportunities of special observation. In the first place, the mere doubt as to the ultimate issue of the controversy at once disturbs the relations between landlord and tenant, superior and subordinate, master and servant, perhaps father and son. The agents of both parties, from mere greed of gain, and in the hope of pocketing some of the money, which circulates more freely than even at Bridgewater election, exert their utmost efforts to stimulate feud and imbibit the antagonism of the rival parties; the manipulation and counter-manipulation of witnesses commences, and is carried on to an extent that is scarcely credible. Documents are prepared or altered, money is scattered broad-cast, and a general disorganization of local society takes place. But, in addition to these *necessary* evils, which, it may be said, occur, to more or less extent, in other countries on the occasion of a dispute for broad acres, or large possessions, there is one special evil in India peculiar to the country, and one for which the Government itself is mainly responsible. I refer to the *Amlah*, or ministerial officers of the Judges' Courts. These men, who are attached in numbers, on small and scandalously inadequate salaries, to each Court or office, are natives of the country, of more or less intelligence and education. They discharge the various duties of clerk, registrar, copyist, sheriff, reader, deposition writer, &c., are always in attendance in the Court, its side-rooms, corners, and purlieus, and themselves form a phalanx of obstructive and intriguing satellites, who, visibly or invisibly, influence in some way or the other every part of the proceedings.

When, therefore, a suit is instituted, or even when it is in prospect, the *first* thing to be done is to lubricate the palms of the *Amlah*! a process which is zealously performed by both parties, but I need not say most effectually by the richest. And the process is not confined to a few of the principal officers, but is extended throughout the entire regiment, down to the lowest foot-soldier. This, as may well be imagined, forms a terrible addition to the illegitimate charges entailed by litigation; but it is simply indispensable. For every witness who is examined—for every copy that is asked for, or given—for every petition that is put in—fees are extorted, and woe to the deluded party who hesitates to pay! or attempts to denounce the practice of extortion. Under such circumstances as these, it may easily be imagined that every day's delay, whether in India or England, is a source of injury and wrong to the suitors, and (what is of great importance) specially so to the honest suitor, who, in addition to being disturbed in his possession, or deprived of his property, is victimized by ruinous extortion.

Now, when we take into consideration the painful results of delay—as I have endeavoured to portray them—and find that after cases have reached this country, translated, printed, and ripe for decision, they frequently hang-fire for years before they are heard and decided—that the committee appointed on behalf of Her Majesty to render justice to her appellants sits only for a few days in the course of the year—that these sittings are sometimes unexpectedly interrupted by the necessary absence of one or other of the judges—and that thus, after the long delay in India, and the further intermediate delay in England, many cases ripe for judgment are further postponed from sitting to sitting, solely owing to the inadequacy of the Court specially provided for their adjudication—it is impossible to resist the conclusion that a paramount duty is neglected, that the justice of the Crown is impugned, and a great injury unwittingly inflicted on Her Majesty's subjects in India.

Having now briefly touched upon the two first portions of my subject, I proceed to offer a few observations on the third head, *viz.* the possible remedy for this evil. I have already observed, that with the character and competency of the individual judges of the Court no conceivable fault can be found. But whether the constitution of the Court is the best adapted for the purpose for which it is appointed, may, perhaps, be a matter of doubt.

For all questions connected with the broad and general principles of law or equity, and not containing any technical points of Hindoo or Mahomedan law, the special customs of Indian society, or the rules of local legislation, no doubt the Court is all that can be desired; and it is unquestionable that the presence of eminent judges of the higher English Courts adds weight and dignity to their proceedings. But it may fairly be doubted whether in cases which involve important and doubtful questions of Oriental law, the necessary inexperience of these very judges does not throw too much power into the hands of a colleague, who, from his long experience and practical acquaintance

with such subjects, speaks, even in consultation, with oracular authority. This, however, is only an incidental point, and one which, should any re-construction of the Judicial Committee take place, would probably not escape the notice of the authorities. At present all I would wish to point out is, that the obvious and easy remedy for the crying evils entailed by the delay of justice, is the constitution of a permanent Court of five or three paid judges, the majority of those judges being men conversant with the principles of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and personally acquainted, if possible, with India, its peculiarities, its people, and its laws, and thus specially qualified, in addition to their other excellences, to deal of their own knowledge with those important questions which come before them.

Such a Court, sitting at fixed intervals for six months in the year, would keep down the cases as they become ripe for hearing; promptitude of decision here would re-act upon the Courts, the parties in India, and their agents in England; a great scandal would be removed, and extensive distress and demoralization prevented. For the organization of such a Court materials are ever at hand. At this moment there are eminent men at the Bar of the Privy Council who might be selected by acclamation for the post; while the Bench of the High Court in India is constantly throwing off experienced and able judges, who would be, if necessary, available to fill the vacancies which might take place.

I may here mention that, within the last few days, a petition has been presented to the Lord Chancellor on behalf of most of the principal solicitors and agents engaged in the conduct and management of Indian and Colonial appeals, soliciting the adoption of some such measure as that which I have now taken the liberty of pointing out. This movement being strictly professional, may be possibly looked at as made partly, at least, in the interest of the petitioners. What I wish to suggest is in the interest of the natives who have the misfortune to be involved in litigation.

I have described a state of things—"Quæ ipse miserrima vidi et quorum pars magna fui." I have, in fact, witnessed the misery, nay, even the ruin entailed by protracted law-suits, and I feel strongly that the acceleration of the machinery of justice would be a great boon and signal blessing to the people of India. I, therefore, at the close of this paper, take the liberty of proposing that a deputation be appointed to wait upon the Secretary of State for the purpose of laying the matter before him, and requesting his Grace's assistance and support; or, at least, that a memorial on the subject be presented to his Grace by the Council of the Association.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD said: I have not had the advantage of hearing all Mr. Tayler's paper, and I do not know whether he has given the number of cases standing for decision here, and the length of time which usually elapses before an appeal is heard at the Privy Council. Not knowing what those figures are, I cannot very well form a judgment as to the extent to which the evil has gone; but I quite agree that there should be a greater dispatch in deciding those appeals, and I agree in all Mr. Tayler has said as to the litigiousness of the natives, and the disposition to appeal to this country. With regard to a deputation or a memorial to the Duke of Argyll on the subject, when I see Mr. Tayler's paper in print and the figures in it, I shall be better able to come to a conclusion on that point. I agree with one good suggestion made by Mr. Tayler, that the Indian element in the Privy Council should be enlarged, that there should be imported into it some of the judges who have retired, and who are now in England, men who have filled high judicial situations in India, whose knowledge of Indian law and customs would be very valuable in the Privy Council. I do not know the number of judges that ordinarily sit. Mr. Tayler says that the Privy Council do not sit a sufficient number of days in the year to get through the work. I consider that is rather a delicate question, to ask the Privy Council to sit more days in the year. Mr. Tayler, as I understand, proposes that there should be a paid Court, that should sit sufficiently long to get through the cases. The paid Court would have to be paid by India, and the burdens on India at this moment are so heavy that I do not think there would be the least chance of any further charge being sanctioned by the Home Government.

MR. TAYLER.—I believe the funds could be very easily provided.

MR. DENT.—Surely for a crying evil there must be the means of finding a remedy.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD.—The finances of India are in such a depressed state that I think the mere fact of coming to Government at this moment with a demand entailing expenditure of money would be sufficient to ensure its rejection.

Mr. TAYLER.—Yes, if it is proposed to come from the Exchequer; but I believe means could be found of providing paid judges that would not burden the Exchequer.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—However, the subject is one that deserves consideration. It is a great grievance to the people of India that there should be such delay and such frightful expense in these Privy Council Appeals, but it is a subject which I think requires a great deal of consideration as to how we should move in it.

Mr. TAYLER.—The Lord Chancellor is at this moment submitting some general plan of judicial arrangements, but we have heard that the Privy Council is the only Court he does not mean to touch.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—If a form of memorial were drawn up and circulated among the Council of the Association, alterations or modifications might then be suggested in it. I think the subject should be approached with a little caution. I have not taken any note of the figures, so that I do not know what period elapses between the time that a Petition of Appeal is lodged in India and the case being heard in England.

Mr. TAYLER.—Two, three, or four years; but a great part of that is due to delay on the part of agents and solicitors. But why is that? There is so much procrastination and delay that it acts and re-acts on all who are concerned in an appeal. A party in India will say, my case is not likely to come on for three or four years, and so he does not send home the funds. Delay propagates delay. If there were a permanent Court, every case coming home would be decided within a year; now they take three or four years.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—If the cases were heard more speedily, you think the papers would be transmitted more speedily?

Mr. TAYLER.—No question of it.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—The blame does not rest with the Courts in India so much.

Mr. TAYLER.—There is delay there also; but it is difficult to get good translators, and translation is a very tedious and laborious matter, and they print superfluous papers. There can be no question that the work might be done quicker if a larger staff were employed.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—I think we shall be in a better position to decide what course to take when this paper has been circulated. It appears to me that the fact of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council rendering their services without being paid, entitles them to some little regard and indulgence. You cannot press men to sit constantly for months in the year if you do not pay them, but when you come to constitute a paid Court, I foresee there would be immediate objection raised to that. However, the subject is certainly very deserving of our best attention, and there could be no objection, if we agreed on the wording of the memorial, to the sending of such a memorial to the Duke of Argyll. It may not meet with concurrence. I do not anticipate much success for it, but still it is a subject we may very properly lay before him.

Mr. DENT.—I am sure we must all feel very much indebted to Mr. Tayler for bringing this subject forward. It clearly is a very fearful grievance, and I think we cannot be wrong in placing it before the proper authorities, leaving them to find the remedy. I have very little doubt that the making the grievance public by this Association will attract notice in the proper quarter, and will probably lead to its being remedied. But though those gentlemen who sit in the Privy Council are not paid specially for this duty, they are all highly pensioned officers. True, they have their duties in the House of Lords to attend to. The Lords Justices have their own Courts to attend to, and I should say they are not in their right places when attending the Privy Council (hear, hear), and if a Court cannot be got together without summoning the Lords Justices, there is clearly something wrong. With an empire like India, as Mr. Tayler pointed out, with 180 millions of inhabitants, it is monstrous that there should not be a proper Appellate Court, and that appeals from India should be merely tacked on to appeals from all the Colonies. I think we cannot be very far wrong, when an appropriate memorial has been drawn up, in going to the proper quarter with that memorial. Probably a deputation would be the best mode of enforcing attention to the matter, because, if a memorial is merely presented, it may be read and put aside, and a written answer sent, but I think a deputation generally adds force to a memorial.

Major EVANS BELL.—I will briefly refer to one aspect of the subject which I think

ought not to be left entirely without discussion in the Association, looking at the matter with a view to the interests of the people of India, and that is, instead of looking to see whether we can find a remedy by altering the constitution of the Court, whether we ought not to question the existence of such a Court at all. Why should a wealthy litigant be enabled to drag his opponent across a whole continent, a distance of thousands of miles, to England, and to force him to employ the most expensive process possible, into which I need not enter (for I am not acquainted with the technical details), in order to have another appeal. Is not that after all a good maxim to which Mr. Tayler referred, that "Speedy wrong is better than tardy right," and would not litigants in India prefer perhaps an inferior quality of justice in the High Courts of the Presidencies, to justice administered by the first judges in the world in London? (Hear, hear.) Is it possible that the Association can draw up any form of memorial on the subject without having carefully considered that part of the question, which I confess, being by no means well acquainted with the matter, I should like to hear discussed by those better qualified to deal with it than myself.

Mr. J. D. BELL.—Though not a member of this Association, I am very glad to have an opportunity of attending upon this occasion, because the subject which Mr. Tayler has brought before you to-night is one which I have paid very great attention to for a considerable time. Previous to my absolute return from India, that is to say, about three and a-half years ago, for two or three years I went backwards and forwards between England and India; remaining in India during the cold weather, and coming back in the hot weather. I had seen a little of the Privy Council practice, and I wished to find out, as much as I possibly could, what the feelings of our native fellow-subjects were with regard to appeals to England. I approach this subject, therefore, not in a hurried way, but with a very careful consideration of the matter. I shall commence by giving an answer to the gentleman who has just addressed you, and which is an answer which, I think, every native gentleman here will agree with me in. If I am wrong in my view of what the feeling of native gentlemen on the subject is, they will correct me; if I am right, they will support me; and it is this—that there is a principle instilled into the native mind that the fountain of justice is the Queen; that the Queen is a person who is supported by men of the highest talent that she can command, and that she is the person to whom they have a right to appeal. (Hear, hear.) I have never yet spoken to any native gentleman on this subject, who has not immediately said, "If you abolish the appeal to the Queen in Council, the suitors will not be satisfied that they have exhausted all the remedies that they have." I appeal to native gentlemen to say whether I am right or not. If I am wrong, then it is an impression that has been wrongly formed in my mind after discussing the matter with a great many gentlemen who have had great experience in India. If I am right, it is necessary that that Court of Appeal should sustain the very highest character that a Court can sustain. We have at present about as excellent a Court as we could have, provided we could have the judges regularly attending in it. I shall approach presently the question of the payment of the Court, and I think, Mr. Chairman, that Sir Charles Wingfield and others who have to discuss and consider this matter, will think that what I have to lay before you is worthy of great consideration. I start with this proposition, that no man will thoroughly work—and that it is not right to call upon a man thoroughly to work—unless you pay him for the special service he does. There are men who have toiled in the judicial service of this country, and who have toiled in the judicial service of India, who are well entitled to retire on their pension; and who ought to have their retirement unbroken by anything save the happy enjoyments of classical or other amusements, and it is not right to take a man with a retiring pension, be it the 5000*l.* of the Chancellor, be it the 2000*l.* of the Chief Justice, or the 1500*l.* a year of a Puisne Judge, and call upon him to serve, as I know one of the retired Indian judges has done, for nearly 120 days in the year, sitting in Court, and working at judgments, and looking up cases; for, remember, it is not only the sitting in Court that these judges have to do, but they have to consider their judgments, and to refer to the cases that have been cited by counsel; and they have work to do out of Court that people who imagine that they have an easy time of it have no conception of. I believe no man can do his duty in sitting in the Indian Appeal Court and deciding the cases properly, unless he works a third of the year. I ask you, is that fair? After a man has toiled in India for years, he comes home expecting to be rewarded for his toil, and the honour is thrown upon him of sitting in the Privy Council, the greatest honour a man can have. For the honour's sake he

goes; but is honour the only thing he ought to be rewarded with? I do not, myself, see any fairness in asking a man to work unless you pay him for his work. It may be said it is a difficult question, considering the present state of Indian finances. I do not think so, for this reason—Taking Calcutta alone, there are at present undergoing a course of incubation about 400 appeals. By undergoing a course of incubation I mean this—the egg has been laid in the shape of a Petition to the Court for leave to appeal to Her Majesty in Council; that egg has to be hatched, and it will take a very long time being hatched, and in the course of that hatching great expense will be incurred, a great deal more than if it was to be hatched under the system which I hope you will be the means of introducing by your representations to the Government. Remember that the amount in dispute in every appeal must be at least 1000*l.*, except in very extraordinary cases. I believe in the average of appeals the amount is about 5000*l.*; but take for the sake of argument 1000*l.* as the amount of each appeal. You have 400 appeals at this present moment arrived or expected from Calcutta alone, those 400 appeals represent 400,000*l.* at the very minimum. Mr. Tayler remarked, and I agree with him, that the fact of an appeal being pending disturbs the whole relation between landlord and tenant; I will show what it does besides that. Interest is charged upon the decree at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. Now I ask you what 6 per cent. on 400,000*l.* is? It is 24,000*l.* I will undertake to say that not one of those appeals is finished in the course of four years, therefore multiplying 24,000*l.* by 4, you have 96,000*l.* So that you have 96,000*l.* to be paid sooner or later by people who are litigating in India. Would not it be better if 15,000*l.* a year were paid, and those appeals wiped off, and there was a feeling of safety restored to landlords and tenants, and they knew exactly what position they were in? This question of the amount of money tied up on which 6 per cent. interest is running is a very important one. Then, independent of the 6 per cent. interest, there are the costs, and I undertake to say that the costs are certainly, in the case of a 1000*l.* appeal, another 1500*l.* Now, Gentlemen, I ask you to remember this, that the Indian Government has got to pay charges in England for everything except law. Look at the charges that are put on the India revenues for the support of particular portions of the army that are in England—that are not in India. Look at the charges put on the Indian revenue in respect of civil matters connected with the administration of the country, but which money does not reach India. That money is paid to people in this country, and it never does any benefit to India. I ask this—If the people of India were asked if they would allow an addition of 15,000*l.* to be debited to the revenues of India for the charges of an Appeal Court which would be satisfactory to India, is there any man in India would hold up his hand against it? I am perfectly certain there is not. Some time ago I suggested a plan that was embodied by a young native friend of mine, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee of the Calcutta Bar, in an article in one of the law magazines, and to that plan I have never seen any objection, and it is this—That you should have a Court of seven—you must leave it to the Government to decide what sort of men ought to be appointed. The Court ought to be a combination of the very highest judicial talent of England and India. You must have the English element, or people will not be satisfied. (Hear, hear.) You must also have an Indian element, judges conversant with the different schools of Hindu law. On appeal you cannot have a Court of three, you cannot have a Court of five. Why? Because the Division Courts in India are sometimes three and sometimes five in number. When it is a difficult question it is referred to five, and you continually find in the Bengal Courts, decisions of the full bench of five judges. Now no native would be satisfied with having the decision of five men capsize by the decision of other five men. Therefore my idea is this, that you ought to have a Court of seven, that there should be one as President; that this Court should be a branch of the Privy Council—that is a *sine qua non*; that it should be under the Queen, and that the judgments should be approved by the Queen herself in Council. (Hear, hear.) Those gentlemen who, being members of the Privy Council, intend to serve from November for the year following, to announce their intention in July. If they choose to accept office during the following year, they shall be paid certain salaries to be fixed. That the salaries shall be 2000*l.* for each man, in addition to any retiring salary he has, a larger salary being paid to the President. If a man wishes to retire in the following July, he shall announce his intention; if he does not wish to retire, the same man shall serve the following year; that these gentlemen shall sit from the first of November to the fifteenth of December, six weeks; from the fifteenth of January to the end of February; and from the first of May to the middle

of July, so as to make a sitting of six months in the year, and with a sitting of six months they will barely be able to get through the work—and why? Because there are twenty-five Indian Courts at present providing pabulum for this Court of Appeal. There are six Courts in Calcutta, and those six Courts are constantly sending home appeals to England, and a proof of the rapidity with which they are sending them home is, that at present there are 400 appeals *en route*. Then you have Courts in Bombay, in Madras, in the Punjab, in Oude, in Moulmein, and in Agra, there being altogether twenty-five Courts sending fodder to the Court of Appeal here, wholly independent of the number of appeals from the colonial Courts. I say to the natives of India, you are entitled to have a Court of Appeal of your own, wholly independent of the Court that tries colonial and other cases. I say, taking Indian cases alone, there is work enough for a Court of Appeal, if not permanently, at any rate for three or four years certain, and it seems to me that it would be right and proper to suggest that an inquiry should be made as to the number of appeals pending, and as to whether there would be any objection on the part of the natives generally to such a charge being made on the India revenues. My belief is they would say, give us a good Court, with a real finality of decision—let us know that we have one to depend on, and we do not care what we pay for it. (Hear, hear.) A native will always pay, providing he gets his money's worth; he does not like to pay when he gets nothing for it.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I had not the least desire to say a word to-night, but Mr. Bell's speech has suggested one or two questions which I should like to put. Certainly, anything worth having, the natives would be very glad to have, and speedy justice would be one of the best things that they could have. And I grant that, if the judges are to sit so frequently as to enable that speedy justice to be afforded, they ought to be paid. Then the question arises, how are they to be paid? If they are to be paid from the Indian revenues, that means that they are to be paid out of money raised from the poor population; for in the case of all the taxes in India, as is generally the case, the largest proportion is levied from the poorer population. Seeing, however, that it is wealthy litigants who bring these cases to England, is it right that for the litigation of those people the whole of the natives of India, poor and rich, should be made to contribute? I do not know whether or not it would be possible (for I know nothing of judicial matters) to levy a fee on the litigants in those cases, so as to defray the expenses incident upon the establishment of such a Court as appears to be so absolutely necessary. If such a plan were adopted, then those who derived the benefit of the Court would pay for it. By a speedy administration of justice, litigants would not be put to so much expense as they are now, even with paying such fees.

MR. BELL.—As to that, I would say this: I think that putting a speedy end to litigation would be such a benefit to persons in each district, that they would be very glad to submit to a tax for the purpose, the charge upon them would be so very small compared to the benefit which would accrue to the district.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—We have not separate revenues in separate districts. Mr. Tayler said that in Bombay there was a small number of cases.

MR. BELL.—With regard to that, you will, I am informed, find, though Bombay has been in the happy state of sending over no appeals, in the last three months 300 complaints have been filed in Bombay to 100 in Calcutta, which shows that Bombay is rather getting jealous of its competitor, and wishes to have a sufficient amount of litigation to show that it is quite as good a place as Calcutta.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD.—I think Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's suggestion a very pertinent one, because the litigants in all those cases that come home to the Privy Council are people of great wealth. It is very seldom that the cases are not far above 1000*l*. Generally, the matters in dispute are family quarrels, not affecting in the least the mass of the population; and it would be rather a hard thing to make the population pay to enable two members of wealthy families to fight out their dispute.

MR. SHAHABUDDIN.—With respect to what one gentleman has said as to the feelings of the natives with regard to appeals being heard in England instead of in India, I think the natives would not consider that finality attached to decisions in India. They would like their appeals to be brought to England. They are accustomed to be ruled by kings. They would like their cases to be finally decided by Her Majesty's Privy Council instead of in India.

MR. TAYLER.—I wish to say a few words to close this discussion. It is a matter

of extreme gratification to me that the subject has been considered to be a subject of importance and interest. I quite agree with Sir Charles Wingfield that at this moment, if a scheme of any description were brought forward, a prominent part of which scheme was the expense, it would most probably meet with a repulse; but I do not think this scheme open to that objection. As to the question mooted by Major Evans Bell, whether appeals should be brought to this country at all, this is not a question we can properly consider now, because we are simply discussing the best mode of conducting those appeals, *assuming them to be brought to England*. Undoubtedly, at first sight it might appear a serious hardship to bring an Indian litigant over to the Privy Council, to kick his heels here for a period of two or three years; but still I believe that finality of decision by the highest and most able and competent Court in the world, is regarded by the natives as a boon which they would not like to see taken from them. Looking at the decisions of the Indian judges, which are being constantly overruled by the Court here, and seeing how justice is sometimes dealt out to a poor litigant in opposition to a powerful Government, I do not think anybody could wish to see such a supreme remedy abandoned. With regard to the very interesting and useful information laid before us by Mr. Bell, there is a great deal, no doubt, very well worthy of consideration in it; but I do not think we require now to enter so much into the details of the matter. My object has been to present the broad features of the case. I have pointed out that there are a vast number of litigants, with an enormous amount of property at stake, the hearing of whose cases is delayed year after year, and who have to suffer all the annoyance and vexation of those delays; and when the case is ready to be heard in England, the litigants often find that the Queen's great Court sits for ten days and then rises, when a sitting of five more days would have enabled the Court to dispose of their cases. With respect to the mode in which the expense is to be provided, I agree with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that if a plan could be chalked out by which native litigants could be persuaded that if they paid the Court fees, their cases would be decided one, two, or three years quicker than now, they would gladly meet the expense. It would be a somewhat difficult matter to devise in detail how the money should be collected. It might, perhaps, be unfair to tax the revenues of the country, and so make the poorer population pay for the litigation of the rich, but I believe that some scheme might be adopted by which the people who would be benefited by the more speedy administration of justice should pay for it, and which I think they would be ready to do. But those are details into which we, as an Association, need not, as it seems to me, at present enter. Our paramount duty, as representing the interests of the natives of India, is to represent in the proper quarter this great and scandalous grievance, involving, as I have said, this anxiety, distrust, and expense, leaving it to the authorities to devise what scheme they in their wisdom think fit. Therefore I hoped, in bringing this matter before you, that you would agree to some kind of representation being made upon the subject to the Duke of Argyll, with the view of pointing out to the Lord Chancellor that the interests of India are involved in the great movement which is now being made.

CHAIRMAN.—The matter has been so fully discussed, and so ably discussed by Sir Charles Wingfield, Mr. Bell, and other gentlemen, that I will only add that I agree with the suggestion made by Sir Charles Wingfield, in which suggestion he was supported by Mr. Tayler, that the Council of this Association should take immediate steps to consider in what way they should lay this matter before the Duke of Argyll, as being a matter of pressing necessity. I am sure we all feel deeply indebted to Sir Charles Wingfield and the gentlemen who have taken the matter up so very ably, and who will help us, I am sure, in whatever further steps we take in the matter.

On the motion of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, seconded by Sir Charles Wingfield, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Tayler for his paper.

ADJOURNED MEETING, FRIDAY, MARCH 25, 1870.

To Discuss Sir ARTHUR COTTON's Paper, read on 14th December, 1869, on the Proposed Additional Expenditure of 100 Millions on Indian Railways.

P. P. GORDON, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON said: I will only offer a very few remarks by way of reply to Mr. Riddell, Mr. George Campbell, Mr. Dent, and Mr. Hyde Clarke, who made some observations on my paper at the last meeting. All that I would wish to say in reference to the speeches of those gentlemen is, that there is not a single word in them in answer to what I said; not a word to set aside the figures I gave. Not one of them proved that railroads had not cost so much; not one of them proved that canals would not cost so much less; not one of them proved that railways did carry the great traffic of the country; not one of them proved that canals would not carry the great traffic of the country; not one of them showed that the railroad could carry below a certain price; not one of them showed that canals could not carry traffic below that price; not one of them denied that railways are an enormous burthen upon the country (the taxation upon the country in respect of them being 3,000,000*l.*); nobody attempted to prove that canals would not be, instead of a burthen, a great relief to the country. One of them said, "Everybody allows that the railways have been a complete success." Everybody does not allow that they have been a complete success, because I do not. But what is the use of bare assertions like that? We have come to discuss the question, we do not want mere assertions. We want proofs and arguments to show what are the real bearings of the question of water carriage or land carriage for India. And what are we to conclude, when not a single figure that I have given is proved to be false? Of course, that there was no answer. One gentleman said, "Let us have no comparison between railways and canals." Why should not we? There can be but one reason why gentlemen wedded to railways should not wish a comparison to be instituted between canals and railways, *viz.* that they could not stand the comparison. We want to carry people and goods from Delhi to Calcutta, and the question is, how can that be done? and those gentlemen say you must not compare them. You construct the railways at the cost of 25,000*l.* a mile, and when they are made you find nineteen-twentieths of the traffic going on by the river, as if no railway were in existence; yet we are not to compare them with anything else that would have answered the purpose. This is not a question about what has been done and cannot be undone; this is a question about spending another 100,000,000*l.* in the same way, or rather spending another 100,000,000*l.* on secondary lines, when the primary lines upon which 100,000,000*l.* have been spent already have so entirely failed in the great objects for which they were constructed. I should be glad to reply to those gentlemen who spoke at the previous meeting, but they have said nothing for me to reply to. One gentleman said that a railway had been constructed by the side of a canal in England. The fallacy there is, in the first place he is speaking of a horse canal, and I am speaking of a steamboat canal. Does steam make no difference? I say that canals are cheaper than railways—that they can be constructed in a shorter time—that they can carry the great traffic of the country, and that railways cannot—that they can carry at a rate to answer the purpose of the country, and that railways cannot—that railways have been the cause of imposing a debt on the country, to be paid out of the taxes, of 3,000,000*l.* already, and which is increasing every year—that canals, instead of doing that, would not only have yielded the interest on the capital required for their outlay, but have made an enormous return and so have relieved the taxes—that canals are far more defensible in case of war than railways—that canals can be worked at an ample speed for all purposes (one of my antagonists admitted that, when he said that it was not an object to go at more than 15 miles an hour in India), and all this quite independent of the great point which is, that navigable canals can be combined with irrigation and drainage, and so become the means of averting those famines which devastate the country from time to time, and also the means of carrying off the superfluous water and removing the cause of those terrible malignant fevers which have ravaged the country and are doing so now. There is one thing which I omitted in my paper, which is, that the Government, notwithstanding that they are so wedded to railways,

are cutting a steamboat canal 100 miles long by the side of the principal railway of India. What a tremendous pressure of necessity there must have been to make men so wedded to land carriage actually do that which stultifies the whole of what they are doing everywhere else. You may depend upon it they would not have done that if there had not been an overwhelming demand for it. They are making a canal 40 or 50 yards broad, fit for powerful, fast steamers, which will do every bit of the work that the railway was intended to do, and which it has failed to do.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI read a letter from Mr. Charles Horne, in which that gentleman said:—"I have read, with great interest, the able paper of General Sir Arthur Cotton, and, as I am unable to attend the meeting this evening, I have penned this note to add my voice to the protest of my friend, Mr. G. Campbell, and others, against the opinion held by the Essayist, adverse to the further investment of capital (one hundred millions) in railways in India. He appears to hold that the money should be spent in canals, navigable by steamers. Far be it from my thought to decry canals. I hold them to be of paramount necessity, but I do not see that any comparison is necessary between them and railways. In India there is plenty of room for both. Provided that coal can be supplied, and that wood is not burned, I hold there to be no drawback to railways, whilst there are many against canals. Each railway station is an easily-defended post, whilst, with trains in constant motion, the destruction of the line is not so simple as supposed. But I do not wish so much to enter on the discussion of these points as to show that the railways have been a great success, and that they will, doubtless, achieve greater results than have as yet followed on their formation. I had been very intimate with Mr. E. Purser, late Chief Engineer on the East India Railway, the only line with which I am well acquainted, and having only recently returned from India, after a residence of twenty-five years, I need scarcely say that I have watched with interest the construction of the line from Calcutta (Hewrah) to Delhi. Often has Mr. Purser told me that the spacious and lofty stations designed by him were not immediately required so large, but that they were designed for the certain subsequent requirements of the line. And now a word on two points:—firstly, the great expense of construction, to which the above remark has led me; and secondly, to the complete success of the East India Railway as a passenger line. Firstly. It should be borne in mind that no masonry was allowed except the very best, *i.e.* quite equal to the English standard. This, of course, cost very much. Also, that all the foundations and embankments were constructed for a double line. This, in the case of the Scane and Jumna bridge, for instance, led to a great increase of outlay, but it should result in a great saving now that the line is being doubled. I hold that all money spent in doubling the line, and so allowing any number of trains to be run as may be needed, will return a good interest, and will do much in developing the resources of the country. Secondly. No one can have ever watched the influx of third-class passengers at any country station, in the event of an eclipse or great festival at Benares, or elsewhere, without being convinced of the use made by the people of this mode of transit. I have seen hundreds turned away, after waiting for many hours. This would be obviated by more frequent trains. The rail has taught many the value of time; and although the fares are much too high, yet that they are not prohibitive is clearly shown by the number who travel. It is indeed a great contrast to see one man going on pilgrimage by rail, at twenty-five miles per hour, whilst his neighbour measures the length of the road with his body. But such changes are being wrought by railways. Hence, I hold the rail to be a great success, as regards passengers. It is perfectly true, as remarked by the Chairman, that the rail needs to be largely supplemented by single-line light railways, branch feeders, and by tramways; still I think that the outlay judiciously made, and spread over a series of years, of one hundred million, is the wisest outlay that can be made. At the same time let canals be also pushed on. One great merit of the railway is the great speed with which it can relieve famine-stricken districts with grain. It has already very much equalized the price of grain in various districts, and although many of the bulkier and cheaper products of the country will not bear the cost of carriage by rail (and this, certainly, must be reduced), there is yet plenty of merchandise to tax the full carrying power of all the railways we are likely to make for many years, as well as those of all the rivers and canals." A letter was also read from Mr. Prichard, who expressed his regret at not being able to attend, and who said:—"There is a great deal in Sir Arthur Cotton's paper with which I cordially agree; and I should have much liked to have been present to have borne testimony to the value of canals over railways in India."

MR. JULAND DANVERS.—I am sorry that I had not the advantage of being present on the last occasion when the discussion on Sir Arthur Cotton's paper took place; but, having been favoured with an invitation to attend this meeting, to discuss the question of the proposed additional expenditure of 100,000,000*l.* on Indian railways, I felt it due to the gallant and distinguished officer, the author of that paper, to attend and join in discussing this very important question. It seems to me a little surprising that, at the present time, it should be needful to say a word in favour of the policy which introduced railways into India. The benefits that they have produced in that country, in a commercial, a social, and a financial point of view, are so great that I cannot well conceive it possible that the propriety of introducing them and extending them should be questioned. I beg, at the outset of my remarks, to express my great admiration of the zeal and earnestness, and perhaps I might be allowed to say enthusiasm, of the gallant General. I admire his great energy, and I also admire, to a certain extent, the exaggerations which, if you will permit me to say so, he is sometimes apt to indulge in whenever, as an advocate, he puts forward his own schemes; but when, as a censor, he uses the same exaggerated terms, I think that it is desirable that the facts and the statements he brings forward should be thoroughly investigated and discussed, and I am sure he is the first person to desire that that should be done. Now he not only condemns the system of railways in India, but he also assails those who were its authors, and those who have been engaged in carrying the scheme out. He fails to see that railways serve the wants of the country. He regards them as ruinous to the finances of the country, and he also looks upon them as useless as defensive works, and of course, these being his opinions, he considers railways to be unworthy of extension. Perhaps I may be allowed to quote his expressions with regard to the discussions which he thinks were stifled at the commencement of those operations. He says, "When railways were first proposed, all discussion respecting their suitability to India, their capability to meet its wants, their superiority to other modes of communication, their effects upon the finances of the country, &c., was absolutely refused. When attempts were made to this purport, an officer, who knew what the feelings of the authorities were, condemned them in an official paper as 'adverse discussions,' which meant, of course, that discussion was by no means objected to, provided that it was all in favour of them. And so well was it understood that, whoever dared to state the other side of the question must do it at his personal peril, that the authorities were left to follow out the plan they had determined upon without one word of real inquiry." Now it seems to me almost impossible to suppose that the gallant General can forget the discussions that took place thirty years ago. Does he forget the agitation—almost agitation it was—that was commenced in this country by the commercial community that were connected with India, headed by Sir Macdonald Stephenson, Mr. Andrew, Mr. Chapman, and others, who were deeply interested in the subject? Does he forget the discussions that took place between the old Court of Directors and the Board of Control? Does he forget the minutes written by Lord Hardinge, when Governor-General, and the correspondence that took place between the head of the Government and the subordinate Governments, and all the officers in India who were supposed to be able to give an opinion on the subject? Does he also forget what that great man Lord Dalhousie did with respect to railways—how he went into the matter with the most patient and anxious consideration, and at last brought forth that scheme which is now on the eve of being completed? I cannot understand the meaning of his expression, that no discussion was allowed, and that when any attempt was made to express an independent opinion, it was stifled. I recollect the gallant General himself, speaking upon the subject, entertaining the same views he now entertains. But he not only spoke, but wrote most energetically, most ably, and most earnestly upon this subject; and I think he will also recollect that his papers were taken up and answered by others equally interested in the affairs of India. Now the next point we come to, to which he alludes, is, that these works are ruinous to the finances of India. He founds that opinion, I presume, upon the fact, that at the present moment the railways certainly are a charge upon the revenues of India. In their present disjointed condition, and in their present state, they are. In many places they begin at a port, for instance, and go into the country, but there they end. In that condition it can hardly be supposed that they can show what they are really worth, and they are a charge upon India—not an increasing charge, as Sir Arthur Cotton just now stated, but, I hope, a diminishing charge. I trust, before very long,

they will add to the revenues of India, and I think there is every probability of their doing so. But to show what is really thought of the effect of railways upon the finances of India, I would quote a sentence from a Despatch which has been received from the Government of India within the last two months. It is a Despatch which has been lately presented to Parliament, and which shows that, at the time it was written, the Government took a somewhat desponding view of the condition of the finances; but in it they use this expression—"The enriching and civilizing effects of the great railway and irrigation works which have, within the last twenty years, been constructed, are beginning to be felt throughout the length and breadth of the land." That is the responsible opinion of the present Government of India. The next point Sir Arthur Cotton refers to is, that the charges of the railway are so high, and the cost has been so great, that the idea that the railways are doing the work of the country in respect of the traffic is perfectly ludicrous, and his proof of that is derived from a calculation founded upon an average which he arrives at—I do not exactly see by what process—he will probably explain presently. He says, "The total receipts for goods were, last year, three millions on 4000 miles, or 800*l.* a mile, which, at an average of 3*d.* a ton, gives 64,000 tons for the traffic of all the lines. Now, to show the insignificance of this we have only to compare it with the present actual traffic by the rivers connecting the Ganges and Hooghly, which are only open four or five months in the year; the quantity last year being 1,900,000 tons, and probably at least 3,000,000 tons are carried from the Ganges to Calcutta in the whole year, or fifty times the average by the railways. Again, the Eastern Bengal Railway received 75,000*l.*, or 700*l.* per mile, representing, at 3*d.* per ton, 56,000 tons in the whole year, against 1,900,000 tons conveyed by the rivers." But I beg to assure him that the real fact is, that instead of 56,000 tons carried by the railways last year, 11,000,000 of tons were carried, and instead of 3*d.* a ton being the average charge for the great commodities of the country, the actual charges were less than a penny for salt, one penny for cotton, and in certain famine-stricken districts grain was carried at a halfpenny a ton a mile, and was the means of relieving very great distress. Now, with regard also to passengers, he in one passage states that the number of passengers may be regarded as 250,000 per annum—the real number that travelled was 15,000,000, that is, 15,000,000 journeys were taken by passengers, 15,000,000 tickets were issued. Now the passenger fares are, I admit, higher than I should hope they will be—higher than I quite like. I am a great advocate for low fares. I believe, in the long run, low fares would not only pay the companies, but would be of great advantage to the country. I am very anxious, therefore, to see low fares introduced as fast as possible, but the fare now paid by third-class passengers are, in many cases, only a halfpenny a mile, and never a penny a mile. Certainly, for second and first class they are higher, but as 98 per cent. (I think it is) of the passengers are third class, the higher fares affect a very few in comparison. Then, with regard to railways being useless in a commercial point of view, supposing during the American war there had been no railway from Bombay into the interior, what would Manchester have done? How many millions of tons of cotton were taken across the Ghats down to Bombay during that period? How many people in this country were kept in employment in that way through the railways in India? Would a canal have done that? How could a canal have been taken from Bombay into the Deccan? and how could a canal have provided for the wants of that part of the community? With regard, also, to the calculation which the gallant General made as to the cost. The cost has, I admit, been much higher than the estimates; the cost has also been higher in many cases, I am quite ready to admit, than it ought to have been; but what is more to the purpose, I do not think the cost will ever be half as great again as it has been. But you must recollect that though the average cost is high, and though the maximum cost is very high, yet there are cases where railways have not cost more than 8000*l.* or 10,000*l.* a mile. In the Presidency of which the gallant General is himself such an ornament, railways have been made on the most economical terms. The Great Southern of India Railway, I think, has not cost more than 9000*l.* a mile, including rolling stock, which probably would be 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* a mile, including also heavy rails, and permanent way, and all the appliances of two terminal stations. That line has not cost more than 9000*l.* or 10,000*l.* at the utmost; therefore railways can be made cheap, and undoubtedly will be made cheaper. I do not wish to disparage for a moment the construction of canals; but I think we shall find, even with regard to canals, their original estimates have almost invariably

been greatly exceeded. It is, in fact, impossible altogether to calculate with accuracy what a work will cost in a place like India. We must look, also, to the novelty of those works in India at the time they were undertaken, and we must bear in mind the great rise in the price of wages which has occurred since railways were commenced. Wages have risen 300 and 400 per cent., much to the advantage of the country; but still all this has increased the price over the original estimate; and the mutiny also occurring in the middle of our operations, added, I believe, two or three millions to the cost. The manner in which some portions of the works were allowed to get into ruin during their suspension, and the destruction that occurred in some places, occasioned a loss of, I think, between two and three millions of money. That leads one to the question of the use of railways for defensive works. Of course, it is plain to anyone that it is easy enough to take up a rail here and there, and so destroy the continuity of the line, but that argument might be applied to a great many things. Are we not to have telegraphs, because the wires may be cut? Are we not to have bridges over the rivers, because they may be blown up? The same argument might be applied to many works of great and acknowledged use. But let us look to what has happened to railways in the case of war. Did the Americans find no benefit from the existence of railways when they were carrying on the war in that country? Did Austria and Prussia, when they were engaged in war three or four years ago, find no benefit from their railways? And did we ourselves find no benefit from railways in India during the mutiny? I believe most important service was performed by the railway from Calcutta to Cawnpore during the mutiny; such service as was acknowledged by all the generals engaged in the campaign in Oude, and as was patent to almost everybody. It is said that railways may very properly be compared with canals. I think they may in many respects; but, at the same time, one must see that railways are very useful where canals cannot be made, and that canals are most serviceable in places where railways are not suitable. Canals certainly perform most important service, and wherever facilities exist for directing the course of a river, or for cutting water communication, by all means make them, but let both go on together. (Hear, hear.) The gallant General would say, Let us have no railways, let us only have canals. I only differ from him in the use of the word "only;" I would have both railways and canals. India is large enough for both, and I do not see why both should not go hand-in-hand, distributing plenty, and contentment, and wealth throughout the land. Let both go on together; and if railways have done good hitherto, I say we should not hesitate to support the policy which advocates their extension. Let them be made most cautiously, let them be made after the greatest consideration, and let none be made that cannot be made economically, and that cannot be made so as to give a fair prospect of their paying a fair rate of interest. I agree with Sir Arthur Cotton, that the people at large should not be taxed for the purpose of benefiting those who travel. Those who travel bear a small proportion to those who do not; but, at the same time, railways, as well as canals, produce a very important and a very lasting and generally beneficial effect upon a country, and I do not think we should hesitate for a moment to support the policy which will, by degrees, introduce through the length and breadth of the land, a system of communication which will bring benefit to all, and injury to none. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN.—I am sure I only express the feeling of this meeting, and of the Association generally, when I state that we feel particularly obliged by Mr. Danvers' acceptance of the invitation to come here, and for his having so plainly and distinctly laid his views before us. Before sitting down, I have had a note sent me from Mr. Wood, which I am requested to read, in order to give the gallant General the opportunity to correct some slight errors which he may have been led into:—

"My dear Sir,—I return with thanks the copy of Sir Arthur Cotton's paper, read before the East India Association, on the 14th December last, and regret that a previous engagement prevents my accepting your kind invitation to attend the further discussion on Tuesday next. Sir Arthur (page 4) assumes that the average rate charged by this company is 3d. per ton, and that they carried last year 56,000 tons only. Will you kindly point out to the meeting that this statement is erroneous? The printed reports of the company show that the number of tons carried by this company in the year ending June, 1869, was 173,437, exclusive of 9199 tons of coal carried free for the company's own use; and that the average receipt shown by the reports is 11s. 5d. per ton, say 1½d. per ton per mile, the bulk of the goods traffic being through-traffic, and the rate for rice being two annas per maund per 112 miles, or $\frac{1}{17}$ of a penny per mile."

MR. W. P. ANDREW.—My name having been mentioned in connection with the discussions which took place regarding railways, now about a quarter of a century ago, it is but fair that I should state, in making a few remarks on the paper submitted for our consideration, that besides advocating railways at that time, I advocated the extensive introduction of irrigation works, and the extensive introduction of common roads. I consider that India, as has been well observed, is large enough for all modern improvements; and it is matter of much regret to me that, many years ago, at which time I was in frequent intercourse with the gallant and distinguished officer, whose upright and honourable character I much esteem, that he has so entirely set his face against railways, which must be considered, and are considered by all the men of science with whom I have ever been brought in contact, as the greatest improvement of modern times, the principal engine for civilizing nations, the principal engine for promoting commerce, and the best means that can be devised by man for the defence of a country. I am perfectly surprised that the gallant General should say that no facts have been alleged against his arguments. I am the more surprised, because we have the fact of the existence of the railway, which is to be compared to his canal; and where is his canal? I have yet to know where the canal is, with its powerful flotilla of armed steamers, ready to defend it. I am not aware of its existence. I believe the gallant General is comparing a fact with a pure fiction. I believe, in his zeal and energy, and in his enthusiasm, he imagines his wonderful canal almost made already; but he will find, as every man finds who is engaged in works of that character, that his estimates, however carefully prepared, will prove fallacious, as almost all estimates, of whatever kind, are. The gallant General has wide experience in irrigation works, but I do not think that his experience extends in any great degree to steam navigation. I have unfortunately had a great deal of experience of steam navigation, and I had, several years ago, many discussions with Sir Arthur Cotton in regard to the application of steam vessels to the rivers of the Punjab, and if I had taken a suggestion of the gallant General's, I should have launched those who were co-operating with me in the greatest difficulties. As it is, instead of opening up all the rivers of the Punjab as a grand affair, I confined my attention to connecting the two railways with which I was associated by a flotilla on the deepest portion of the Indus, and that limited application of the principle of inland steam navigation has not answered the expectations either of the Government or myself, though we have had the best skill and the greatest experience, and have at this moment the best flotilla on the inland waters of India. What sort of means of defence would such an appliance as that be? We have had repeatedly some of our finest steamers with regiments on board, reposing on a sand-bank for a week. What sort of defence, in a country pretending to science, would that be? Simply ridiculous. The gallant General says railways are easily destructible, not easily defended. I venture to say there is no engineer officer of anything like the reputation of the gallant General who would back that opinion. Railways are easily defensible, and have been proved to be so in war. They are easily repaired; they carry their own means of defence, and they carry their own means of repair. We saw that, as Mr. Danvers remarked, in the American war. We know that a great viaduct was blown up, and restored in a marvellously short time. As to the opinion of the most eminent men of this country on the applicability of railways to defensive purposes, we have the best proof of it in the organization of a corps of engineers—all the most distinguished engineers in this country having been appointed Colonels and Majors, many well-known contractors and traffic managers being appointed officers under them, co-operating with Sir John Burgoyne and other of the Royal Engineers—with the view of making the railways available for the purpose of defence. That shows that it is the opinion of the most eminent scientific engineers in this country, both civil and military, that railways are an admirable means of defence. The gallant officer may remember that Sir John Burgoyne, a great many years ago, gave his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons to the same effect. Though the gallant General says many bitter things against the railways with which I have been so many years identified, I have not a word to say against his irrigation. I do desire, and have desired, and I was the first (in conjunction with his intimate friend, the late eloquent and lamented Mr. John Sullivan) to bring the subject of irrigation before the old East India Company, with a view to private enterprise being employed to introduce it, knowing well that if it was left in the hands of the Government it never would be done on an extensive scale. It would have been

done by carrying on the works out of revenue; and we know, in that case, what the result would have been. The author knows that, in the case of the works in which he is so much interested, in the Godavery, when some little trumpery sum has been required, the works are stopped. I know, to my bitter experience, that at the port of Kurrachee, where great works were going on, of vital importance to the trade of the country, and absolutely necessary to the undertakings with which I was connected, that a small sum was withheld lately, and the works stopped. Compensation has, I believe, been given to the contractors, and the work delayed for years. This is a specimen of the way in which the Government set to business, when they undertake public works out of revenue. One word about the gallant General's steam canal before I sit down. Though I approve of irrigation works on the most extensive scale, I entirely disapprove and dissent from his views with regard to canals applicable to steam navigation. The gallant General says they would be well adapted for defensive purposes—that he would have, in all directions, armed vessels moving up and down. He gives no estimate—no clue whatever, by which to arrive at an idea of what this armed fleet is which would proceed at a rate of fifteen miles an hour. He gives no idea whatever of the cost; neither does he take into consideration the enormous expense of maintenance. Granted, which I think it would be very difficult for him to achieve, that he will make his canal according to his estimates, that he has a large fleet there, and that he is, as he considers, in a very strong position to defend his works against all comers, twenty men could do more towards destroying his canal than a thousand could towards destroying a railway. Why, twenty men could destroy the gallant General's canal by making a breach in the bank, whilst he was coming to the rescue, and then where would be his flotilla? Sticking high and dry in the mud. That is perfectly certain, and not only would he be discomfited and his fleet run aground, but the whole canal would be a dry ditch. I do regret deeply that the author of the paper does not see that the great struggle between nations now is to avail themselves to the greatest extent, and in the most prompt manner, of all the means which science places in their hands. Why did the Russians fail in the Crimea, if not for the want of railways and telegraphs? How should we have been able to keep up our communications except by steam and the telegraphs? and yet Sir Arthur Cotton, who belongs, and is an ornament to the scientific corps, sets his face against the very improvement which of all men he ought to appreciate, and of which of all men you would expect he would be one of the most enthusiastic advocates. I quite concur with him in regretting that the railways of India have cost so much, but, at the same time, one ought to consider their novelty, the distance, and the enormous number of skilled labourers that had to be imported. In the construction of the Scinde Railway, we had to import labour from Persia, China, and, indeed, from all directions; we had a perfect Babel of 10,000 men collected from all parts of the East. That made the works of necessity very expensive, and in the Punjab, where also the railway was under my care, though we had abundance of labour, the cost of inland carriage was so large that the iron cost cent. per cent. when landed on the ground—it cost as much for freight from England as the original cost of the material here—yet, notwithstanding that, the railway so remote, and so land-locked, as it were, has not cost more than 11,000*l.* a mile. Taking the distance and the novelty into account, the railways in India will contrast favourably with railways in any country. I have no hesitation in saying so. I have no hesitation also in saying from the experience gained by the companies, from new inventions, and the improvements made by science, that, whether the companies or the Government make the future railways, they will cost a great deal less. The gallant General makes use of one remark which I did not expect to hear from him—that was, that had the Government undertaken the railways, they would have cost much less. I say that is a mere opinion, and I deny it. I have the strongest feeling that, had the Government made them, they would have cost a great deal more; but worse than that, they never would have been made at all. Instead of the Government being determined to construct railways, as the author of the paper alleges, the Government did nothing for seven years but discuss them. The Government never would have made the railways to this day, unless they had been compelled to do so by public opinion—not in India but here. I know that well, from having been connected with this subject for so many years. I do think, when you look back on what the Government of India has done, you see what a wise, paternal, beneficent, and admirable Government it is in every way but one: as to affording means of communication, they never even built a bridge except

over some little trumpery stream, and they never bridged a large river. To this day all the great works in India, all the magnificent bridges, are due to the railway companies. When a gentleman like my old friend Sir Arthur Cotton assails the railways, I must say that I regret it very much, and I am quite certain when he reconsiders the subject, if he only would reconsider it, he would see that the railway people, with whom he finds fault, are quite ready to look through his glasses and admire his works and assist them; but I wish that he would remember, as they do, that there is plenty of room for all these things, and that they are all required in India. We want railways, roads, canals, irrigation works, and all the modern improvements which science offers. As to railways, I consider we are only in the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN reminded the meeting that, according to the rules of the Association, ten minutes only were allowed to each speaker.

MR. ELLIOT.—I am not an assailant of anybody or anything. I am neither a Canalite, nor a Railwayite, nor a Tramwayite, but a planter who wishes to get his produce out of the country as quickly and as cheaply as possible; and, perhaps, the few remarks I have to make may tend to give the discussion a slightly more practical tone. As Lord Penzance said in the Mordaunt case, "Let us see where we are in this inquiry." As I understand the case, it is this—the railway people have a certain definite scheme; they wish to cover India with a network of railways; and also, as I understand, they wish to pursue a certain course, and arrive at their end with almost mathematical accuracy. Now, Sir Arthur Cotton's scheme, as I understand, has never been laid definitely before us. I want to know where is his network of canals? The second point I would refer to is simply this, there are, as we know, many rivers in India; but very often at the time of year when these rivers are most wanted there is no water in them. My plantations are in Munzerabad, on the banks of the Hemakutty, which flows into the Cauvery, which flows into the sea. It would be extremely convenient for me if I were able to put all my coffee into a boat on the river, and so float it down to the coast, instead of sending it at a cost of about 3*l.* a ton to Bangalore, and I do not know how much more to Madras. But at the time when I most want to send my coffee by the river, there is no water in them at all. That is a point upon which I should like to hear what Sir Arthur Cotton has to say. I myself would be only too glad to use any means to get my stuff out of the country as cheaply as possible.

MR. MANTLAND.—It will be the more easy for me to compress what I have to say into the compass of time wisely allotted to each speaker, because I am in this position: a good deal of what I was going to say has been taken out of my mouth by those who have preceded me, and particularly by the gentleman who spoke first in this discussion. I am in the same position that he is, in not having had the opportunity of being present at the previous meeting; but, having received an invitation, I have attended out of respect to this Association, and out of respect to Sir Arthur Cotton, whom I had the pleasure of knowing in India, though I do not know whether he remembers me at this distance of time, and whose character and abilities I, in common with everybody else, admire very greatly indeed. If he will permit me to say so, I feel here, as I used to do when I was in India, that upon this particular point of water communication, he rather rides his hobby to death. I think, first of all, when he speaks of there having been a want of discussion at the time railway communication was established in India, he is a little unfair; because I well remember the discussions that took place, both in England and in India, at the time the matter was before the public, particularly in the days of that very great and eminent man, Lord Dalhousie. I was in Calcutta at the time that the East India Railway was being made, and I perfectly well remember, if other gentlemen held their peace in this matter, and did not make their opinions known, Sir Arthur Cotton was not wanting in that way, because I remember, at that time, when I occupied the position of President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, taking the chair at a largely attended meeting at Calcutta, where Sir Arthur Cotton read an interesting paper, and set forth his opinions on this subject. My view of this matter is just the same view as has been expressed by gentlemen this evening, and, I believe, by gentlemen who were present at the former meeting, that it is not a question of railways alone or of canals alone, but both the one and the other. I think there is abundance of room in India for all; and I think Sir Arthur Cotton appears to have overlooked this fact, that the Government of India are not merely anxious to make railways, but anxious to do a good deal for irrigation. The Government of India, also, have bought up one Irrigation Company, and it is on the cards that they may buy up another—the Madras Irrigation Com-

pany; and, moreover, as Sir Arthur Cotton himself tells us, they are making another canal at this moment. Nobody who has lived in India could doubt, for an instant, the enormous value of irrigation works. Given sun and given water, India will produce anything in the world. But I cannot see why we should not have both railways and irrigation and canal works; and, when it is stated that railways in India have been a failure, I must, for one, utterly and entirely differ from that. I speak as a merchant, having been in India at the time these railways were making, and I know something of the expense and the difficulties of making railways in India, because my firm were agents for one of the contractors for the East India Railway from Cawnpore to Allahabad; but Sir Arthur Cotton falls into the same mistake that the Duke of Argyll did when he delivered that most interesting speech in the House of Lords on this subject of extending railways in India, and extending them by Government rather than by private companies. The Duke of Argyll reproached the railway companies with having made their railways at very great expense, and spoke as if these new railways were to be made, whether by companies or by the Government, at the same expense. But it by no means follows that that will be the case. We know from the Blue Books that in the case of the Madras Railway, the Great Southern of India Railway, the Oude and Rohilkund Railway, and this new Carnatic Railway, they have either been made, or it is expected that they will be made, at a very different rate of cost to that at which railways were formerly constructed. I can remember perfectly well when every ton of iron had to be pushed to the front as well as it could, by carts, at great expense. Now you can send all your materials, everything you want, hundreds and hundreds of miles, at a very much less expense. Whether it is wise for the Government to construct railways, rather than companies, is a part of the question into which I will not enter now; but whichever party makes them, they will be able to make them at a very different rate of cost from what they did before. Then Sir Arthur Cotton was in error in speaking of the railways being a burden upon India, and as being likely to continue a burden for almost an indefinite time. That railways, when made at first, will be a burden on any country till they are made to be productive is perfectly self-evident. It was only the other day that we saw in the papers an interesting statement of the cost of Russian railways, accompanied with a statement of what those railways were doing at this moment, from which it appeared that they were reimbursing the Government the guaranteed interest that the Russian Government paid, just as the Government of India pays the guaranteed interest upon the Indian railways; and it was shown that in the case of two or three main lines they were already more than paying their expenses, the Government being under no expense. What do we find to be the case with some of the East Indian railways? Just to take one case, the East India Railway, which cost so much more money than any other railway, is at this moment, unless all the accounts are false, paying upwards of 5 per cent. In the same way, I believe the Eastern Bengal Railway, at this instant, is earning 4 per cent. Anybody taking up the reports published in the Blue Books, and the reports of the different railway companies, will see that it is so; so that we may look forward to the expense on the revenue of India gradually decreasing. Sir Arthur Cotton, in the course of his statement, referred particularly to one railway,—I mean the Calcutta and South-Eastern Railway—as an instance of mismanagement on the part of the Government of India, as being a railway that was made at a great cost, and which produced very little result. Now it should be remembered that that was made under exceptional circumstances. The Calcutta people took it into their heads that that Port of Callings would sooner or later be a success, and, under those circumstances, the Government made it. I myself, as a merchant, over and over again urged them to make it; and, if they made it, they made it at the instance of those interested in it, many of whom believed it would be a success; and if that has turned out to be a mistake, the blame should not be visited on the Government, but on those who urged them to make it. But I, for one, fully believe it will yet prove a success. Sir Arthur Cotton referred in his paper to the small number of travellers who travel by railway. I see that that was referred to by Mr. George Campbell, who has far more experience as to that than I have, because he has travelled in the interior, while most of my time I spent in the Presidency towns; but anyone who has travelled about India must have seen at times the multitudes of natives that travel by railway. At one time it was said that the natives would not travel by the railways—that caste would deter them—that has turned out to be a perfect delusion. Where they can save money, caste distinctions are set on one side. So far as regards third-class passengers, and very few

Europeans travel by the third-class, the natives of India do use those railways to a great extent, and they will, I believe, use them to a still greater extent as time goes on. Then there is a matter I should like to refer to, though I refer to it with some diffidence, not being a military man, but it has been already referred to, particularly by Mr. Andrew. Sir Arthur Cotton in his paper speaks of railways as if they were of no use in war. I was very much surprised when I read that, because I remember what took place in America in the case of the railways there. Suppose a mutiny were to take place in India to-morrow, or suppose 50,000 Russians were to come down from the north, as long as our army was strong enough to take the field and fight their enemies, I do not see what there would be to prevent them re-laying the rails as fast as the enemy took them up; as for taking miles and miles of embankment, they could not blow them up and they could not pull them down. And in the American war one heard constantly that if the army were beaten they could do nothing at all, but as long as they had the best of it they could re-lay the rails as easily as the telegraph wires. As a merchant, I can confirm what was said as to the use of railways in India in the case of merchandise, and I can specially refer to the great use it was in the time of the American war. I was out in India at that time, and I can well remember the thousands of bales that were hurried from Mirzapore and other places, the owners of which were willing to pay almost any expenses for the carriage of them, and the distress which was suffered in Lancashire was alleviated to a great extent by railways bringing forward produce in a way that no canal could do. Mr. Andrew has anticipated me in one remark in answer to Sir Arthur Cotton's argument that railways are not a military defence, *viz.* that an opposing force would have no difficulty at all in cutting the embankment of a canal, and where should we be then? I am not particularly interested in one mode of communication or the other. As a merchant, I should like to see all these public works flourish for the sake of India; and I think while the Government were carrying out irrigation and constructing roads and canals, it would have been a dereliction of their duty if they had not done something towards the construction of railways. They would have had addressed to them, and addressed to them with justice, these words—This ought you to have done, but not have left the other undone.

Mr. TAYLOR.—There are two peculiarities in this discussion which have struck me since I had the pleasure of reading the paper submitted by Sir Arthur Cotton at the last meeting, and which, perhaps are worthy of consideration: first, the remarkable force of the arguments and calculations produced by Sir Arthur Cotton, and secondly, the still more remarkable unanimity of the opposition raised to those statements and calculations. Sir Arthur Cotton, who, according to universal acclamation, is an officer of great experience and unusual ability, comes before this Society, which has for its object the welfare of India, with the most elaborate calculations, to all appearance carefully prepared (though certainly open to question, as I have seen to-night) from authentic documents, and with those calculations in his hand, he says to the Society, I maintain and I pledge my personal and official reputation to the fact that the Government of India, which has spent one hundred millions of money for the attainment of certain great national objects, could for something about a fifth of that money have attained the same objects, not only so effectually, but still more effectually, and with that they might have also accomplished certain other collateral objects of vital interest to the community of India. Now, not having been present at the last meeting, I have derived all my information from a perusal of the Journal of the Society, and in that I perceive what Sir Arthur Cotton himself has very naturally observed to-night, that in answer to those elaborate statements and calculations, though many very eminent gentlemen spoke, there was nothing whatever in the shape of counter-calculation or counter-statement. There were loose assertions and loose remarks. One gentleman said railways had been very well made and very well conducted, that they were things to which the engineers who had constructed them might look with professional pride. Another said many more passengers, according to his own personal experience, travelled by railway than Sir Arthur Cotton supposed. This was the kind of rambling opposition raised at the last meeting; and I was not surprised that a postponement was proposed, so that a more statesmanlike and more logical discussion should be attempted at least; and I think I may congratulate Sir Arthur Cotton and the Society to-night that his statements and his enthusiasm (which has been more than once alluded to to-night) have produced a giant on the opposite side, Mr. Dauvers, who has been the first apparently in this discussion to enter upon a scrutiny and an examination of Sir

Arthur Cotton's statements, and who has impugned several of them to some effect. In the first place, with regard to Sir Arthur Cotton's preliminary observations on the absence of discussion when railways were first established in India, Mr. Danvers has referred to very long and animated discussions, which he says took place, and I have very little doubt they did. Mr. Danvers speaks as an official from an official quarter, and doubtless with documents and papers to refer to, which, to ordinary mortals of the outside world, are a hidden book.

Mr. DANVERS.—I think not: they are all public.

Mr. TAYLER.—At all events, I do not feel myself at all prepared to enter into that part of the controversy. I will only suggest this, that what Sir Arthur Cotton possibly means is, that, though he and others were allowed the liberty to speak, the topic was not a particularly congenial one to the official mind. Passing over that, however, I would remark that Mr. Danvers' criticisms upon Sir Arthur Cotton's statements appear to me to amount to this, that certain parts of the calculations of Sir Arthur Cotton, as to the rates of traffic per mile, and the number of passengers, and so on, are, as Mr. Danvers said, exaggerated. Now this brings me to the second peculiarity of this case—namely, the unanimity of the opposition hitherto raised to Sir Arthur Cotton; and this I attribute entirely to the fact that Sir Arthur Cotton is an enthusiast. Enthusiasm to me is the greatest ground of admiration (hear, hear); for without enthusiasm I do not believe, in this cold-hearted nineteenth century, any man has accomplished anything worth looking at. But enthusiasm holds no parley with error; it does not trifle with words; it steadily and persistently pursues its object; and very likely what we call exaggeration becomes a necessary and component part of that enthusiasm. I will not attempt to say that some of Sir Arthur Cotton's statements may not be what we may term hyperbolic or exaggerated. It may be that we ought to cut off 20 or 25 per cent. from his calculations. But I say this, if you do that you will still have a margin sufficiently large left to maintain every position which he has taken up in this controversy. That is my own idea, speaking as a neophyte in this matter, being neither a railwayite nor an engineer; but I am an advocate for the position Sir Arthur Cotton has taken up, because I see it is supported by proof, by calculations, and by statements of the most important kind. It seems to me that we have wandered very far indeed from the real purport of Sir Arthur Cotton's paper. Several gentlemen have said, There is room for canals and railways. Others have said, Why attack railways? Why should we not be satisfied with both? Others have said, Why compare the two? I maintain that Sir Arthur Cotton's purpose is to compare the two. He says this is a crisis. The Government have spent 100,000,000*l.*, and they are about to spend another 100,000,000*l.* I show you that for a fifth of that 100,000,000*l.* you can attain all the objects you seek to attain by railways, at the same time giving to the country the greatest of all blessings—irrigation. I say that is a subject that must be grappled with logically. It will not do to say, We can have railways, and we can have canals; the serious question now for the Government is, are they to spend another 100,000,000*l.* in railways, or 15,000,000*l.* or 20,000,000*l.* in canals, at a time when, as we find from the last discussion at the legislative meeting in Calcutta, the Government itself is seriously and vividly alive to the extreme importance of financial considerations. What Colonel Strachey said at the last meeting was, that by any false action or any imprudence we might bring on ourselves financial disaster and collapse.—Colonel Strachey was introducing a Bill to tax all those who are to benefit by the irrigation of their lands to such an extent as to pay the interest on the cost of construction, and to defray the cost of the maintenance of the works; and Lord Mayo himself says, unless we make these men pay the full cost of interest and maintenance, there is nobody else to pay, and the whole thing must go to the dogs. That is a most important question to be considered in connection with the statement of Sir Arthur Cotton, that 3,000,000*l.* is now levied from the tax-paying public of India as interest upon the expenditure for railways; for if the railways are costing 3,000,000*l.* a year instead of producing a revenue, how on earth are we to expend 100,000,000*l.* on new railways, unless we make somebody pay for them? If Sir Arthur Cotton's statements are correct, then canals will pay the interest and maintenance, and will pay a large percentage besides. Sir Arthur Cotton's statement has not been controverted or contradicted—that the railways are a burden at present. Undoubtedly railways are a great boon to the country, no one will deny that; but I maintain that we are departing altogether from the subject of discussion before us when we enter into the question of the advantages afforded by railways. The question before us is this, Is a railway at such

a cost better than a canal at such a cost, taking into consideration that your canal will carry your travellers and your goods, and will also be the means of fertilizing the country? I think I may congratulate Sir Arthur Cotton upon the fact that the gentleman whom I may call the official opponent, who has honoured this Society to-night by his presence and his arguments, has in reality contributed to the triumph of Sir Arthur Cotton; because when I look at his remarks about railways, his admissions regarding their excessive expense, and his admissions regarding the extreme value of irrigation (in which he was followed by Mr. Andrew, who referred to the anxiety displayed by Government to extend works of irrigation), I consider that Sir Arthur Cotton has won three-fourths of his battle. If Sir Arthur Cotton's statements are false, the matter is over; if true, I consider that the members of this Society, having the interests of the whole of India at heart, are bound to take any measures they possibly can to get a competent committee appointed to consider the question, whether we are to spend this 100,000,000*l.* upon railways, or whether we are to spend a very much smaller sum upon the construction of canals, combined with irrigation.

MR. HYDE CLARKE.—As having been one of the parties who took part in the discussion when the question of the construction of railways in India was first agitated, I must confirm what has been said by the Director of Railways, that there was the fullest and freest discussion, and I must exculpate the officials from the charge of having too willingly lent themselves to railways. It was, as the honourable gentleman said, with the greatest difficulty that we were able to persuade the Government to carry out railways at all. I had no interest as a railway director; of course, I had no interest as an official of the East India Company; but, as one of the public and as a representative of the public, I took part in the discussion; and I can bear my testimony to the reluctance with which the Government took up the construction of railways at all. I am only sorry to find that there is a danger that the considerations which produced that reluctance on the part of the Government then may be pressed on the Government now. Of course, after the gallant General has told us that, notwithstanding all we said on the last occasion, his position was in no degree controverted, it would be perfectly useless to repeat any such arguments. Fortunately this matter is not to be decided solely by the gallant gentleman, but is in a great degree, to be decided by the voice of this room. Differing from the learned gentleman who has just sat down, my humble opinion—and I think it must be that of every practical man in the room—is that the figures and facts given by Mr. Danvers this evening are a convincing refutation of the statements put forth by Sir Arthur Cotton. I abstained on the last occasion from entering into those details, because they are not very easily followed by an audience inexperienced in these matters, and because the statements of Sir Arthur Cotton are utterly inconsistent with the facts and with general experience. Sir Arthur Cotton has not made out his case at all, and it would be a most unfortunate thing for India, and it would be a most unfortunate thing for the intelligence of the people of this country, if it were to be considered that he had made out his case. It would be a reflection on our intelligence if the conclusion came to on this question were to depend on weight being given to the argument that if 100,000,000*l.* is spent on railways, 10,000,000*l.* cannot be found for canals. In this country we remember, a quarter of a century ago, when we were engaged in discussing the question of railways for England, it was said we should be ruined because we asked for 30,000,000*l.* See how many hundreds of millions have been contributed since. So in the case of India. India wants not only this 100,000,000*l.* and this 10,000,000*l.* for canals, it wants hundreds of millions. As I said on the former occasion, we find the whole of Europe and the whole of America at this moment adopting not only canals, but railways and roads, as a means of improving the transit of each country; and why should not India do the same? If we want to put India in its right position, we must avail ourselves of the experience of others. Without referring to the experience of America, we see by the newspapers what is being done at the present moment by the Government of a country regarded as being rather backward. I mean Turkey. We see the great efforts that are being made by that Government and the burden put upon their already heavily-burdened treasury for the purpose of finding funds for the Roumelia Railway. The sacrifices they are making are enormous in comparison to what have been made in India, or what are proposed to be made. Sir Arthur Cotton tells us that the country has to pay 3,000,000*l.* a year for the railways; but the fact is that there is no such burden on the country, if the account is properly stated. If the whole of the operations were properly worked out, we should see confirmation of the

statement of Mr. Danvers, that the mere expenditure on railways has itself furnished the Government with increased revenue. But why should not there be a loan for public works, as in Russia and in other countries? Why should not the preliminary outlay and the preliminary deficiency of interest be charged to the account, till that time when the development of such undertakings would amply repay the original outlay, and leave a large profit? With these few observations I will sit down. I may again be represented as not having impugned the positions of Sir Arthur Cotton; but I should be sorry to take up the time of the meeting with entering into such facts and details as the cost of railways and the carriage of goods.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I will not enter into the question of whether or not the 3,000,000*l.* is a burden on the revenues of India, nor into the question, whether the Government ought to make the railways themselves. I will only address myself to one question which Mr. Taylor put. He asks, Is it better to have railways costing 100,000,000*l.* or canals costing 15,000,000*l.*? Now, from the very first I have said that canals are certainly very necessary, and that there is a great demand for irrigation works; and if I have ever felt the slightest indignation against the British Government, or complained of them, it has been because they have not done enough, or as much as they ought to have done, with regard to irrigation. Admitting that fully, I answer that question in this way:—Take the case of two boys, of the age of ten; one is at once put out to service, and he produces 10*s.* a week; the other is kept at school, and at college, till he is twenty-one or twenty-two, at a cost of perhaps 2000*l.* before he can earn a single shilling. We know which of the two produces an immediate return, and which produces the greatest ultimate return. In the same way, as it seems to me, the great fallacy of Sir Arthur Cotton and those who side with him is this, that they forget that railways or great works of a similar kind cannot be expected to pay at once; they must have time for development. You must not sow your seed, and the very next day expect to find your fruit. Railways will gradually create that traffic which does not now exist, and from the want of which railways do not pay so much as we desire. I am afraid if we are to construct railways only when we are sure that the traffic will be a paying one, we must wait till Doomsday. Under these circumstances, though I much deplore that railways have cost a great deal too much, from whatever causes, still, taking India as it is—with its resources utterly undeveloped, like its cultivation, only surface-scratched, with all its treasure hidden—it is necessary that the railway system which we have should be further extended; and I hold not only that the proposal to spend 100,000,000*l.* on railways is sound policy, but that that sum is insufficient, and is to be distributed over too long a time. Availing ourselves of the science and appliances of the nineteenth century, let us give to India the best communications we can, and under those advantages we shall soon find India developing herself. India has endless treasures waiting to be brought out, and all the railways and all the canals we can give to India will not be sufficient to carry all that can be got out of India.

Major EVANS BELL.—If I were a native of India, like my friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, I think I should heartily agree with him on one point, that I should be delighted to see 100,000,000*l.* of English capital, and another 100,000,000*l.*, expended in the country for my benefit, I having to pay only 5 per cent. for it. Mr. Hyde Clarke has spoken about the natural laws of capital, and about India wanting railways, and India contributing money for railways. The facts are all the other way. That India does not want railways, we may conclude from the fact that India does not contribute to the capital raised for Indian railways, for not 1 per cent. of that capital is held by natives of India. That, I think, is one great weakness of the point of those who advocate railways to the extreme extent, that they are advocating what the country does not want—what the country does not appreciate—what is only wanted by lookers-on in England and English residents in India, and by enlightened natives at the Presidencies. No doubt the railways have contributed very much to the wealth of Bombay and other large towns. No doubt they have tended to facilitate the commerce of India to a certain extent; but that the natives appreciate them, or that they would ever send the coarse goods of the country by them, is conclusively disproved by Sir Arthur Cotton. When reference is made by gentlemen to the discussions that took place when the railways were first agitated, and when they speak of Lord Dalhousie's splendid minutes on the subject, let them read those minutes, and see if the expectations of those minutes have been verified; let them, then, also refer to the speech of Sir Arthur Cotton, at Calcutta, to which Mr. Maitland referred, and to the books and

papers he has written continually ever since irrigation was first talked of, and let them see whether those have been verified. The military value of railways has also been upheld; but I must say I think the opinion of the great military authorities, who have written deliberately and carefully on this subject, has been unanimous on this point, that the military value of railways in a vast country like India, is, to say the least, a very doubtful matter. The railways in America undoubtedly were used to a very great extent by both sides; but then it must not be forgotten that all the materials for railways could be made in the Northern States. The Southern States, when their railways were destroyed, had very great difficulty in repairing them at all. In the Northern armies whole battalions were able to work at repairing the railways, whereas in India materials and the skilled labour for their repair could not be very easily procured. Certainly, during the war between Austria and Prussia, though the Prussian army could make use of its own railway, it did not venture to make use of the Austrian railways, in advancing on Prague after the battle of Sadowna. This question has been so fully argued by a very distinguished soldier—the present Sir Henry Havelock, in the book he has recently published—and also by Sir Sydney Cotton, in one of his books, that I will not go more fully into it at present. Then, when it is said that the banks of canals may be destroyed, and your flotilla may be left sticking in the mud, it should be remembered that there is this great difference between railways and canals; in the first place, the canal can be defended, to a great extent by gunboats; and, in the next place, the people of India would appreciate a canal, and would have all their sympathies enlisted on behalf of a canal; whereas, you can never make them care a bit about a railway; and therefore not only would a railway be more easily destroyed, but no one would feel any objection to destroying it, or seeing it destroyed.

MR. SPENCER PRICE.—I only wish to make one or two general remarks. I have listened with some interest to the observations of the gentleman who has just spoken, and I am disposed to coincide with him, excepting as regards one of his concluding remarks. It rather astonishes me to hear that the natives of India do not take to railways. Wherever we carry railways to India and the East, I believe we find that the natives do take to them, and thoroughly appreciate them, as they do every other convenience that we present to them. I agree with Mr. Tayler in thinking that that for which Sir Arthur Cotton has been fighting seems to be almost conceded. I have listened very attentively to the observations made to-night by those gentlemen who have spoken—gentlemen who carry with them the weight of experience. We have heard a gentleman who officially represents the railways in his Governmental capacity: we have heard another gentleman, the Chairman of the Sindh Railway, whose name has been associated with Indian railways for many years, than whom I suppose no one is better entitled to speak on the subject. I think it is very satisfactory to find that those gentlemen, whom we should naturally have expected to be enthusiastic on behalf of railways, have concluded their remarks by saying that, while they advocate railways, they at the same time hold out the right hand to canals, and that they wish to see canals made. I was not here on the previous evening, and I am sorry to say I have not read Sir Arthur Cotton's paper, and I do not know exactly whether he says you must have canals only, and no railways. I fancy it would be a simple impossibility, looking to the future, to have railways only or canals only. Give us as many canals as you possibly can; but let us not forget, at the same time, that we have at present a certain amount of railway accommodation in India, and we require to have a great deal more in connection with that at present existing. While I think that sufficient attention has not been paid to canals, it seems to me that the time for thinking that canals were better for India than railways was properly twenty or twenty-five years ago, at the time we were spending those very large sums of money per mile upon Indian railways. I think Mr. Andrew alluded to the fact that the Government were loth—slow, in fact—to go into the construction of railways. I am not disposed, as a rule, to say that the Government has done its duty to India, but I do say this, the British public have been quite as backward as the British Government. I do not believe a thousand pounds would have been subscribed for Indian railways if the Government had not guaranteed the 5 per cent. (Hear, hear.) Though the British public were so backward then, one might suppose that they would be more forward now that they have seen that railways are actual and substantial realities, and that money is to be made out of them; but I do not believe the British public are any more inclined now to invest their money in railways in India. I believe the Government must still stand

to the front in all public works connected with India. It is a matter of great regret that the British public do not take more interest in Indian affairs, and that it should be left to the Government still to be paternal. I believe that that may not always be so. I believe that this Association and other organizations will be means of creating a greater interest in Indian matters. My friend Mr. Hyde Clarke has been the means of organizing a series of conferences at the Society of Arts for the purpose of interesting the public in Indian matters and bringing the capabilities and the necessities of India before the community; and I think, by those means, you may interest the public in the great questions which concern India. We all know there is one powerful political organization in this country at work, and I have great confidence in their efforts being crowned with a large amount of success, because it is a strong political organization. I allude to the Manchester Cotton Supply Association. I am sure we must all feel very much indebted to Sir Arthur Cotton for bringing forward this paper; and I cannot but agree, as I have already said, with the observation of Mr. Tayler, that he has accomplished a very great portion of his task in bringing the question forward.

Mr. BARRER.—The observations which I shall make will be very few, for I do not profess to take a practical and engineering view of the question, I simply look at the question in an abstract way. From what I see around me, I see that we are progressing very slowly, if we are not progressing backwards, in India. From the remarks of the gentleman who says he is a planter in India, I am afraid we shall do no good by this discussion, for he says irrigation will not fill the rivers in India when he wants them filled—he says that they are all empty when they should be filled. However, I want to take a broader view of the question than our Government does. I quite agree with Mr. Andrew in regard to having railways as well as canals connected with irrigation. I think we ought to have both. But the sole question is, How are we to get them? If Parliament were alive to the interests of both England and India, whose interests are mutual and identical, they would not have let this meeting take place this night without having a crowd of members of Parliament here. I consider they take simply a parish vestry view of their duty in not attending to those Indian matters. What is 100,000,000*l.* spent in railways? I remember, twenty-two years ago, calling the Great Peninsular Railway Chairman to account for not having a network of railways similar to what we had in England at that time; and here we are, twenty-seven years since we started, and we have less than 5000 miles of railway, principally single lines, whilst in America they have 45,000 miles made in the same time. I want to call the attention of this Society to the fact of our Government and our official mind taking such a narrow view of the question, and being content with spending $8\frac{1}{2}$ or $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions per annum for railways and public works, where 100,000,000*l.* ought to be little enough every year. In 1863, no less than 175,000,000*l.* were offered for public works in this little island by the public. At the same time the Indian Government was proposing, in that year, to spend only 5,000,000*l.* in India for railways and public works, and now they are only offering to spend $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions per annum. Is not that progressing backwards? What means are we to employ in order to get the Government to take an interest in Indian matters? I am afraid that nothing but a great flow of blood will do it. I wish this Society could create such an organization as the Anti-Corn-Law League through the country, then there might be some chance without letting blood.

Colonel WRAGGE.—There seems to be rather a disposition to cast ridicule on the unfortunate Indian rivers. Why is it that the rivers are comparatively dry when they are most wanted? Because the precautions which Sir Arthur Cotton has pointed out should be attended to, for the rivers have been neglected. He suggested that the rivers should be constantly supplied with water by having reservoirs in the hills. There are plenty of places where, during the monsoons, immense deposits of water could be stored during the dry seasons, which are now allowed to run to waste. Proper precautions are not taken to store up the water.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—I am rather at a disadvantage in this respect, I have plenty of railway advocates to oppose me; but if the Government had not guaranteed the 5 per cent., I wonder how many ruined shareholders I should have had on my side! Let us begin with the Scinde Railway, that has cost two millions and a quarter of money. I find by the railway report it is 109 miles long—that is, 20,000*l.* a mile—and the net returns last year were 20,000*l.*—that is, 1 per cent. only, though the interest guaranteed on it is 5 per cent. I have not those shareholders here to-night to back me up; they are sitting comfortably at home, with their additional 4 per

cent. taken out of the pockets of the poor natives, whether they like it or no. Is not it an extraordinary thing, that the man who started that railway, which has been the cause of this tremendous loss to the Government, should stand up here and say, "I am for railways—what a success railways are?" That Scinde Railway is on a line where a steamboat canal could have been cut for a tenth of the money, and have made an enormous return to the Government, instead of a tremendous loss. Is not it extraordinary that the man who planned that work, and who has seen the result of it, should not be in the least enlightened by it? Another curious thing is this, when I went to Calcutta, I said to myself, these Government officials are dreadfully wedded to the railways, but the merchants surely will know the difference between paying 10*l.* for their cotton and 1*l.*—Not a bit of it. I could not get a single merchant in Calcutta to support me in trying to give him cheap carriage. What are we to conclude from that? Then I say, according to the Blue Book, taking the receipts for passengers conveyed by the railways last year, it comes to 400*l.* per mile. The charge for the passengers is $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, taking first, second, and third class passengers; 97 per cent. are third class (because you must know that on these magnificent railways there are only 21 first and second class passengers per day), three per cent. being first and second class—at $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* this 400*l.* gives 250,000 passengers a year. Surely that is intelligible. Where can the difficulty be? One gentleman said he could not understand what I meant by it. I say on the average of all the railways, 400*l.* a mile per year is received from travellers—they pay $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* each, and that gives 250,000 per annum, or 700 passengers a day. And so with goods I adopt the same mode of calculation. There are so many hundreds a year per mile received for goods; the cost of carriage is from 1*d.* to 8*d.* per ton—I take the average at 3*d.* I do not answer for that being exact, but it is somewhere near it, and that gives me for the average of all the railways of India, 64,000 tons a year, over the whole length of the railways.

Mr. BRIGGS.—Not a day's work.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Then Mr. Danvers says 15,000,000 tons are carried. He means that 50 tons are carried here and 1000 carried there, and he adds them all together and says 15,000,000 tons are carried. What has that to do with the matter? The question is what extent of traffic is carried along a certain piece of railway. When I say 1,900,000 tons a year are carried by the Nudda rivers from the main Ganges to Calcutta, that is the actual quantity traversing the length of those rivers, and I compare that with the quantity carried along the length of the railway by the side of those rivers. Surely that is intelligible. What I am speaking of now is the average quantity carried all along the railway, and as far as I can make out by calculations from the Blue Book, they work out to about 60,000 tons; it may be 80,000, but that does not materially affect the question, the book does not give the exact average. By the side of that very railway are two miserable, unimproved, wretched, navigations, carrying 1,900,000 tons, thirty times what the railway carries.

Mr. TAYLER.—And that for only four or five months in the year.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Those rivers are only open four months of the year, the rest of the year they have to go 800 miles round to get to Calcutta by water. I am an advocate for steamboat canals; and one gentleman says he would like to know what I would do on the Indus. What could I do on the St. Lawrence? What has that got to do with the matter? I should be the last person to advocate the navigation of the Indus, because it is a bad navigation. Another speaker said he would like to send his produce by a river that runs into the Canvery, but when he wanted to send it there was no water, and if there was any water he could not send it, because that particular river is a river unnavigable and unmaintainable. I do not advocate that rivers should be used whether navigable or not; and, moreover, what I have insisted on throughout is, that steamboat canals should be substituted for rivers.

Mr. ELLIOT.—There would be no water for the canal in that case either. I take it, in the high countries, at that season of the year, you could not get enough water for your canals.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Hear what an old engineer says on the subject. If it cost 2000*l.* a mile to make the canal, it would cost 100*l.* a mile additional to keep it filled with water, that is all.

Mr. ELLIOT.—If the rivers are dried up, where do you get your water from?

Major EVANS BELL.—There is plenty of water if you will only store it.

Mr. ELLIOT.—I maintain that in that hilly country there is no room for reservoirs.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—So insignificant is the quantity of water required to supply

a canal, and so insignificant is the cost of storing it, that, as I have said, if it cost 2000*l.* a mile to make the canal, it would only cost 100*l.* more to keep it supplied with water. Now, as to the defence of canals, gentlemen stand up and say the canal-banks would be cut, and the canal left dry. I did not say it would not. I did not say the canal was absolutely defensible; I said it was more defensible than the railway. Then it was said, railways can be repaired again if they are damaged. Of course they can, but what has been done in the meantime. Suppose the Soane bridge were blown up, they might repair it in a week, but during that week all the Europeans beyond might be massacred. Three or four days might make all the difference between massacre and victory. Then, gentlemen bring forward the case of the use of railways in time of war; but the cases they have referred to have not been cases of the use of a railway in the enemy's country. I am speaking of a rebellion. The Prussians used their own railways. The Prussians did not use the Austrian railways; neither did the Austrians use the Prussian railways. Then it was said, "What is the use of your estimates for canals?—estimates are generally wrong." I have given no estimate. I have given the actual cost of canals. I have said the Ganges canal cost so much, and canals in other places cost so much, and I take from that what the cost of a canal would be. Suppose a man says to me, "I estimate that a railway will cost 80,000*l.* a mile in England," I say, "None of your estimates, we have thousands of miles constructed, we know exactly what they cost." There is no such thing as an estimate now—I mean within certain limits. We have, in like manner, cut thousands of miles of canals in India, and we know what the cost of them is. Then, in answer to my figures, gentlemen say, "We hope railways will yield more by-and-by." They hoped that they would yield a good return twenty years ago, and the hope has not been satisfied. Twenty years ago it was hoped that railways would carry all the travellers in the country—that railways would pay the interest of their outlay over and over again. I remember the estimate for the first railway was 18 per cent. net profit. What has that turned out to be? And what is our position at this moment with respect to the finances of India? Absolute confusion. The Governor-General crippling every department of the Government because of the dreadful state of the finances. These are facts. It is no use saying "I hope," or "I think." We have to deal with actual results. The treasury would be overflowing, if it were not that the country has to pay this 3,000,000*l.* a year in taxes; and yet they are going to spend 100,000,000*l.* more on secondary lines. It is impossible that the secondary set can pay so well as the first set. I will give you one example of a secondary line. The line from Arcunum to Conjeveram, nineteen miles long, cost 100,000*l.* The Government would not fully guarantee that, but they guaranteed it to the extent of 8 per cent., and the result has been that the shareholders have made over to the Government for 60,000*l.* what cost them 100,000*l.* Can India bear another 5,000,000*l.* for taxation at the very moment that everything is stopped on account of the state of the finances? It is a great satisfaction to me that some of those who are opposed to me have acknowledged the force of a great deal that I have said, and have fairly looked the matter in the face. I cannot help thinking that these things are beginning to make some impression. That the Government are, to some extent, feeling the truth of what I have advanced is most certain; for the fact of their cutting one canal 100 miles long beside one railway, and another 200 miles long beside another, shows what they really feel. How much better would it be for them to come forward and say, Let us have a thorough inquiry, let us hear what the advocates of water communication have to say, and let us look the matter fairly in the face. One would really have thought that in the India Office there would have been men manly enough, and with honesty enough, to look the question in the face, however much they had been committed to one side of the question. With respect to the discussions that are said to have taken place, there were no discussions allowed—not a single advocate for water carriage was ever heard or called on to give his opinion. Before that line was made, alongside of which they have now made a canal, not a single opinion was taken as to which would be best. They first spent 25,000*l.* a mile on the railway, and then they proceed to cut the canal for 3000*l.* How much wiser would it have been to have heard what was to be said about the canal, and what was to be said about the railway at the time, and have fairly compared the two things. Of all those who have stood up for railways, not one has said a word about the high cost of transit; they have said it would be very much better if it were lower. Can the railways carry lower? They are only returning on the average 2½ per cent. at the rates at which they do carry; they

cannot carry at lower rates—they are only paying the bare cost and interest, and on many lines the bare cost without interest, at the rates they now charge; but the canals can carry lower—they can carry at a tenth of the price. I have got from the owners of steamers the particulars of the cost of transit on three different lines of navigation in this country—the Forth and Clyde, another canal in Scotland, and the Weaver Navigation—and including the cost of the steamer, the cost of working, repairs, and everything else, it comes to a tenth of a penny a mile. It would cost at that rate 100*l.* a ton from Delhi to Calcutta. One would suppose that a Calcutta merchant would see the benefit of that. One would have thought that a planter who was shown that he could get his coffee down to the port at a perfectly nominal price, would understand the benefit of it.

Mr. ELLIOT.—May I ask you (I am only asking for information, knowing nothing whatever about the matter) whether you can make a canal almost anywhere? If you can, I should be inclined to admit everything you have got to say.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—On all the great lines of India where the great centres of population are, without exception you can, at a moderate cost, make main lines of canal. There are parts of the country where it might not be worth while to make a canal—at least, where it would be very expensive; but, in the worst cases, they would not cost half what the railway would cost. Take the line from Arconum, out of the main Madras line, to Conjeveram, a distance of nineteen miles, that carries only a traffic of 4700 tons a year—not 1 per cent. of the traffic that there ought to be on a great line in the Carnatic; that is, because the traffic cannot bear the rate which is charged. Taking the distance by railway from Conjeveram to Madras, it is sixty-two miles. A steamboat canal might have been constructed between the same points (the length of which would have been forty-five miles, as against the sixty-two by railway), at a cost of 100,000*l.* or less, producing with great ease 20 per cent.; and it would have gone through three large towns—towns with 20,000 or 40,000 inhabitants each. The present railway does not touch one single town, showing the determined bias with which those works were carried out. Supposing the company were receiving 20 per cent. on their 100,000*l.*, should not we have had many more millions forthcoming for similar works in the Carnatic? Twenty-five miles beyond Conjeveram is the great commercial entrepôt of the Carnatic, with 100,000 inhabitants; and 50,000*l.* more would have carried that canal up to that place. Immeasurable mischief was caused, because of the blind way in which those works of land transit were entered upon, without the slightest investigation or inquiry whatever. I do not mean that there was no discussion of a certain sort—they may have said, Where shall we make the railway? and How shall we make it? That is no discussion. The question, Shall we make a railway? was never discussed.

Mr. ELLIOT.—In the interior of a country like Mysore, I understand that, to make a canal, you would require to make a large reservoir; but, in occasional seasons, there is a great dearth of rain; must not your reservoir necessarily run dry at times, and what have you to fall back upon?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—It never would occur. There is not any record or any tradition of the south-west monsoon having failed.

Mr. ELLIOT.—Because we have six months in the year without a single drop of rain.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Yes; but there has never been any year in which you could not store water with the greatest ease, at a moderate price, so as to supply any canal all the year round.

Colonel WRAGGE.—There is a rainfall of sixty inches in the year.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Indifferent people, who do not like the trouble of improving India, say there is no rain. There is no want of rain in India. There was sixty inches of rainfall in the district of Orissa in the very year of the famine. It is not want of water, it is want of brains. What has been gained up to this time by the suppression of this inquiry? The Government have gone blindly on in their course, and here we are literally aground in the finances at this moment, and with no prospect, so far as we can see, of getting straight; every department of the Government being crippled dreadfully, in order to try to make both ends meet. The remedy is to make use of that great treasure that India possesses, namely, water.

Mr. BRIGGS.—Where is the money to come from?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—That is the real difficulty now. The work has been so mismanaged that nobody will advance 100*l.* for any work in India now.

CHAIRMAN.—I think we are losing sight of the real question for discussion, which is, to consider how the 100,000,000*l.* proposed to be spent for railways can best be spent for the benefit of India at large.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—I must beg the pardon of those gentlemen upon whom I may seem to be a little hard, but you must remember with what uncommon triumph they talked when I could not answer them. They must allow me now to give an answer to them; and I cannot spare them in a case of this sort, where the question is the welfare of India and of the empire, for the welfare of England is wrapped up in the welfare of India. Not one of the facts which I brought forward has been denied; not one of the statements which I made has been answered. I said that there were 60,000 tons a year carried on the railways, on the average. That statement has been attempted to be met by saying that 15,000,000 were carried; but how carried? Ten miles here, and fifteen miles there. 10,000 tons on the Scinde railway, 50,000 tons on the East India Railway; and all those added together to make up 15,000,000 tons. We want to know the quantity carried along the railways generally, and also along each particular railway. We want to know whether the railways carry the traffic of the country. So with passengers. I was in India since the East India Railway has been in operation, and I found one morning when I went along the Great Trunk Road, that multitudes of people were walking along that road, as if there was no railway in existence. It was like the Strand; I could not have believed it if I had not seen it with my own eyes.

MR. DANVERS.—Where was that?

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—In the upper part of the Great Trunk Road, below Allahabad. The railway people say that they have seen the railway stations so crowded that the railways could not carry the people. The first answer to that is, if the railways cannot carry the people, they have failed, and not succeeded; but the real answer to that is, that there are great festival days, when hundreds of thousands of people want to travel—they are the curse of the railway; those special occasions are the things that bother the railways in England; they have to carry tens of thousands in one day, and five hundred a day all the rest of the year. It is no advantage to a railway to carry an immense crowd of people for two or three days out of the three hundred.

MR. BRIGGS.—If the railways are so crowded with passenger traffic, they ought to pay 20 per cent.

MAJOR EVANS BELL.—There are twice as many passengers carried on the Underground Railway in a year as on all the railways of India.

MR. ELLIOT.—May I be allowed to ask this question:—Have you in view a system of canals that would equally serve the purposes which a network of railways would serve?

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—With some limitations. I do not say that canals can be cut everywhere, but they can on all the great lines of the country.

MR. ELLIOT.—Suppose you take the plateau of Mysore, can you get down from that on to either sea?

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—I have looked into that particularly, and I estimated for a canal, for instance, from Bangalore to the Bellary; it would be perfectly practicable.

MR. ELLIOT.—And from there again to the seaport, Madras?

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—They have a line up to near Bellary.

MR. ELLIOT.—I mean so as to come down to the western coast, which is a matter of some importance, in consequence of the opening of the Suez Canal; there is an abrupt chain of hills there. How would you propose to get out of that difficulty?

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—First of all, there is no necessity for taking the great traffic down to the west coast, its natural course is to the east coast; in the next place, the system could be adopted which is adopted in England, of sending boats down a long inclined plane—that is found to be perfectly practicable on the Monkland Canal. There there is a flight of locks, and by the side of them an inclined plane, and I suppose the inclined plane cost a tenth of what the locks did: they transfer a boat down 100 feet in seven minutes. You say access to that coast is of importance, on account of the opening of the Suez Canal. I say that is greatly over-estimated—the difference between the cost of freight of working steamers from London to Calcutta, and from London to Bombay is only 2*s.* 6*d.* a ton.

MR. ELLIOT.—But then it should be remembered that to many goods it is a matter of importance that they should be carried speedily.

CHAIRMAN.—It would only make a few days' difference.

Mr. HARDING.—May I ask whether, when you took that morning walk along the Great Trunk Road, it was a festival day?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—No, it was an ordinary day; it was not a festival day.

Mr. HARDING.—I have been at Allahabad since the railway has been opened, and I have been sometimes five or six miles along the road without meeting many people.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—At what hour?

Mr. HARDING.—At all hours.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—I am speaking of morning and evening, when people travel.

Mr. ELLIOT.—With regard to the Suez Canal, the Pasha of Egypt is spending three or four millions in making a line of railway parallel to the Suez Canal.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—The curious thing is, that we have canals in England beating the railways out-and-out. The Oxford Canal runs 30 or 40 miles parallel with the railway. The railway sometimes pays 2 per cent., sometimes 1, and sometimes nothing. The canal pays 9 per cent., and that not a steamboat canal.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—If a man is exceedingly wealthy he may keep his carriage, and the money is no object to him; but if a poor man chooses to do so, he may keep it for six months and go to jail at the end of it. That is the case with India, they set up their carriage, poor beggars as they were, and now they are drowned and they do not know how to escape from being taken to jail; whereas, if they had established this water communication, and, by that means, had opened the great traffic of the country, the water communication being combined with irrigation, they might in a few years have been rolling in wealth, and then they might have squandered it in any way they pleased.

Mr. TAYLER.—I wish to submit to the meeting whether this discussion is not now entering upon its interesting phase, whether really the arguments for and against have been in any degree exhausted, and whether we might not have a second adjournment in hopes of a fuller meeting, and a more influential meeting than even the present, because, judging from what we have seen already, the official view of this question having been so ably presented to us for the first time, we may fairly hope and believe with Sir Arthur Cotton, that a little interest is being felt in the matter in Government quarters, and that there may be, perhaps, a still fuller and more powerful meeting if we were to adjourn, and, in the meantime, we should be able to digest the important facts which Sir Arthur Cotton has laid before us.

Mr. BRIGGS.—I second that motion.

The motion for the adjournment of the meeting was put and carried unanimously.

CHAIRMAN.—I have left myself as little time as possible in which to make the observations which I wish to make, because I saw many gentlemen were anxious to speak who could speak much more to the purpose than anything I had to say, and I was about to suggest that there should be an adjournment, because, in fact, the real question for discussion has been almost entirely lost sight of. Some gentlemen have said we want both canals and railways, that one hundred millions of money is not enough for India, that we want two hundred millions; but what we have to consider just now is this, we have only at the present moment 100,000,000*l.* to dispense.

Mr. BRIGGS.—How many years is it to be spent in?

Mr. DANVERS.—In the course of thirty years.

CHAIRMAN.—There is no doubt we are all at one on the point, that India does want means of communication, as much as irrigation, be it by water, or be it by road, or be it by railway. Such communication must tend enormously to bring forward and to develop India (*hear, hear*), and it strikes me that the real test of the way in which this 100,000,000*l.* can be best spent for the benefit of India and its inhabitants at large is, How can it be spent to give the largest return to the Government? No money that is spent in a country, for that purpose, can give the same benefit if it is returning 1 per cent. as where it is spent in another way, so as to return 10 per cent. A railway that is only returning 1 per cent. is not a benefit to the country worthy the expenditure on it. Biased as I am for railways, I have no hesitation in saying in the presence of Mr. Danvers that it is money misspent. (*"Hear, hear,"* from Mr. Danvers.) That it was absolutely necessary, at first, to expend money in the construction of a large portion of the lines in India, namely, the main lines, even though they returned nothing, I am quite certain, and that the Government ought to have made them without regard to the returns, but it is a very different question now. The question now is, In what way is this 100,000,000*l.* to bring in the largest return to the

Government in the first place? because if it brings in a large return to the Government, it will give a large benefit to the people of India. I will not detain the meeting further to-night as it is to be adjourned, but I beg the gentlemen who have taken part in the discussion to-night to come again at the adjourned meeting, to challenge and point out what is misstated in Sir Arthur Cotton's pamphlet, if they can point out any misstatements, and to come with figures to support their own views if they do not agree with Sir Arthur Cotton. Let the man who supports expensive railways come prepared with figures to show that railways have returned, and let the man who supports canals point out if he can the errors in the figures given by those who support railways, and show how a fair return is likely to come from the canals; otherwise we are not entering upon the subject under discussion. I thank Mr. Danvers for his kindness in coming to-night, because he has given us a clear and lucid statement of facts with regard to the railways.

A vote of thanks was passed to General Sir Arthur Cotton and the Chairman.

ANNUAL MEETING, WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1870.

W. S. FITZWILLIAM, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, the Secretary will read the Annual Report to the Meeting, if it is your pleasure that it shall be read.

THE SECRETARY.—Gentlemen, the Report has been circulated among all the members of the Association, but there are some slight alterations to be suggested and adopted, which I propose, with the sanction of the Council (reading the same).

CHAIRMAN.—It is usual, after the Report has been circulated, to take it as read. The only objection might be that some alteration is now suggested. If you will consider those alterations as forming part of the original Report, we will, if you please, take it as read.

General Sir LEGRAND JACOB.—I shall be very happy to propose the adoption of the Report.

Captain PALMER.—Gentlemen, I will with pleasure second the motion that the Report be adopted.

The Report was unanimously adopted.

Dr. GOLDSTÜCKER.—I have the honour, gentlemen, to propose that the Right Honourable the Lord Lyveden, G.C.B., be elected President of the Association for the ensuing year.

Mr. J. J. GAZDAR.—I beg to second that, on account of the very kind and active interest that his Lordship has always taken in this Association. (Hear, hear.)

The same was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. J. GAZDAR.—Gentlemen, I have the honour to propose "That the following noblemen and gentlemen be elected Vice-Presidents for the ensuing year:—The Earl of Kellie, C.B.; Sir James Fergusson, Bart.; the Marquis of Salisbury; Lord Harris, G.C.S.I.; Lord William Hay; Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.; General Lord Strathairn, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; the Earl of Ellenborough, G.C.B.; H.H. the Rao of Kutch; Lord Clinton; Colonel Sykes, M.P.; James Stansfeld, Esq., M.P.; H.H. the Nawab of Joonaghur; Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, K.C.B."

Mr. H. A. WADIA.—I have great pleasure in seconding the proposal.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

General Sir LEGRAND JACOB.—Gentlemen, I beg to propose "That the following noblemen and gentlemen be elected to form the Council for the ensuing year:—Lord Erskine; Lord William Hay; Colonel W. H. Sykes, M.P.; Lieut.-Colonel Jervis, M.P.; F. M. Williams, Esq., M.P.; E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., M.P.; Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B.; General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; Sir C. Wingfield, M.P.; Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre, K.C.S.I.; Major-General Sir R. Wallace, K.C.S.I.; Major-General W. E. S. Scott; W. S. Fitzwilliam, Esq.; P. P. Gordon, Esq.; Colonel P. T. French; Major Evans Bell; W. Tayler, Esq.; S. P. Lowe, Esq., F.R.G.S.; P. M. Tait, Esq., F.S.S.; Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.; D. D. Cama, Esq.; Captain W. C. Palmer; J. J. Gazdar, Esq.; Dr. Goldstücker; W. A. Wadia, Esq.; I. T. Prichard, Esq.; Dewan

Kazi Shahabudin; Syed Amed Khan, Esq., C.S.I.; Moulvi Syed Amoor Alli; Baboo Kishori Mohun Chatterjee."

Mr. HORMUSJEE PESTONJEE.—I shall be happy to second that.

The same was carried unanimously.

General Sir LEGRAND JACOB.—Gentlemen, the next resolution which I have the honour to propose is, "That the thanks of the Association be given to the Council of the last year." In proposing this resolution, gentlemen, I only wish that I could do so with a more full knowledge of the nature of their work, because, from not being able to attend on account of bad health, all that I know is from what I read; but as far as I can judge, it appears to me that our thanks are due to them. Many of them appear to have done their best to advance the objects of this Society, and therefore this is a resolution that I can very well propose for your adoption.

Mr. GEORGE CAMPBELL.—I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution. I think that our best thanks are due to the Council.

The same was carried unanimously.

Captain PALMER.—Gentlemen, I think that this part of the business of the Meeting would be incomplete unless we passed the following resolution:—"That the best thanks of the members be tendered to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for his unremitting and valuable services in furthering the interests of the Association."

Mr. GEORGE CAMPBELL.—I have great pleasure in seconding that motion.

CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, I think we must all cheerfully support this resolution. I cannot express too strongly the obligations that I feel to the Secretary for what he has done. (Hear, hear.) It has been proposed and seconded "That the best thanks of the Association be given to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji." Those who are in favour of that resolution will please to signify the same in the usual way.

The same was carried unanimously.

CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, the next point for consideration, and about which a little difficulty has occurred, is the day of the week and the hour that would be most convenient for our General Meetings. They have hitherto been held on Friday, and sometimes on Tuesday, some in the morning and some in the evening. The object now is to settle the hour of meeting if we can. Some persons, I am aware, prefer eight o'clock in the evening, but the majority, as far as I can ascertain, prefer, as I do myself, three o'clock in the afternoon, because during a part of the year I object to going out at night. We are therefore desirous on this occasion of obtaining an expression of opinion on this point from the members present.

Mr. GEORGE CAMPBELL.—Could you not alternate the hours of meeting? Probably you will find that all the members cannot attend at one time of the day.

General Sir LEGRAND JACOB.—I should certainly vote for three o'clock as the hour of meeting, because that is the only time that I could possibly attend.

The SECRETARY.—But the question is which will be the most convenient hour for the majority of the members to attend.

Dr. GOLDSTÜCKER.—I think Friday would be the most inconvenient day.

Mr. PRICHARD.—With reference to the hour of meeting, I think it necessary to bear in mind that most men who are engaged in business would find it very difficult and inconvenient to get away before three o'clock in the afternoon, because that is usually with them the most busy hour of the day. The evening hour for them, I think, is undoubtedly the most convenient time. There are others no doubt who have no special business to attend to. I think myself that three o'clock is the best hour for meeting. The meeting will have to select one of two alternatives, either to suit the hour to the convenience of men of business, or to that of gentlemen who are fortunate enough not to be engaged in business. I think it would be difficult to meet the wishes of both parties.

General Sir LEGRAND JACOB.—If the only object of the meeting is to read papers, might it not be so arranged that any private member who had prepared a paper might be allowed to suggest either three o'clock or eight o'clock for the purpose of reading it?

The SECRETARY.—The writers of the papers will not make much objection to the hour that is appointed for the purpose of having the paper read.

General Sir LEGRAND JACOB.—I think they ought to be consulted.

The SECRETARY.—Yes; their convenience is always consulted.

Mr. G. CAMPBELL.—Then I would propose to the members that the meetings should be held alternately in the afternoon and in the evening. My experience of other

Societies has been this, that almost all English Societies have their meetings in the evening. I belong to one, the Asiatic Society, which meets in the afternoon, and I must say that, in point of numbers, it is a miserable failure at that time.

CHAIRMAN.—I may say that I have seen meetings at the Society of Arts numerous attended in the morning, and speaking from my experience at the Geographical Society, the only advantage that I saw in having meetings in an evening was, that it served as a sort of reception room to which ladies might be brought as to an evening party. However, I think that the proposition made by Mr. Campbell is a very good one, to have alternately a meeting once a fortnight at three o'clock and once a fortnight at eight o'clock.

Dr. GOLDSTÜCKER.—I think, even in that case, that the hour might be adapted to the nature of the paper to be read.

General Sir LEGRAND JACOB.—For instance, let the gentleman who desired it have his paper put down to be read on the day on which the hour of meeting was fixed at eight o'clock, and let the gentleman who preferred to read his paper at three o'clock have his paper set down to be read on the day when the meeting took place at three o'clock. There are many gentlemen who, like myself, are unable to come out at night, but they are no doubt in the minority. The majority must of course be considered.

CHAIRMAN.—I think, gentlemen, that Mr. Campbell's proposition is a good one. I am a business man myself, but I also like to remain at home in the evening. I have to put myself to a little inconvenience to attend here at three o'clock in the afternoon, and there are in the room some gentlemen who have expressed themselves to this effect, that they like to go home after the hours of business, and they put themselves to a little inconvenience to come here at three o'clock. I think I will put it to you, gentlemen, that the meetings shall be held alternately at three o'clock and at eight o'clock on Wednesdays. Perhaps some gentleman will be kind enough to second that motion.

Mr. R. H. ELLIOT.—Would it not be a good plan with regard to some kind of papers to fix an hour that would be more likely to attract business men, and with regard to other and more general papers, to regard the hour more as a secondary consideration. It certainly appears to me that bringing up business men at three o'clock in the afternoon would be rather inconvenient to them. I am myself totally indifferent about the matter, because, as I have nothing particular to do, it does not very much matter to me. I am only desirous that the thing should be so arranged as to bring together the greatest number of members.

The SECRETARY.—The Council were anxious to know what the views of the meeting were, in order that they might have something to guide them hereafter. Some gentlemen have complained one way and some another.

Captain PALMER.—I beg to second the proposal that has been made by Mr. George Campbell.

Mr. KAZI SHAHABUDIN.—Now that the general sense of the meeting is expressed, it would be better to leave the matter in the hands of the Council, and I propose accordingly this amendment, "That the matter be left to the Council to decide."

The amendment was adopted.

CHAIRMAN.—I have now a very agreeable duty to perform. We all know how much this Society has been indebted to Lord Lyveden, not only for the kind assistance which he has at all times rendered us, but for the great attention which he has paid to our proceedings. I have now to propose to you a "Vote of thanks to Lord Lyveden for the kind attention and the valuable services which he has rendered to the Council of the East India Association."

The SECRETARY.—I beg with very great pleasure to second that.

The same was carried unanimously.

Lord LYVEDEN.—Gentlemen, instead of rising to thank you for this kind expression of your feelings, I believe that I ought to blush on account of the inattention that I have shown to the duties of the post to which you have done me the honour to re-elect me. I am very grateful to you for having re-elected me President of this Association, and I hope that at all times I shall be able to render you any service that you may require; although I may not be so regular an attendant as many of you are, yet I may be of some use with regard to deputations and things of that sort, for which in this country they are rather fond of having lords, although they do not hold them very highly (no, no), and therefore I may regard myself more in an ornamental point

of view than a useful one. I shall be glad to undertake whatever duties it may be in my power to discharge, and I feel very proud at being re-elected.

General Sir LEGRAND JACOB.—I beg to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman. I think that anyone who makes an effort to help us forward in our path—especially when he occupies a conspicuous position like the noble lord who has just addressed us, and to whom we owe great thanks, or the Chairman on the present occasion—is entitled to our thanks. It is so difficult to get men to come forward who are ready to put themselves at all out of the way, and to study the public interests of a nation on the other side of the globe. Unfortunately, there are too few who do give that attention to India which it really deserves, and when we do find any to do it, like our worthy Chairman, our best thanks are due to him.

The SECRETARY.—Gentlemen, I can personally testify to the very strong interest which our present Chairman takes in our affairs, as a member of the Council, in every way directly and indirectly. It is therefore with great pleasure that I second the proposal of a vote of thanks to him.

The same was carried unanimously.

CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you for the compliment you have paid me. I take a very deep interest in anything connected with India, and I shall always continue to do so. While I am blessed with health and strength I shall spare no pains on my own part in promoting the objects of this Society.

Persons wishing to become Members of the East India Association can copy one of the subjoined Forms, and inclose the copy to the Secretary:—

FORM FOR BECOMING AN ANNUAL SUBSCRIBER.

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It is my desire to become a Member of the East India Association, and I hereby request and authorize my Agents [or Bankers], Messrs. _____, to pay my Annual Subscription (£1 5s.) now, and as it becomes due on the 1st January in each year, to the Secretary of the Institution.

Signature.

FORM FOR BECOMING A LIFE SUBSCRIBER.

It is my desire to become a Life Member of the East India Association, and I hereby authorize my Agents [or Bankers], Messrs. _____, to pay my Life Subscription (£14) to the Secretary of the Institution.

Signature.

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath unto THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, situated in Great George Street, London, the sum of _____ to be applied in and towards carrying on the designs of the said Institution, such Legacy to be paid out of such part of my personal Estate not specifically bequeathed as the law permits to be appropriated by Will to Charitable Purposes.

* * A Complete List of Members, and of Subscriptions and Donations received from the Commencement of the Association, will be given in one of the Journals before the end of this year.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION. 1869-70.

GENTLEMEN,

Your Council beg to submit to you their report for last year.

They have to express their sorrow in announcing the deaths of Capt. Harby Barber, your late Secretary, and of His Highness the Thakore of Gondul, and feel certain the following resolutions will receive your sympathy :—

"The Council record their deep regret at the loss sustained by the Association in the death of their late Secretary, Captain Harby Barber, and they desire to record their appreciation of the zeal and energy with which he furthered the interests of the Association."

"The Council record their deep regret at the lamented death of His Highness the Thakore of Gondul, who has been one of the most liberal supporters of the Association."

The Association has sustained a further loss by the death of H.H. the Thakore of Bhownuggur, K.C.S.I., one of its Vice-Presidents and earliest supporters.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji having kindly volunteered his services as Hon. Secretary, your Committee gladly accepted the same.

In Appendix A will be found an enumeration of the papers read during the past year, and the Council tender their best thanks to the gentlemen who submitted the same, and those who joined in the discussions.

Since the last Annual Meeting about 200 new members have joined the Association.

It will be remembered that in August, 1867, a Memorial was presented to Sir Stafford Northcote, the then Secretary of State for India, by a deputation,* praying : 1stly, "That the competitive examinations for a portion of the appointments to the Indian Civil Service should be held in India, under such rules and arrangements as you think proper;" and 2ndly, "We believe that if scholarships, tenable for five years in this country, were to be annually awarded by competitive examinations in India to native candidates between the ages of 15 and 17, some would compete successfully in England for the Indian Civil Service, while others would return in various professions to India, and where by degrees they would form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence upon native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and their English rulers."

Your Committee have much pleasure in reporting that a clause introduced in a Bill brought into Parliament in 1868 by Sir S. Northcote and Sir James Fergusson, empowering the Viceroy to admit natives of India into the Covenanted Civil Service without requiring a certificate from the Civil Service Commissioners, subject to rules and regulations to be thereafter provided, but which, in consequence of press of business in Parliament, was not then passed, forms now a portion of the 33 Viet., cap. iii. The Council congratulate the Association upon the success which has thus far attended their efforts, which were supported by the British India and Bombay Associations, but the Council reserve for discussion the orders which the Viceroy may frame for giving effect to the measure, assured, however, that the clause cannot but be productive of great benefits to the natives of India by preparing them for their future political elevation to a due share in the administration of their own country, and to England by assuring India of the honesty of purpose and pure motives of its English rulers, and thereby deepening and strengthening loyalty to the British rule.

In compliance with the second prayer nine scholarships were instituted, to enable native youths to come over to this country to perfect their studies, either for entering the Indian Civil, Medical, or other Services, or any of the independent liberal professions.

The scholarships which were instituted by the late Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, have been this year unfortunately discontinued by the present Indian Secretary.† Though your Council would, for many reasons, have been glad to have seen these scholarships continued, at least for four or five years, they do not consider it necessary to take any steps in consequence of their discontinuance, as the Act providing for the admission of natives into the Covenanted Indian Civil Service in some degree remedies the evil.

* See 'Journal,' No. 2, vol. i., pp. 253 and 256; or vol. i., 2nd edit., pp. 125-7. † See Appendix C.

Your Council cannot pass over this subject without tendering their best thanks to the noblemen and gentlemen who aided the Association, and to those members of Parliament who took an active part in the discussions on this subject.

Your Council have to report that they have not taken further action in the Bonus Compensation question, as they are informed that members who fully understand it have expressed their intention to discuss the subject in Parliament.

With reference to the Cotton Frauds Act of 1869, passed in the Legislative Council of Bombay, your Council have submitted the proceedings of your Meeting of 21st December last for the consideration of the Secretary of State for India, and they are glad to find that, in response to the call made at your Meeting, the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester and the Cotton Supply Association of the same city have given their attention to this subject, and memorialized His Grace against the Act. The opinion against it was so unanimous, both in India and in this country, that your Council are not surprised to find that His Excellency the Viceroy has deemed it necessary to withhold his sanction to the measure.

Your Council, in accordance with the resolution passed by the Association, submitted to His Grace the Duke of Argyll the Memorial* relative to delay in the hearing of Indian appeals, and requested him to allow a deputation to wait upon him in order more fully to explain the views of the Association, which His Grace at once consented to receive, but suggested a postponement of the interview till a reply was received to a communication on the subject already addressed by him to the Viceroy, and the subject therefore remains for the present in abeyance.

Your Council are glad to report that three very important discussions have taken place on the question raised by General Sir Arthur Cotton, relative to "The Proposed Additional Expenditure of 100 Millions on Indian Railways." The Council trust these discussions will be useful in inducing a careful consideration of the important subject. The Council take this opportunity of expressing their gratification that Sir Bartle Frere and Mr. Juland Danvers, the Government Director of Indian Railway Companies, took part in these discussions, and explained to the Meeting the principles and motives by which the authorities are guided. Such help from gentlemen who are in possession of correct information is productive of much good. Timely explanation from persons situated as Sir Bartle Frere and Mr. Juland Danvers are, may prevent much unnecessary irritation, and the real motives and reasons of Government being made known, confidence is inspired and co-operation is secured, when otherwise distrust and opposition might occur.

The Association is giving its attention to the question of the Relation of the Native States with the British Government, and the Council are sure it will be readily admitted that this is a subject of great importance.

In the last Report, the Council expressed hope that a large accession of strength to the Association would be secured during the current year, and they are happy to announce that a Branch of the Association has been formed in Bombay, of which Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy is President. A full report of the formation of this Branch has already appeared in the third number of Vol. III. of the Journal.

This Branch of the Association has been usefully engaged during the year. A paper has been read by Mr. P. M. Mehta, one of the Honorary Secretaries, and discussed at a large Meeting, on "The Grant-in-Aid System of India," and will in due course appear in the Journal, and it is hoped that on a future occasion the Association will discuss the important subject of "Education in India." At another Meeting of the Bombay Branch, a discussion was introduced by Mr. B. M. Wagle, the joint Honorary Secretary, on the discontinuance of the Government scholarships, and certain resolutions were passed. These resolutions your Council placed before the Secretary of State for India.

At three other Meetings of this Branch, Mr. Kaikhushroo Nowrojee Kabra delivered three lectures in the Guzarati language on the usefulness of the Association. To the above gentlemen, to Mr. V. J. Sankerset, and Dr. Bhau Deji, who severally occupied the chair at these Meetings, and to all who take an active interest in promoting the usefulness of this Association and the Bombay Branch, your Council tender their best thanks.

Your Committee regret to state that in consequence of the long illness and subsequent lamented death of Captain Barber, it is impossible to submit the accounts for the past year, but the Honorary Secretary, assisted by an accountant, has informed

* See Appendix D.

† See Appendix C.

the Committee that if the General Meeting is adjourned for two months, he will before the expiration thereof furnish each member with a copy of the balance sheet.

Arrangements have been made for Meetings of the Association to be held during the ensuing Session,* and the names of the gentlemen who are to read the papers afford sufficient evidence that these will prove both interesting and useful.

Your Council avails itself of this opportunity to thank the gentlemen who have made presents and donations of books to the library, a list of which will be published hereafter. Among these presents the Council are glad to say is one of a number of valuable books from the Secretary of State for India made some time ago, as well as during this year; also a complete set of the 'Calcutta Quarterly Review,' by Sir George Pollock; and a third in books and money to the extent of 50*l.*, by General Sir LeGrand Jacob. The Parsee gentleman who had offered 300*l.* for the formation of a library, on condition that other members should make up an equal sum, has now made the present unconditionally, and the Council tender their best thanks for this donation. The Council hope that other members will help as much as they can in forming a useful library on Indian subjects, by pecuniary aid or by presenting books.

The work before the Association is still a large and important one. The great questions of finance, land tenure, municipal representations, public works, education, justice, and others are yet to be fully discussed; but the Council is hopeful that if the natives continue their interest in the Association, which has been instituted for the benefit of India, and those English gentlemen who take an interest in the welfare of their fellow subjects in India continue to afford their help, your Association will successfully perform the important work it has undertaken. The object of this Association is in no way hostile to the Indian Government, but rather to co-operate therewith, and it is hoped this will be allowed by having the wants and wishes of India fairly and freely represented to the British public and Government; and the Council, with the experience of the past, feel confident that the authorities both here and in India will give all the aid in their power for this purpose.

The usefulness of this Association is not to be measured simply by the number of memorials they may present to the authorities. One of its best results is the indirect effect its discussions produce, by bringing important subjects to prominent notice, and affording an opportunity for full and free discussion.

A list of donations made during the past year has been already published at the end of the first number of Vol. IV. of the Journal.

The Council tender their thanks to Lord Lyveden, The Earl of Kellie, Col. Sykes, Sir C. Wingfield, Mr. E. B. Eastwick, and other Members of Parliament who have taken a continuously active interest in the work of the Association.

The Council propose that members may compound the annual subscription of 5*s.* to the Journal, by payment of 4*l.* by members if resident in England, and 50 *Rs.* if resident in India.

The Council suggest the following alteration in Article 8 of the Rules of the Association:—

The management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and thirty ordinary members, to be elected at the Annual Meeting, five to form a quorum, and eight to retire annually by rotation, but eligible for re-election.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

KELLIE,

Chairman.

DADABHAI NAOROJI,

Honorary Secretary.

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION ROOMS,
20, GREAT GEORGE STREET,
25th May, 1870.

APPENDIX A.

MEETINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

1869.

Wednesday, 7th July.—A Paper read, which was communicated from Bombay by Mr. D. NAOROJI, on

“THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE CLAUSE IN THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA BILL.”

* Appendix E.

Wednesday, 21st July.—Adjourned discussion on the above Paper.

Tuesday, October 12th.—A Paper read by Mr. P. M. TAIT, F.S.S., on
"THE POPULATION AND MORTALITY OF BOMBAY."

Friday, October 29th.—A Paper read by Mr. HYDE CLARKE, F.S.S., on
"TRANSPORT IN INDIA, IN REFERENCE TO THE INTERESTS OF
ENGLAND AND INDIA."

Wednesday, November 17th, 1869.—A Paper read by Mr. GEORGE SIMMONS, C.E., on
"THE ADVANTAGES OF ENCOURAGING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE
TO BECOME THE COLLOQUIAL TONGUE OF INDIA, WITH A
PRACTICAL SYSTEM FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT."

Friday, November 26th.—A Paper read by Mr. R. H. ELLIOT, on
"THE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF CASTE INSTITUTIONS."

Tuesday, December 14th.—A Paper read by General Sir ARTHUR COTTON, on
"THE PROPOSED ADDITIONAL EXPENDITURE OF 100 MILLIONS
ON INDIAN RAILWAYS."

Tuesday, December 21st.—A Paper read by Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, on
"THE BOMBAY COTTON ACT OF 1869."

1870.

Tuesday, January 11th.—A Paper read by Dr. A. GRAHAM, on
"THE INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT OF EUROPEANS IN THE HILLY
CLIMATES OF INDIA."

Friday, 28th January.—A Paper read by Mr. ILTUDUS PRICHARD, F.S.S., on
"THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NATIVE STATES AND THE
BRITISH GOVERNMENT."

Friday, February 25th.—A Paper read by Colonel PHILLIPS, on
"THE BONUS SYSTEM OF THE INDIAN ARMY."

Tuesday, 8th March.—A Paper read by Mr. W. TAYLER, on
"THE DELAY OF JUSTICE TO INDIAN APPELLANTS IN ENGLAND:
ITS CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES, AND POSSIBLE REMEDY."

Friday, March 25th.—Adjourned Meeting, to discuss Sir ARTHUR COTTON's Paper on
"The Proposed Additional Expenditure of 100 Millions on Indian Railways."

Friday, April 29th.—Second adjourned Meeting, to discuss Sir ARTHUR COTTON's
Paper on "The Proposed Additional Expenditure of 100 Millions on Indian
Railways."

Friday, May 6th.—Adjourned Meeting, to discuss Mr. I. T. PRICHARD's Paper on
"The Relations between the Native States and the British Government."

MEETINGS IN BOMBAY.

1869.

April.—Three Lectures, in the Guzarati language, by Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, on
"THE WORK OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION."

Wednesday, May 5th, and June 3rd.—Two Lectures, in English, by Mr. DADABHAI
NAOROJI, on the same subject.

Saturday, May 8th.—A Lecture in the Marathi language, by Mr. VISHNU PARASHRAM
SHASTRI, on the same subject.

Saturday, May 22nd.—A Meeting for the formation of the Bombay Branch of the East
India Association.

December 22nd.—A Paper read by Mr. P. M. MEHTA, on
 "THE GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM IN THE PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY.

1870.

Wednesday, January 26th.—A Paper read by Mr. B. M. WAGLE, on
 "THE SUSPENSION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SCHOLARSHIPS."

In February.—Three Lectures, in the Guzarati language, by Mr. K. N. KARRA, on
 "THE NECESSITY AND USEFULNESS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION."

APPENDIX B.

(33 Vict., Cap. III., 1870.)

6. Whereas it is expedient that additional facilities should be given for the employment of natives of India, of proved merit and ability, in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India: Be it enacted, that nothing in the "Act for the Government of India," 21 & 22 Vict., chap. 106, or in the "Act to confirm certain appointments in India, and to amend the law concerning the Civil Service there," 24 & 25 Vict., chap. 54, or in any other Act of Parliament or other law now in force in India, shall restrain the authorities in India by whom appointments are or may be made to offices, places, and employments in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India from appointing any native of India to any such office, place, or employment, although such native shall not have been admitted to the said Civil Service of India in manner in sec. 32 of the first-mentioned Act provided, but subject to such rules as may be from time to time prescribed by the Governor-General in Council, and sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of members present; and that for the purpose of this Act the words "natives of India" shall include any person born and domiciled within the dominions of Her Majesty in India, of parents habitually resident in India, and not established there for temporary purposes only; and that it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to define and limit from time to time the qualification of natives of India thus expressed; provided that every resolution made by him for such purpose shall be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not have force until it has been laid for thirty days before both Houses of Parliament.

APPENDIX C.

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, 20, GT. GEORGE STREET,
 WESTMINSTER, S.W., March 3, 1870.

SIR,

I am directed by the Council of the East India Association to request you to submit for the kind consideration of His Grace the Duke of Argyll the following resolutions, passed at a large meeting of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association.

RESOLUTIONS.

That the Managing Committee of the Bombay Branch be requested to bring to the notice of the head body in London the recent suspension of the Government of India scholarships, and at the same time to lay before it the following representations on the subject:—

1. That the Bombay Branch has learnt with great regret that the Government scholarships lately established to enable Indian youths to proceed to England for educational purposes are not to be awarded this year.

2. That the Bombay Branch are aware that the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India considers these scholarships as quite an inadequate provision for a Government of 180,000,000 souls, and they look forward with hopeful confidence to the day when His Grace will unfold before the British Legislature a measure suggested by his long experience and study of Indian affairs, elaborated and matured by the generous and large-minded sympathy and interest which he has always evinced towards the

natives of India, and worthy at once of his own high name and intellect, and those of the country which has entrusted him with his present high post.

3. That, while thus far from being unmindful of the good intentions which have most probably prompted the suspension of these scholarships, the Bombay Branch feel bound to submit that, even as a temporary and inadequate measure, these scholarships were calculated to do an amount of good which the preparation of a larger and more comprehensive scheme did not by any means in the meantime render it imperative to forego.

4. That the suddenness of the suspension of these scholarships has given it a sort of retrospective effect with regard to those youths who framed their course of study in the expectation of obtaining the benefits of the notifications issued by the several Indian Governments in respect of these scholarships, thus entailing great disappointment on particular individuals.

5. That the East India Association will have the kindness to carry the above representations to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India, in the manner it may deem most proper and effective.

In submitting these resolutions, the Council respectfully urge that the object of the proposer, the late lamented Sir H. Edwardes, of this prayer for scholarships in the Memorial presented the 21st August, 1867, to the late Secretary of State, Sir S. Northcote, was "to aid the natives not merely to enable them to compete for the Civil Service, but to return in various professions to India, so that by degrees they might form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence on native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and the rulers." It is evident that Lord Lawrence, the then Governor-General of India, also understood and declared the object of these scholarships to be as above; for in the resolution No. 360 the object is stated to be "of encouraging natives of India to resort more freely to England for the purpose of perfecting their education and of studying the various learned professions, or for the Civil and other services in this country;" and also in another part of the same resolution it is declared to be "not only to afford to the students facilities for obtaining a University degree and for passing the competitive examinations for admission into the Indian Civil Service, but also to enable them to pursue the study of Law, Medicine, or Civil Engineering, and otherwise prepare themselves for the exercise of a liberal profession."

The Council therefore venture to submit that, considering the important objects pointed out by Sir H. Edwardes, it is very desirable that the scholarships be continued.

The Council are glad to find from your speech in the House of Commons, that the question of these scholarships has not yet been settled; and they therefore trust that His Grace will accede to the request so urgently made in the above resolutions.

The Council have every reason to believe the natives of the other Presidencies also share similar feelings, and confidently leave the matter in the hands of His Grace.

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

DADABHAI NAOROJI,
Hon. Sec.

MOUNTSTUART E. GRANT DUFF, Esq., M.P.,
Under-Secretary of State for India.

SIR,

INDIA OFFICE, March 18, 1870.

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, on the subject of the Government of India scholarships.

In reply, I am instructed to inform you that the Secretary of State in Council has very fully considered the whole subject, and does not deem it expedient to proceed further with the scheme of scholarships.

You are aware that a Bill is now before Parliament which will enable the Government to give to the natives of India more extensive and important employment in the public service.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) HERMAN MERIVALE.

APPENDIX D.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.T.,
Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, &c., &c., &c.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

SEWETH—

That your Memorialists, Members of the East India Association, having had their attention called to the question of the delay of justice to Appellants from India—and believing that the subject is one of no little importance to the interests of a considerable portion of Her Majesty's Indian subjects—take the liberty of submitting the matter for the consideration of Your Grace.

It appears to your Memorialists that the present time is peculiarly appropriate for the submission of this Memorial, inasmuch as the whole question of Judiciary Reform, including the machinery of the Appellate Tribunals, has been brought before Parliament by the Lord Chancellor, and is now under the consideration of the House of Lords.

It might, perhaps, be expected that in submitting a Memorial of this nature, your Memorialists were bound to present with it statistical details, to establish the fact of the delay complained of.

But your Memorialists take the liberty of pointing out that, whatever delay may occur in India or in England previous to the preparation of each case for hearing—a subject which your Memorialists do not consider it within their province to discuss—the delay to which they now refer, and for which they seek a remedy, is that which occurs in the hearing and decision of the cases after they are set down in the list, and presented for hearing to the Lords of the Privy Council.

This is the evil which they are anxious to bring before Your Grace—and it is not, your Memorialists observe, an evil of long standing, but has lately become apparent from the great increase of appeals which have come within the last year, and are still coming from India.

To elucidate this subject, therefore, your Memorialists believe it will be sufficient to lay before Your Grace the following statement:—

"In February and March, 1869, the Committee of the Privy Council sat, for the hearing of Indian appeals, for *twenty* days.

"Thirty-nine cases, many of which were remanets of the past year, were set down for hearing—of these cases, *twenty* only were heard, nineteen remained unheard.

"Of these nineteen, the remanets of February and March, only *twelve* were decided at the next sittings in June and July; thus leaving seven cases unheard from February to December—a period of ten months.

"In February of the present year the Court sat for twenty-one days.

"Twenty-two cases were set down for hearing, of which thirteen only were decided, and of *these*, eleven were remanets of former sittings."

Your Memorialists believe that this short statement of what has just taken place will show Your Grace how inadequate is the Judicial Machinery now existing for the disposal of the cases which, after all the delays in India and England, were actually set down for adjudication. And, if this is the case now, it must be still more so ere long, as it is well known that during the last eighteen months more appeals have been preferred from the decisions of the Calcutta High Court than have been lodged for many past years.

Your Memorialists are aware that this is not a question immediately within the province of Your Grace, or in which you can exercise any direct interference; but they feel very confident that if at the present crisis any expression of Your Grace's opinion could be communicated to their Lordships in Parliament, it would have great effect in securing the reform which is now universally desired.

All that appears to be requisite to ensure the prompt and punctual disposal of Indian Appeals is that there should be a Court sitting continuously for sufficient length of time to enable them to dispose of all cases ready for hearing.

Your Memorialists believe that two or three additional months' sitting would secure the attainment of this most desirable and important object.

As the Committee of the Privy Council is now constituted, the sittings are frequently interrupted by the necessary absence of one or two of the Judges, whose avo-

cations require their presence elsewhere, and the Court adjourns, leaving cases unheard, which a few days' further continuance would enable it to dispose of.

Your Memorialists do not consider it their part to make any suggestions on the details of such alterations as are wished for, but will content themselves with submitting, first, that the Court should be composed of Judges paid for their services; and, secondly, that the majority of those should, if possible, be Judges who are conversant with the habits, customs, religion, and laws of Her Majesty's subjects in India, as well as of the local legislation of the country.

Under this view your Memorialists respectfully submit this Memorial, in the earnest hope that Your Grace will vouchsafe to afford such support and assistance as may seem fit to Your Grace, with the view of removing, as far as possible, a great evil, and a source of serious suffering to all appellants from the Indian Courts of Justice.

Your Memorialists submit for Your Grace's consideration the proceedings of a Meeting of the Association held for discussing the subject on 8th March last.

KELLIE,

Chairman of the Council.

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION ROOMS,
20, GREAT GEORGE STREET,
4th April, 1870.

Reply from the PRIVATE SECRETARY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

"INDIA OFFICE, 5th April, 1870.

"I am desired by the Duke of Argyll to inform you, in reply to your letter of the 2nd instant, that he has lately addressed the Government of India on the subject of the delay of justice to appellants from this country, and that until an answer from the Government of India has been received, it will be impossible for His Grace to take any action in the matter. In these circumstances, the Duke thinks it would be advisable for the proposed Deputation from the East India Association to postpone their interview with him, at least for the present. But he will be happy to see them at once, if they are still desirous that he should do so."

The Reply to the above.

9th April, 1870.

"I am desired by the Council of the East India Association to request you to thank His Grace the Duke of Argyll for his kindness in acceding to their request to receive a Deputation from them. Under the circumstances, however, stated by you, the Council do not deem it proper to trouble His Grace at present; but they request the favour of your informing them of the receipt of the expected answer from the Government of India, so that the Deputation may have the opportunity of submitting their views to His Grace."

APPENDIX E.

The following Meetings will be held during the present session:—

MEETINGS, 1870.

Dates.	Readers of Papers.	Subjects.
8th June, Wed., 3.30 P.M.	DR. GOLDSTÜCKER, ON ..	{ The Shortcomings of the present Administration of Hindu Law.
15th June, Wed., 3.30 P.M.	I. T. PRICHARD, ESQ. ..	Indian Finance.
22nd June, Wed., 3.30 P.M.	SIR BARTLE FREER ..	Indian Public Works.
30th June, Thurs., 3.30 P.M.	W. S. FITZWILLIAM, ESQ. {	The Present and Future Product of Cotton in India compared with that of America and other Cotton-producing Countries.
13th July, Wed., 8 P.M.	MAJOR E. BELL	{ Is India a Conquered Country, and if so, what then?
27th July, Wed., 8 P.M.	DADABHAI NAOROJI, ESQ. {	Indian Public Works in Relation to Indian Finance.

RULES.

I.—OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 1. The EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION is instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

II.—MEMBERS.

Article 2. The Association shall consist of Resident and Non-Resident Ordinary and Honorary Members.

Article 3. Honorary Members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary Members.

Article 4. Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council at any Ordinary Meeting, and shall consist of persons who have distinguished themselves in promoting the good of India.

Article 5. Ordinary Members shall be nominated in writing by two Members of the Association, and elected after ten days' notice of such nomination, at the next General Meeting of the Council, if approved by a majority of two-thirds present thereat.

Article 6. The Election of every Member, both Ordinary and Honorary, shall be recorded on the Minutes of the Council; and the Secretary shall forthwith notify, by letter, his election to the Member, and request such Member to furnish a Standing Order on his Banker for his Annual Subscription.

Article 7. Ordinary Members shall pay an Annual Subscription of £1, or 10 Rs., on the 1st January in every year; or may compound for the same by payment of 100 Rs., or £10, which shall constitute a Life Member.

III.—MODE OF MANAGEMENT.

Article 8. The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Thirty Ordinary Members; Five to form a Quorum; and Eight to retire annually by Rotation, but eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

Article 9. A President of the Association shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting; and the Council may, from time to time, nominate distinguished Indian Statesmen, or others, as Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 10. The Council shall appoint a Secretary, and such other Employés as may be necessary, and fix their Salaries and Emoluments.

Article 11. The Council may fill up Vacancies in their own body, until the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 12. The Council shall meet on the First Wednesday in the Month; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any three Members of the Council may at any time convene a Meeting by giving three days' notice.

Article 13. The Council may appoint Special Sub-Committees of not less than Five Members of the Association, three of whom shall form a Quorum.

Article 14. At the desire of Five Members of the Council, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

Article 15. The President, or in his absence any Vice-President, or in the absence thereof, any Member shall preside at the Annual or ordinary Meetings of the Association.

Article 16. The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council, or in their absence any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Council.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Article 17. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of May in every year.

Article 18. General Ordinary Meetings of the Association for promoting the interests thereof, and for the discussion of subjects connected with India, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

Article 19. A statement of the Accounts of the Association shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Council and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Society, and circulated with the Report of the Council to each Resident Member ten days before the Annual Meeting.

LOCAL COMMITTEES.

Article 20. Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the Council; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

BYE-LAWS.

Article 21. The Council shall have power to make and alter any Bye-laws for the Management of the Association.

ALTERATION OF RULES.

Article 22. No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 23. The Council may, in their discretion, publish quarterly or otherwise, a Journal containing a report of the several General and other Meetings of the Association. Papers submitted for discussion shall be published *in extenso*, or not, as the Council may decide.



JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

ADJOURNED MEETING, FRIDAY, APRIL 29, 1870,

To Discuss Sir ARTHUR COTTON'S Paper on "The Proposed Additional Expenditure of 100 Millions on Indian Railways" (adjourned from March 25, 1870).

JOHN CHEETHAM, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

CHAIRMAN.—You are all aware that the meeting this evening is an adjourned one from your last assembling in this room. I need not say, because I am quite sure you will all agree with me in saying so, that the subject which Sir Arthur Cotton has brought under the notice of the Association is one of the greatest importance as regards the present and future prosperity of India. I do not know any gentleman who has been connected with India so long as he has, who appears to me to be so thoroughly acquainted with the subject of the irrigation of that country in connection with water communication; and certain I am, that though railways have very properly taken a certain precedence up to the present moment, it would be exceedingly injudicious for the Government of India any longer to neglect carrying out some of the valuable suggestions which Sir Arthur Cotton has made upon this subject. I have recently received some information from America which bears very closely upon the matter before us. A gentleman forwarded to me a pamphlet which he had written, having noticed the discussions which had taken place in this country upon the irrigation of India, in which he goes into facts and figures to show that the real development of the Western portion of the United States has not been so much by railway as by the advantages of water navigation; and he shows that to a certain distance you may carry grain by carts, to a longer distance you may carry it by railways, up to a certain cost, but to an extreme distance you can only convey it by water. That, I apprehend, is the principle Sir Arthur Cotton is wishing to illustrate in the subject he has brought under our notice; and as he had not sufficient opportunity at the close of the last meeting fully to reply to the animadversions that had been made upon his paper, I think we are bound now to give him the advantage of first commencing the discussion, and then any of you who may wish to supplement what he says will have the opportunity of doing so. I will, therefore, call upon Sir Arthur Cotton to commence his observations.

Mr. RIDDLE, in a letter, expressed his regret for his inability to attend, and also for any attempt made to divide with a railway and canal party those who were equally anxious for the moral and material improvement of India.

Mr. THOMAS BRIGGS had sent in a memorandum expressing his regret that Indian subjects had not full and fair discussion, instancing the want of sufficient attention to the question of irrigation. He considered Sir A. Cotton's facts and figures as unanswerable.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Now that I have the replies of the speakers at the last meeting to my paper before me in print, I thought I might be permitted to make some few remarks upon the leading points in those replies. One of the official speakers on the last occasion, Mr. Danvers, objected to my saying that there had been no discussion, and he said there had been immense discussion. I grant, in one sense, there was plenty of discussion, but it was after they had begged the question. They first begged the question whether there should be land or water carriage, and then they discussed quite freely how they would carry out the land carriage; but as to discussing whether they would have water carriage or land carriage, or what was the best means of communication for India, there was not a single word said. Here is a whole volume on one of the railways, written at that time. Surely that is a fair representation of the case to show what amount and what kind of discussion there was. This is written by one of the great railway advocates, the gentleman who projected the

Scinde Railway. First of all, not only is there, from beginning to end of the book, no estimate of a canal compared with a railway, either its cost, the cost of working it, the cost of keeping it in repair, the probable traffic on it at the prices contemplated to be charged, the probable profit or loss, but actually there is not such estimate about a railway. Then the same speaker quotes a passage from a late despatch of the Governor-General. He says, "It is a despatch which has been lately presented to Parliament, and which shows that, at the time it was written, the Government took a somewhat desponding view of the condition of the finances; but in it they use this expression, 'the enriching and civilizing effects of the great railway and irrigation works which have, within the last twenty years, been constructed are beginning to be felt throughout the length and breadth of the land.'" First of all, we do not come here to receive assertions—assertion is nothing. One may say one thing and another another; we come here to examine those assertions and see which is correct. In the next place he says, "railways and irrigation works;" that tells just as much for my side as for my opponents. Then what are we to make of this inconsistency? Here is a despatch saying how splendidly these works are telling on the finances, and yet every other despatch from that time to this is full of lamentation on the utter failure of the finances. Which are we to believe? Then Mr. Danvers says Sir Arthur Cotton says, "The total receipts for goods was last year 3,000,000*l.* on 4000 miles, or 800*l.* a mile, which, at an average of 3*d.* a ton, gives 64,000 tons for the traffic of all the lines. Now, to show the insignificance of this, we have only to compare it with the present actual traffic by the rivers connecting the Ganges and Hooghly, which are only open four or five months in the year; the quantity last year being 1,900,000 tons, and probably at least 3,000,000 tons are carried from the Ganges to Calcutta in the whole year, or fifty times the average by the railways. Again, the Eastern Bengal Railway received 75,000*l.* or 700*l.* per mile, representing, at 3*d.* per ton, 56,000 tons in the whole year, against 1,900,000 tons conveyed by the rivers. But I beg to assure him that the real fact is that, instead of 56,000 tons carried by the railways last year, 11,000,000 of tons were carried." Now is that fair? He was stating one thing, I was stating another. I was speaking of the average quantity of goods carried along each mile of the railway, which is what we want to know; he speaks of the total number of individual tons carried on all the different parts of all the different railways in all the different presidencies of India. He says, instead of 56,000 tons it was 11,000,000 tons. I say it is not a proper statement of the facts to say that the 11,000,000 is instead of 56,000. That 11,000,000 tells us nothing—we can draw no result from it whatever. A ton of goods is carried 20 miles on the Madras line, another ton of goods is carried 100 miles on the Bengal line—what have they to do with each other? What we want to know is, what amount of traffic do the railways provide for, and is that the great traffic of the railway, or is it not? I now come to the observations of the gentleman who followed him. His speech is very remarkable. He begins by saying he dissents from my views about canals. He is quite right in doing so, but might he not follow up that with the reason? That is all he says, and there he stops. May I not fairly conclude, if he had a reason he would have given it. This is the gentleman who projected the Scinde Railway. I was mentioning his book. Suppose that gentleman had stood forward and said, "I think if there is a man living who ought to come forward and support the views of the advocates of water carriage, I am the man. I was as full of railways as a man could be, and I was most anxious to do the utmost for the benefit of India by promoting railways, and I used all my energy and all my influence to establish a line of railway, and I succeeded in getting the Government to do it, and so I fairly tried it, the result being that I spent 2,000,000*l.* on 109 miles, returning now one per cent., the country paying 90,000*l.* a year in taxes to cover the interest of it, three millions of people being taxed in their salt to pay the interest on the capital expended in the construction of this railway, whereas I now see if I had cut a canal on that line, instead of costing 18,000*l.* a mile, it would have cost only 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* a mile; instead of costing 3*d.* a ton a mile to work it, it would have been worked at a tenth of a penny a mile; instead of being a dead burden to the country of 90,000*l.* a year, it would have given an interest of 10 per cent., and probably much more, and there would have been no transhipment required into the Indus at the end of it. This is what I see is the result of what I have done; this terrible failure of mine has taught me a lesson; nothing was farther from my intention than to lay upon India a burden of 90,000*l.* a year to pay for the expense of a line of transit that carried at just about

the same price as a common road would; but, moreover, had I cut a canal on the line, and had I been receiving only 10 per cent. for it, which the estimates show it would have given, I should now have been master of the situation. My name would have been sufficient to have obtained any amount of capital; and instead of the valley of the Indus being, as it is at this moment, left entirely to the bad Indus navigation, I should have had a magnificent steamboat canal, certainly from Kurrachee to Lahore. Any amount of millions would have been gladly lent to me if the Scinde Canal was at this time reported in 'The Times' as yielding 10 per cent." That is the terrible mischief of this mistake about the railways. Had these works been yielding 10 or 15 per cent., any amount of capital would have been available; instead of there being a few thousand miles of railway, any amount of works might have been executed before this. At this moment neither that gentleman nor anybody connected with the railways can raise a single shilling for the improvement of the country without the Government guarantee of the interest, because of the total failure of the undertakings. We cannot mistake that test. He speaks of my estimates about canals. I have no estimates in this paper; the whole paper is based exclusively upon actual results: the cost of canals in India, the cost of railways in India, the cost of working the canals in India, and the cost of working the railways in India. All those things are perfectly well known. We have no occasion for estimates in judging of this matter; we go entirely upon results. Certainly we may be out in our estimates; but we are on different ground now to what we were at first. Twenty or thirty years ago we were estimating these things. We may be out in our estimates sometimes. This gentleman was terribly out in his. I see the capital of the Scinde Railway was to be 500,000*l*. It has cost 2,000,000*l*.; but now we are not estimating, we are going by actual results. He goes on to speak of the dreadful case of a steamer lying on a sand-bank in the Indus. I was insisting upon steamboat canals, and he brings forward an accident happening on the Indus. Supposing a man had objected to the Suez Canal on the ground that ships were sometimes lost in the tremendous seas off the Cape of Good Hope, what would that have to do with it? Suppose, instead of giving you a paper containing nothing but solid figures, solid facts, and solid arguments, I had trifled with you by talking of a railway train running into a goods train, smashing the engine, setting fire to the contents of the goods train, and burning all the passengers in the carriages alive. Suppose I had talked such rubbish as that instead of giving you the real essential points of the case, you would have thought I was trifling with you, and with reason. We do not talk about such things when we really want to proceed to business. One point I must mention. He says the railway cost 11,000*l*. a mile, I having said it cost 22,000*l*. I was wrong in saying 22,000*l*.; but I had no other means than the Blue Book of arriving at the cost. The length of the railway was 169 miles; the actual expenditure was 2,000,000*l*., that is, 18,000*l*. a mile.

MR. W. P. ANDREW.—I was speaking of the Punjab when I said 11,000*l*. a mile. You are confusing the two.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—I thought you were speaking of the Scinde Railway.

MR. W. P. ANDREW.—I said distinctly I had not only the Scinde Railway under my charge, but other railways; among others the Punjab. You apply the information regarding one railway to another.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—I beg your pardon, I did not observe that you were speaking of the Punjab.

MR. W. P. ANDREW.—I have other sins to answer for than the Scinde Railway, which I will explain by-and-by.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—I will shortly refer to the leading points in the speeches I wish to answer. I may just mention that I have lately received the last report of 1868-69 of the Madras Government on the whole of the irrigation works in Madras, and the general result is this, they have cost 1,000,000*l*. The total net receipts since construction, after deducting all charges, is 4,700,000*l*.—that is, they have paid five times their whole cost, after deducting charges. The Godavery works, for instance, are stated, in the same report, to have cost 480,000*l*., and the last year's receipts were 162,000*l*. net, or 33 per cent. This is taking merely the direct returns, but to get a fair judgment of actual results, we must compare the total revenue, because otherwise we do not see what the indirect results are. The Godavery and Kistnah works together cost 790,000*l*. The revenue of the three districts of Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, and Guntoor, which now compose the Godavery and Kistnah districts,

before the works, was 471,000*l.*, and the last return I have is 979,000*l.*, being an increase of 508,000*l.* upon 471,000*l.*, or 108 per cent. on the revenue. You see the difference between spending money in a way that suits the circumstances of the country, and spending it in a way that does not suit the circumstances of the country. Surely this is a fair argument. I will not detain you much longer. There was one other thing I wanted to say. Just consider the prodigious importance of this matter. If 1,000,000 tons were carried along the line from Delhi to Calcutta, supposing the average charge by the railways to be 2*d.* a ton a mile, the charge would be 8*d.* a ton; whereas, if the traffic were carried by canal, I am quite satisfied it could be carried for a tenth of a penny, amounting to 8*s.* a ton, so that there would be a saving of 7*l.* 10*s.* a ton. Now, a million tons is a very low estimate for the amount of traffic that ought to be carried on that great line by the Ganges; and whether it was carried by land or by water would make a difference of seven millions and a half a year on a single line of country. Consider the importance of that. Taking the 4000 miles of railway now existing, all primary lines, the difference in the case of the traffic being carried by water instead of by railway would be no less than 80,000,000*l.* a year.

MR. GEORGE CAMPBELL.—We have been discussing the question whether it was or not a mistake to make the railways which have been made; but, whether we were right or wrong in making railways, the railways are an accomplished fact. The scheme of railways laid out by Lord Dalhousie is now completed, or nearly completed. We must accept these railways as being in existence. I do not suppose even Sir Arthur Cotton would advocate that those railways should be blown up; therefore I suggest that the practical question is, not whether it was right or wrong in the past, but what to do in the future. The question now is, ought our money to be spent in adding to the communications we already have in India? That comes to be a very practical question, and it seems to me a question which cannot be settled upon general principles, because railways may be more easily made, or made with greater difficulty, in one part of the country or another part of the country; but with regard to canals the case is very different. There is one thing essential to canals, and that is water. You may carry iron anywhere, but you cannot carry water to the tops of hills and the tops of plateaus. You cannot carry water with equal facility to every part of the country; therefore, it seems to me that the question between railways and canals is not one of general principle, but one of detail; that is to say, you have to look at the particular localities and the particular lines of communication; and, accepting the facts of the existing means of communication, you have to look to the additional lines you now wish to make, and to consider whether those particular lines can be best made by iron or by water. When you come to discuss that point, there are, as I say, local circumstances to be taken into consideration. One very important matter to consider, I think, is this, that the opening of the Suez Canal has, as it were, changed the line of communication; your great object now is to bring the cotton, or other valuable products of India, to the west coast rather than to the east coast, that is a line of communication that would have been much more difficult in respect of canals than it has proved to be in respect of railways; but what we want is that the particular lines on which Sir Arthur Cotton thinks we can more advantageously make canals than we can make railways should be chalked out. The Chairman has observed that the experience of America is, that for short distances you can cart, for somewhat long distances you can carry by rail, but for the longest distances you must have canals, if you wish cheap communication for heavy goods. I say, look at what has been done already in India; look at the railways you already have, and then consider what are the lines of communication you now desire to make, and whether you can best make them by rail or by water. If we look at the map we find for the whole length of the valley of the Ganges, from Calcutta to Lahore, we have a railway, and we have a canal running parallel to that railway. I may mention that that canal does not at all compete with the railway. The Ganges Canal running parallel to the railway in the valley of the Ganges has not been successful as a means of communication. Let us look to the other main lines which we now desire to form. One of the most important of those is through Rajpootana to the Western Sea. That is a line of country in which I believe it would be almost impossible to make a canal. It would be infinitely desirable if we could make it; but I think it would be almost impossible to make it. Then we want some great line of communication from the north to the south of India; that is also a line in which it would be almost impossible to make a canal. We want a line of communication from the Bengal cotton countries to the west coast; that is a

line of communication upon which it would be almost impossible to make a canal. At the same time I own I am very much impressed with what Sir Arthur Cotton said. It is a view which has occurred to me, and which must have impressed many in the meeting, that though the main lines of communication in India may probably pay—I think they will pay—it is a very different matter when we come to secondary lines; and if secondary lines are made at anything like the same expense I think probably they will not pay. I believe the future extension of railways depends to a great extent upon future invention. I think that we shall not have successful secondary lines till we make them a great deal cheaper; and therefore, seeing that no mode of constructing cheap railways has yet been invented, nothing would delight me so much as that Sir Arthur Cotton should show us that, on these great lines of communication which we desire to make in the future, it would be possible to make cheap water lines. I do not understand what are the particular lines of canal which Sir Arthur Cotton proposes to make, and I should hope, before the meeting closes, he would chalk out the lines he suggests as the most necessary, the cheapest, and the easiest to be made. It seems to me—I say it with great deference; I admit I do not thoroughly understand the question, but I have had occasion, with regard to the Godavery and other works, to go into the subject—the one panacea by which Sir Arthur Cotton gets over all difficulties is this, he says if there is not enough water in the rivers in the dry season, you can store enough water in storage basins. I cannot make out that that has yet gone beyond the stage of theory. I do not understand that there exists in the world such great storage basins as Sir Arthur Cotton suggested, and therefore I should like further information upon that point before I accept that as a means of getting over all these difficulties in regard to want of water, and in regard to canals going over mountains and into all sorts of inaccessible places. I hope Sir Arthur Cotton will not speak generally, but that he will chalk out on the map the particular lines of canals he recommends should be carried out.

MR. SAUNDERS.—I presume Sir Arthur Cotton, in choosing this Association as the means of communicating his opinions on this subject, has chosen it because it is a mode of getting at public opinion. I wish to give my little contribution towards public opinion in this matter. Now, it appears to me, that whatever reflections he has to make upon the Government of India in carrying out railways before canals, are reflections which he must make not only upon the Government of India, but upon this country, upon America, upon every enterprising country, and particularly with regard to our own country and America, where canals, alike with railways, have had their fair chance. Why do we not go to Portsmouth and meet the overland mail with a ship canal, and bring the Peninsular and Oriental steamers right up to London? That is what we ought to do according to Sir Arthur Cotton. Then, with regard to America—they are go-ahead enough for everybody—how is it they do not enlarge their Erie canals?

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—That is the very thing they are doing.

MR. SAUNDERS.—How is it they do not make them big enough for steamboats, and how is it that they have had railways at all? They have found railways necessary, we have found railways necessary, India has found railways necessary, and it does appear to me, even if we had no railways in India whatever, and had to commence *de novo*, that before we constructed a huge ship canal, we should connect the great towns of India by railway. Look at the connection between Bombay and Calcutta; surely the construction of a railway between those two cities was a desirable work. And then again, with regard to the question of how cotton is to be brought from Nagpore to the coast. There are other elements besides cheap carriage that have to be considered. What you have to bear in mind is this, that wherever merchants choose to settle and to work their capital is the place likely to be most attractive to the commerce of the interior. You may, for instance, say that Table Bay was about the worst place in which the merchants could have settled in the Cape of Good Hope, but, unfortunately, the first settlers squatted in Table Bay; there they accumulated their capital, there they built their houses and developed their industry, and there they are permanently fixed, and you cannot help it. And, though possibly the mouth of the Godavery might have been a better place for the commerce of the different provinces than Bombay, yet the commerce of those different provinces will all find its way down to Bombay as long as there are merchants there to attract the traffic of the interior; and if the traffic is to get to Bombay, the railway is the right and proper means of conveying it. There is a fallacy pervading society at this moment with regard to the

Suez Canal. I believe we are jumping too hastily to a conclusion in accepting that canal, though it is now open, as a success. We have yet to wait to see that it is a success. What do we find at the present moment? The very ground upon which the religious ceremonies were performed at the mouth of that canal was ground accumulated to the extent of fifty acres by sand and silt of the Nile-ground, accumulated not only in a direction vertical to the coast, but upwards, up to the very level of the dyke and mole that saved it from tumbling into the canal itself. Sir Arthur Cotton, at the very commencement of his speech, contended, because the Suez Canal was a success, that therefore his canals must succeed, or else the illustration has no force. I contend that the Suez Canal has not succeeded, that if railways do not pay, certainly the Suez Canal will not pay. I say that what will, no doubt, happen in the case of the Suez Canal will happen likewise in the case of the canals in India.

MR. ELLIOT.—The day after the last meeting I met a friend of mine who gave me an uncommonly good answer to Sir Arthur Cotton's scheme. I told him what he had been saying, and I told him that India seemed to me to require a great deal of water communication. He said, "I hope to goodness you will not say anything against the railways—I have just changed from Caledonians to East Indian Stock." I think that represents a great deal of the feeling of this country. Gentlemen come here, and instead of replying to Sir Arthur Cotton's facts, they tell us a great deal about the advantages of railways. Though a great many points have been dealt with in this discussion, there is one point which has been entirely overlooked, and that is the financial point. As I understand it, the Indian Government are extremely hard up for money; they are looking for money in all directions, and cannot tell where to find it. Now, it seems to me that this money will be more likely to be got by making canals, and so cutting off the causes of famine and dearth. This would result in an increase of the people, who would till more land, and so pour more money into the Imperial treasuries. And, looking at the question from a financial point of view, it certainly seems to me that the ends of Government would be more effectually carried out by canals, than by making railways to carry cotton to the coast. I must say I should like to hear the financial question disposed of first of all, for it seems to me if the financial question can be disposed of, we can then go on to the other question; but if the financial question remains in abeyance, a great deal of the discussion about the comparative advantages of railways and canals must be to a great extent useless.

MR. MACLEAN.—I wish to say a word in answer to the challenge Sir Arthur Cotton put out at the last meeting, that none of the gentlemen who had spoken had taken any notice of the figures he had brought forward. I cannot pretend to say anything about his own estimates with regard to canals, except that I will make the remark that perhaps there are other engineering works besides railways in which the execution has exceeded and is likely to exceed the estimates. But with regard to railways, I have been amazed in reading his paper at the figures he has brought forward. I have not been present at the former meetings, and I have only had an opportunity of comparing his figures in his paper with the reports in the Blue Book. The first point I should like to notice is this—he speaks constantly throughout his paper of the railways of India being a charge on the revenues amounting to 3,000,000*l.* a year. We pay for interest about a million and a half in the year, and Sir Arthur Cotton gets the other million and a half by assuming that 5,000,000*l.* have been paid by the Government of India for land, and reckoning simple interest on the money paid for land in former years, amounting to about 13,000,000*l.* In that way he gets at 3,000,000*l.* annual charge upon the revenues of India. Now, I think with regard to land his estimate is entirely misleading. There is no doubt that the Government of India here and there has paid a great deal for land; for instance, in Bombay, in bringing the Baroda and Bombay Railway into Bombay; it was necessary to pay a large sum of money to obtain a proper entrance into the town, and a good terminus, but generally throughout the country the land that has been given up for the service of the railways has been land entirely valueless and of no use; so that the Government of India, if you remember that the Government of India are really proprietors of the soil, in this respect have acted as good landlords. It was actually necessary, for the sake of improving the value of their estate in India, that those communications should be made. They gave up land which was entirely valueless for the purpose of making the railways, and by so doing they greatly increased the value of the land in the vicinity of the railways. Wherever the railways have gone, the value of the land has greatly increased, and the revenue derived from that land has greatly

increased. Again, when Sir Arthur Cotton is dealing with the amount of money paid by the Government of India to make up the deficiency in traffic receipts, he should take into account this fact also, that it is not only the net traffic receipts which is the value derived by the people of India from the railways. Say 79,000,000*l.* of capital has been raised in England (only 1 per cent. of the whole amount having been raised in India) and invested in railways in India, of that whole amount 47,500,000*l.* has actually been spent in India. Now, the Indian labourers and the Indian producers have had the value of that 47,500,000*l.* spent amongst them. Has Sir Arthur Cotton taken into consideration what would be the simple interest upon that sum expended in increasing the wages of Indian labourers, and improving the standard of living throughout the country? I think, if he takes into account one side and the other, he will see that the estimate of 1,500,000*l.* for the interest paid year by year is actually a fair estimate of what India now pays for her railways, and that in all other respects she has received benefits certainly equivalent to what she has paid for the railways. So much for that point. I notice here that Sir Arthur Cotton makes a most extraordinary estimate of the number of passengers and the quantity of tonnage carried by the Indian railways in the course of the year. From Mr. Danvers' Report, which I have here, I find that 15,000,000 were carried by Indian railways in the year. Sir Arthur Cotton says, "The total receipts for goods last year was 3,000,000*l.* on 4000 miles, or 800*l.* a mile, which, at an average of 8*d.* per ton, gives 64,000 tons for the traffic of all the lines." The fallacy at the bottom of that calculation is this, that Sir Arthur Cotton calculates that every ton of goods must have travelled over the whole 4000 miles of Indian railways in order to get those returns.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—No; I explained that last time.

MR. MACLEAN.—After getting 64,000 tons for all the traffic of all the railways in the year, he says, "To show the insignificance of this, we have only to compare it with the present actual traffic by the rivers connecting the Gauges and the Hooghly, which are only open four or five months in the year; the quantity last year being 1,900,000 tons, and probably at least 3,000,000 tons are carried from the Ganges to Calcutta in the whole year, or fifty times the average by the railways." Now, here I have the return of the East Indian railway alone, which comes into competition with that very line. I find that that railway carried, in the year ending 30th June, 1868, besides passengers and animals of various kinds, 261,500 tons of coal and coke, and 708,631 tons of general merchandise—say 1,000,000 tons a year. That makes a very great difference.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—I explained all that last time.

MR. MACLEAN.—I am addressing my remarks to what Sir Arthur Cotton says in depreciation of railways; I am not able to speak to what he says about canals. Again, he speaks constantly as if the 100,000,000*l.* to be raised and to be invested in new railways were to be a fresh charge to that amount upon the revenues of India. In Lord Lawrence's minute, which was the foundation of this new scheme, it is clearly stated that this 100,000,000*l.* is to be expended in such a way that the actual charge upon the revenues of India shall never be greatly increased. The amount is proposed to be expended in twenty or thirty years, and it is estimated that as the returns of the present railways go on increasing, the maximum to be expended and to be chargeable on the revenues of India will never exceed 2,000,000*l.*, and that at the end of the period of time during which this capital is to be expended we shall have 10,000 miles of railway instead of 5000, and at the same time the actual charge upon the revenues of India not greater than at the present moment; that there will be a fund perpetually renewing itself, and that there will be no greater charge upon the revenues of India for the purpose of these new railways.

MR. W. P. ANDREW.—I wish to make a few observations as the gallant officer has been good enough to call attention to one of many schemes of which I have been the author, and has given me credit for what does not fairly belong to me. It may be gratifying to the gallant officer when I state that the scheme of a railway in the particular district in question was the child of a gallant officer, Lieutenant Chapman, of the Bombay Engineers; and it may be still more gratifying to Sir Arthur Cotton when I state that, so far from the Government of India being so wedded to railways, the Government of India sent that young officer to survey the country from the Indus to Kurrachee, with the view, not of making a railway, but of making a canal. As to the estimate of the cost of the railway, that was also that gallant officer's, not mine. I was never consulted by the Government in any way as to whether there

should be a canal there or a railway; had I been so I should most decidedly have said, "Make a railway." The gallant officer, on the last occasion, stated that there had been no discussion, and he reiterated that statement to-night. I do not understand what the gallant officer can mean. He was told in this room by a gentleman who presided at a meeting at Calcutta, Mr. Maitland, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, that there was a discussion there, and that the gallant officer himself took part in that discussion. If the gallant officer says that railways were determined on without inquiry, I beg leave to refer him to despatches of the Honourable Court of Directors. The Court of Directors at that time, now twenty-six or twenty-seven years ago, were extremely cautious and timid, reluctant, indeed, in the matter of railways. So far from having made up their minds, they sent an eminent civil engineer from this country, with whom were associated two military engineers, and those three formed a commission to inquire whether railways were adapted for the wants of India, whether they could work against the prevailing strong winds of India, whether the white ant would not eat up the sleepers; in fact, so timid did the authorities appear regarding it, that they appeared to be anxious to know whether sleepers could be laid or water boiled in India. Never was there a greater mistake than to suppose that the East India Company at that time, or any of their officers, shut their ears to all arguments against railways. The matter was inquired into and discussed over and over again, and it was very natural, seeing the advance that other nations had made in the application of steam to railways, that no man should have come forward at that time and said, make a canal instead of a railway. And I do feel it is matter of astonishment that the gallant officer should now at this time of day turn his back on the greatest improvement of modern times. What does Captain Davidson, formerly Deputy Consulting Engineer to the Government of India, and who has lately published a book on railways, say? He says that India, before the introduction of railways, was like a dead man; that since the railways have been introduced it has been a new and spirit-stirring nation; that the people are becoming alive to the value of time; that they have improved in every way, morally, socially, and intellectually; that it has been the great pioneer of civilization. As Sir Arthur Cotton is fond of figures, I shall be very happy to show him the result in a pecuniary point of view, not what the State has gained (and it has gained indirectly in a thousand ways), but what commerce has gained, which is the thing we have to look to. In 1834-5 the sea-borne trade of the whole of India amounted to 14,000,000*l.* sterling. In twenty years afterwards (1854-5) the total sea-borne trade of India amounted to 34,000,000*l.* sterling, being an average increase of about 1,000,000*l.* sterling per annum. In 1864-5, when railways had begun to do their work, what did the commerce amount to? 124,000,000*l.*; but I must state that that year was an exceptional year of great prosperity to India, from the enormous quantities of cotton that were poured into this country from India; but the trade of India has averaged about 100,000,000*l.* since that period. There is an enormous advance owing to the railways, and nothing else. The gallant officer may say the railways have not done it.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—No; certainly not.

Mr. W. P. ANDREW.—Have his canals done it? Everyone who pays attention to the development of the industry of nations knows that the railway stimulates coast navigation and everything that does not come into immediate collision with it. If a canal runs alongside a railway carrying heavy products, that canal will not be deprived of its traffic, but, on the contrary, its traffic will be increased. I know of instances in Belgium and other countries where the railway, instead of destroying the canal, has augmented its traffic. It should be borne in mind that there are two kinds of traffic; and one gentleman has made an observation in which I cordially concur, that there is no reason why one man who likes a railway, and another man who likes a canal should differ in opinion. In India we want every means of communication that is possible. We want railways as the great means of preserving the peace of the country, and the great means of moving troops, and for the conveyance of valuable products. The railways which have been completed, or at least nearly completed, for not one of them is completed, have been a success. Take, for instance, the East Indian and the Great Peninsula,—they have paid all the 5 per cent., and the other railways, when they are finished, no doubt will produce equally good results. But to talk of the success or failure of railways in India at this time of day appears to me most extraordinary. Look at the size of India, and look at the amount of the population. You have a country of 15,000,000 square miles, and with 200,000,000 of

people, and yet you have not 5000 miles of railways open; not so much as they open in the United States in one year. I say, if the railways paid nothing, that would be no reason why you should not go on with them and finish them. A thousand miles of railway in India is little more than a hundred miles in this country. I think the gallant officer has entirely failed in his statement regarding the inapplicability of railways for military and defensive purposes. I referred to the opinion of the greatest living authorities on the question, including Sir John Burgoyne and all the eminent engineers in this country, and I challenge the gallant officer to bring forward a single engineer of any eminence who has maintained such a position as he has laid down, that railways are not adapted for military purposes, and that canals are. I have very few more observations to make. I maintain that Sir Arthur Cotton has failed to prove his assertions. I call upon the gallant officer to give me an estimate for his armed flotilla. I ask him to give me an estimate for his canal. What is his reply? He says, "I do not deal in estimates; I deal in accomplished fact." What accomplished fact? Is there a single canal in India adapted for steam navigation?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Yes, hundreds of miles.

Mr. ANDREW.—Has a steamer ever traversed it?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—That is not the question.

Mr. ANDREW.—That is the question. A canal and a canal adapted for steam purposes are two perfectly different things. Your estimate for an irrigation channel is a totally different thing from an estimate for a canal for navigation. The very wash of your steamer, the very wave you produce, rises 5 or 6 feet; and if you had not it properly pitched, and protected, and puddled, your canal would come to grief.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—They have steamers on the Godavery canals, and have had for years.

Mr. ANDREW.—I never heard of them. What is the dimension of the canal?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—From 30 to 60 yards broad.

Mr. ANDREW.—There is another point which I should like to bring to your notice. You say you will get a speed of 15 to 25 miles an hour on your canal. Do you adhere to that statement?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—I see no reason why I should not.

Mr. ANDREW.—You can get that in the open sea, but I defy you to get that on a canal. A vessel can proceed in the open sea at a very different rate to what it can even in a river.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—I know perfectly well what I am talking about in this matter. I have a great deal of experience in this matter, which you have not.

Mr. ANDREW.—I doubt that you can get that speed; and your friend the Calcutta merchant seemed to doubt it still more.

Colonel WRAGGE made some remarks upon the necessity of finding a cheaper fuel than coal.

Sir BARTLE FRERE.—I should be glad if the meeting will allow me a few minutes just to state how far I agree with my friend Sir Arthur Cotton, and I would first of all mention that I have the misfortune to differ from my friend Mr. George Campbell, because I think this is emphatically a question of principle, and that, if you look at what is the point with regard to all matters of communication, whether railways, canals, or roads, it is the removal of obstacles. As we are all aware, there is no mode of creating force; the business of an engineer, whether in making a road or a canal or a railway, is to remove obstacles and diminish friction; and the great question which has occupied Sir Arthur Cotton, and which he has solved to his satisfaction is, whether you diminish friction and remove obstacles most by the use of an iron road or by a canal; and I have no doubt that, if you look at the matter simply, he is perfectly right. There is no device known to engineers by which you can so far remove all obstacles to locomotion as by putting your load upon the water. Of course, when you come to work out a principle of that sort, there are a great many details which must be dealt with. Water is all ready to your hand as long as you are at sea, but when you come to artificial canals you find there is a great deal more to be done than to put your boat on the water at first. Every lock which you have to make, and every rapid which you have to get up, is an obstacle which reduces the canal more nearly to the level of other modes of communication; and the question to which Sir Arthur Cotton has applied himself is, Can you for great distances entirely remove those obstacles—Can you make an internal navigation as free from friction and obstacles as the open sea? and I must say, though it may appear very questionable at first, the

more I have thought over the matter the more convinced I am that Sir Arthur Cotton is right that, dealing with a country like India, there is no difficulty in, I do not say producing the same entire freedom from obstacles that you have at sea, but in producing very great lengths of navigation on which the obstacles would be reduced to such a minimum that you would be very nearly as well off as you would be on an open natural water. This is a view in which I think gentlemen who know India best will agree with me if they will look at one or two simple facts. If you travel from any Calcutta by Lahore down to Kurrachee, where do you see any visible rise in the ground? You are obliged to take your level and to look very carefully at the waters as they flow to satisfy yourself that there is any difference of level throughout your whole journey. Mr. Campbell says most truly the water carriage upon so much of that line as has been completed from Calcutta up to Lahore, does not yet compete successfully with the railway; but then he must also bear in mind that it is a most imperfect canal, and that it has not yet been dealt with as a whole or with the view in which Sir Arthur Cotton would deal with it. Engineering science has not yet been applied to it to the extent of overcoming all the obstacles which might be overcome. No doubt the same is the case down the line of the Indus from Lahore to the sea. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that any engineer who went over the country would say it was perfectly practicable to make a canal in which boats should go without any serious obstacle. Then I may be asked, Why, these being your views, have you ever advocated railways, and why do you defend the policy of the Government in having spent such large sums on railways? I answer, as Mr. Maclean justly observed, there are a great many other things to be thought of besides the mere carriage of goods at a reasonable speed and at a very low cost. There is one thing which Englishmen above all others value, and that is the saving of time, and in this respect it seems to me that the arguments in favour of the two different systems of communication have no common ground. One party is arguing in favour of a large stage-waggon—the other is arguing in favour of a post-chaise and four, and if you are willing to pay very highly you will prefer the post-chaise. Then comes the question for the Government, Is it worth while to pay this high cost out of the revenues of India? And it is to be borne in mind that there are a great many advantages, many of which were detailed very clearly by Mr. Maclean, which you have already got by incurring this high cost. And it must also be recollected that you must take in these matters what you can get. It is beyond the power even of a large Government unassisted by private capital to carry out these undertakings, and you must take up that particular form of work which capitalists will favour. We have a notable instance of this in the case to which both Sir Arthur Cotton and Mr. Andrew have adverted, that of the Scinde line. It was originally projected as a canal. I believe nobody had any doubt but that it would have answered precisely in the way Sir Arthur Cotton would wish it to answer, by carrying very large quantities of goods very cheaply and very certainly. Then why was not it made? Simply because at that time it was impossible to get any capitalist to look at a scheme for a canal, and not being able to get the stage-waggon we were only too glad to get the post-chaise. Sir Arthur Cotton will very likely think we put the cart before the horse in so doing; still we took what we could get, and I am far from thinking that the railway has been altogether the failure that he seems to consider it. That railway has had a great effect in developing traffic along its course, and I believe it will very shortly be supplemented by a canal. There is only one more observation which I will trouble you with, and that is, that Sir Arthur Cotton is now in the condition in which I consider Mr. Stephenson was when he was originally urging the formation of railways upon the country, and he is the first man who has put this question fairly and on a great scale before the public, and I for one heartily wish him success, and for this reason, because there is now an element introduced into the discussion of this question which has never before come into the question, and that is the element of gross cost. Hitherto what has been thought of most has been how to get your goods first to market; now I believe it is becoming more and more a question who shall get them cheapest, and no doubt cheapness is best attained by trusting to water. There can be no doubt whatever, allowing for deductions on either side for over-statements and over-estimates of cost, that for a given million of pounds laid out you can get more goods carried farther and much cheaper by canal than you can by any other mode. I do not mean to say you should stop making railways; I consider that the scheme of the Government of India in this matter falls far short of the necessities of India. I do not think you

can deal with this question as if you had only a certain sum in your pocket to be laid out in one or other of two incompatible means of communication. I believe you have resources far beyond what the most sanguine of us contemplate. You may lay them out upon railways, getting a bare 4 or 5 per cent., and you may thereby attain innumerable indirect advantages—advantages of education, advantages in the way of breaking down barriers between class and class, advantages in the way of opening the country throughout; but lay out the same money upon water communication, and I believe you may get, as Sir Arthur Cotton says, 10, 20, and 50 per cent. even for what you lay out, taking water communication and irrigation together, and you will moreover enable your produce to come to market and to come to your railways in a far greater ratio than by any other mode in which you can expend your money. Therefore I heartily hope that Sir Arthur Cotton will be supported by public opinion, that the ideas which he has put forth will gain day by day upon the public till the public recognizes the fact that you require both your stage-waggon and your post-chaise.

MR. HARDING.—I cannot help thinking that Sir Arthur Cotton has shown that 100,000,000*l.* spent on canals, by supplying irrigation, the want of which has produced famines and other curses in India, would confer infinitely greater benefit upon India than 100,000,000*l.* spent upon railways. I only wish there was another 100,000,000*l.* to spend also on railways. I think the Indian Government, if they have to choose between the two, had better spend the money on canals than on railways.

MR. ELLIOT.—There is one practical remark which, perhaps, I may be allowed to occupy one minute in making, which may throw some light on a difficulty which I heard started just now, a difficulty which I raised myself at the last meeting, *viz.* the difficulty of getting a canal from the elevated plateaus to the coast. Since the last meeting, I have considered that, if you opened a canal from the foot of the Ghauts to the sea-board, you might carry your produce by cart to the Ghauts, or by tramways; it would not be necessary that you should carry your canal down the Ghaut.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—The question very much naturally depends on the consideration, whether the Indian Government can manage or not to supply funds both for canals and railways—whether the Indian Government are really in such a state of bankruptcy as has been so prominently brought forward here as an argument why canals should be preferred to railways. If it could be shown that the finances of India were good enough to supply both wants, then a great deal of the arguments we have heard would fall to the ground. I hope, therefore, that the Association will some time hereafter take up the subject, and fully discuss it, and then we shall be better able to deal with the arguments in Sir Arthur Cotton's paper than at present, because we are now all going on the supposition that the Government can have only 100,000,000*l.* to spend in either railways or canals, where, it may be that the Government may be able to get money enough for both purposes, and if so, then I think both the opponents of Sir Arthur Cotton, as well as those who side with him, will all agree that if we can get for both, we ought to have both. This is an important question to consider by itself.

Colonel RATHBORNE.—I was in Scinde myself, and I know something of the canals there and something of irrigation also; and in everything that Sir Arthur Cotton has said and has published on the subject of irrigation I most heartily concur. I think any amount of money spent on irrigation works in Scinde would yield 40 per cent., and ought never to yield less than 20; but I do not believe in a canal being a navigable canal at the same time that it is an irrigation canal. For a navigable canal you require all the water you can possibly get in order to keep it full at the dry season for vessels to pass along the canal, which is utterly incompatible with keeping it in a state to meet the constant drain upon it for irrigation. As far as regards the question of canals against railways, I think it will be found that the railway will do everything that the canal can do, but the canal falls short of what the railway can do. For instance, take London, if we had canals instead of railways there would be a famine here to-morrow. We know that at about one o'clock to-night fifty waggon-loads of meat will be dispatched from Aberdeen; and at four o'clock another fifty waggons, all of which will come into the London market to-morrow. As far as the question of cost is concerned, I think Sir Arthur Cotton is out in his calculations: he states that a canal would cost a fifth of the cost of the railway, and at the same time it would carry its traffic at one-twentieth part of the rate that a railway could. Now,

I took the trouble this morning to go to a coal merchant, to a slate merchant, and also to several offices to ascertain the rates at which things were carried by canal. I found from the basin of the Regent's Canal, where it enters the river up to Camden Town, the rate was 2s. 10d. by canal, while by railway from Poplar, which is about the same distance, the rate was 1s. 3d. They carry a ton of bricks to Birmingham by railway for 8s. 2d., and a ton of slates for 10s. 3d. I could not ascertain the exact rates of the canal, but I found from a person in the office that the rates were not very much less, and for all except certain goods the railway was now so very largely preferred as practically to put the canals out of the field altogether. Sir Arthur Cotton remarked upon the respective costs of each mode of communication. Now, a gentleman some years ago projected a navigable canal for Seinde which was to be 300 miles long, and he submitted the estimate to Mr. Fowler, the engineer; that estimate was 8,000,000l.—10,000l. a mile. The canal was not to be nearly so large as Sir Arthur Cotton has mentioned, and in order to test his figures I have gone to-day into the question of what a mile of his canal would be, reckoning it to be for a ship canal, and assuming it to be 50 yards wide and not less than 15 feet deep from the top of the banks to the bottom. The excavation of that would be 12,000l. a mile, irrespective of any puddling and any other work or anything else.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—The gentleman says we want to bring meat from Aberdeen to London. I am not talking about London; I am talking about India. . . . The circumstances of the two countries are totally different. I do not say England does not require a steamboat canal. She does, just the same as if she had not a mile of railway. He says it costs as much to carry goods three miles by a particular canal as by a railway. We are not talking about carrying by a canal three miles long. The cost of transfer in that case is more than the whole cost of the carriage by the canal. I am talking of 500 or 5000 miles. Then, as to the cost of canals, he gives us an estimate. I have been thirty years cutting canals; I have cut thousands of miles in India; I know what a canal costs. We have the Ganges Canal, 700 miles in length; the canal of the Madras Irrigation Company, 200 miles. We have more than 1000 miles in the Kistnah and Godavery. We have plenty of experience. Sir Bartle Frere has cut canals, several hundred miles in length, in the Bombay Presidency. We are not guessing—we are talking about what we know perfectly well.

Colonel RATHBORNE.—You can estimate the number of cubic feet easily, taking it at 50 yards wide and 15 feet deep.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—You beg the whole question when you say 15 feet deep; probably, the canal would be one yard deep. The actual sum expended on the whole of the Ganges Irrigation Works has been 2,200,000l. The main lines of canal are 700 miles in length, that is 3000l. a mile, supposing every furthing of that had been spent only on the main lines of canal. There are several thousands of miles of branch canals, and there are distribution works, and the cost of these came out of the 3000l. a mile; so that the actual cost of those main lines of canal could not have been much above 1000l. a mile—

A gentleman present stated that he had made roads at 3s. a thousand cubic feet in India.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—I have cut many million cubic yards of earth in the Godavery district; and the average cost of the whole has been 1d. a cubic yard. I have ascertained the cost of carriage on the Forth and Clyde Canal, on a navigation in Cheshire, and on the Thames, from Reading to London by steam. The actual cost, including every charge, comes to about a tenth of a penny a mile. I find that the owner of a cargo steamer, in which I came from Reading to London the other day, is able to undersell the railway between Reading and London with a good profit, and that, too, although the distance by the river is exactly double the distance by the railway. I am speaking all the time of steamboat canals. Another gentleman said, "Where are your canals?" In the first place, I am advocating that these steamboat canals should be made. What answer is it to me to say, "Where are your canals?" In the next place, we have several hundred miles of steamboat canals in India. He says, "Where are the steamboats?" Is that my business? On one of the canals in Rajamundry, after a desperate struggle, we got a little bit of a steamer, and she is working with perfect success though she has not a quarter enough power. There is nothing in the world to prevent working that canal by fast steamers to-morrow. Take the Ganges Canal—you have there 700 miles of splendid canal, per-

fectly fit for steam navigation. The fancy about the wave has all reference to those little insignificant canals in England. What has that to do with canals 50 or 60 yards broad? The Madras Irrigation Company's Canal is 60 yards broad and 9 feet deep. Another gentleman said it was impossible to carry canals in some places. I am not going to cut canals where it is impossible to carry them. What have I to do with impossible places when there are hundreds of thousands of miles where they are possible? I am asked, Where are the reservoirs that could possibly hold the quantity of water that would be required for canals? There are 40,000 or 50,000 old native tanks in India; some of enormous dimensions, one of them being twenty-five miles in circumference, and capable of supplying thousands of miles of canal with water. These are works now actually in existence, and capable of supplying many thousand miles of canal with water at this moment.

Mr. ELLIOT.—There is one in Mysore no less than forty miles round.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Then, as to the compatibility of navigation and irrigation works, the Godavery and Kistnah Canals have been navigated for the last twenty years, and are being navigated at this moment. The Ganges Canal is at this moment navigated to a considerable extent. I grant there were certain defects in the construction of those works which materially affected the navigation, but they could be remedied for the merest trifle. If there were a steamboat canal from London to the Severn, to bring South Wales coal in boats of 300 or 400 tons, it would save London more than a million a year in the carriage of coal alone.

Mr. MACLEAN.—Does not a great deal of Newcastle coal come by railway though they have the competition of the sea carriage?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—I am speaking of steamboat canal carriage.

Mr. MACLEAN.—Surely the sea would be as cheap as such a canal.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—No. I suppose the cost of working by sea is at least double, probably quadruple, what it would be by canal; of course by sea you must have an expensive ship fitted to encounter any storms, and an expensive crew.

Colonel WRAGGE.—And you have the insurance to pay.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Then, with respect to slates, a large proportion of the slates of Wales are carried all round the Land's End and to the Nore by sea, with all the risk of the sea, the sea carriage being three times the distance of the railway. When I was in Ireland they were sending stone for the Prince's monument in London by sea all round the Land's End, and the rate at which they got it carried was $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a ton a mile, including all the expenses connected with sea transit. I think those are the only points which seem to me to require an answer. I must express my thanks to the gentlemen who have come forward and fairly met the question. At various meetings before, at the Society of Arts and here, I have never had the matter fairly met. On all previous occasions men have stood up and talked about all sorts of things except the point in hand. It is a tremendous question for India whether we are to have water or land carriage.

CHAIRMAN.—I think we must all be gratified that Sir Arthur Cotton has raised this very important question. At the close of last session a very influential deputation of members of the House of Commons assembled, and proceeded to the India Office, to urge upon the Government of India to lay out 10,000,000*l.* per annum for the next ten years upon railways. I think, when so important a proposition as that was made, it was very proper that Sir Arthur Cotton, acquainted as he personally and practically is with the great question of water supply, should come forward, and show what he considers to be a better way of spending the money. Though I do not quite agree with him in the broad proposition he laid down, that there should be no railways made in India, I think we have done sufficiently in the way of laying out great lines of railway transit in India to be in a position now to consider the question whether the next considerable outlay should not rather be in the direction of water. I think that is a very fair subject of discussion. Then, I contend, if it is proposed to lay out 2,000,000*l.* in works which will produce 20 or 40 per cent. per annum in return, the Government should raise that amount by loan and not connect it with their current expenditure. As I have told the India Office over and over again, the city of Manchester has at this moment gasworks which bring in an annual profit to the city of 40,000*l.* per annum, and which never cost the inhabitants of the city a single shilling. They began by borrowing money on the credit of the city for the erection of the works and for carrying them on, and at this moment they have a clear annual gain, after paying all expenses, of the sum I have named.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—The Erie Canal pays a large proportion of the revenue of New York.

CHAIRMAN.—There is, at this moment, between England and India, a trade of 20,000,000*l.* per annum in the production of cotton; and if we take the necessary steps in the matter, that trade will increase, and it will be able to maintain its position against all that America can do; but if inattention is paid to this important point of internal communication, looking at the natural advantages which America has, supplemented as they have been by railways, I see it will be in vain to carry on any such contest. One word as to the Suez Canal. I have no doubt at all that the canal will be a success; the manufacturer will carry by the shortest route whether he is buying produce or selling goods. What do we find in the United States? even from New Orleans the greatest bulk of the cotton is now coming by steamer; and the day will come when there will be no sailing vessel carrying cotton. The consumer will demand direct communication, and that is what the Suez Canal will give him. . . . Gentlemen, I have been very much interested in the paper and in the discussion we have had, and I hope the interest in this great question will not be lost, and that the Indian Government will be urged to give the matter a fair and calm consideration before they proceed to any further great outlay in the direction of railways in India.

On the motion of Major Evans Bell, seconded by Sir Arthur Cotton, a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman.

On the motion of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, seconded by Mr. Elliot, a vote of thanks was passed to Sir Arthur Cotton for his paper.

MEETING, FRIDAY, MAY 6, 1870.

For the further Discussion of Mr. LTUDUS PRICHARD's Paper "On the Relations between the Native States and the British Government," read Jan. 28, 1870.

WILLIAM TAYLER, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

MR. PRICHARD in giving an outline of his paper said that the native States comprised a very large portion of the area of British India; roughly stated one-third in area, and about one-third in population. The condition in which those States at present stood to the British Government and the British people was, in his opinion, eminently unsatisfactory, and was a source of great and constant dissatisfaction to the native chiefs themselves. Disputes were constantly arising between the nobles who resided in those native States and the chiefs of those States; between the chief of one State and the chief of another State, and between the chiefs of independent States and the British Government. In those cases there was no tribunal and no machinery by which justice of any kind could be administered, and when a dispute arose it was referred in the first instance to the Political Agent in charge of the State, and through him to the Foreign Office. The whole business was conducted by correspondence, and secretly; it did not come before the public in any shape, and the decision was eventually given in the Foreign Office in India, and nothing further was known about it. It was obvious to all who had any experience in India, and who were aware of the vast and pernicious influence which the Amils exercised throughout the whole administration, that constant abuses occurred; and he did not think he would be going too far in saying that the whole system was little better than one nest of corruption. It appeared to him that, under such circumstances, those who had the welfare of India at heart should endeavour, if possible, to suggest some remedy for a state of things which was certainly not creditable to England after a century of rule in India; and what he proposed was, that some tribunal should be constituted, either in this country or in India, before which such cases might be fairly represented, where both parties might be heard, and where justice might be done. The necessity of such a tribunal was still more obvious when it was recollected that in many of the cases, to which he had referred the Government itself was one of the parties to the suit, the state of things at present being that the Government, who was a party to the suit, had to decide upon the suit itself—a condition of things which could not but create very great dissatisfaction to the weaker party.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI read the following letter from General Sir LeGrand Jacob, written after he had had an opportunity of perusing Mr. Prichard's paper :—

12, QUEENSBOROUGH TERRACE, W.

May 5, 1870.

"MY DEAR MR. DADABHAI,—I greatly regret my inability both to attend the meeting for the discussion of Mr. Prichard's paper and to comment upon it as I could wish. I quite agree with him in the good policy of securing the fidelity and attachment of the native States, and in regretting our past treatment of them; but I doubt the propriety of establishing any special tribunal for the adjudication of their disputes, whether between themselves or with Government. His observations are far too general and sweeping both as to these States and to the subordinate members of the British agencies employed within them. He treats the first as all alike, and the second as all alike, mischievous and powerful, and I object to the disregard of national faith and of the honour of the British Crown involved in his reference to treaty obligations, the resolution to maintain which was so solemnly pronounced on Her Majesty assuming direct control, Nov. 1, 1858. Whenever these treaties are found prejudicial to the welfare of India there should be negotiations for change. With the pressure we can maintain, and our gigantic influence over every State in India, there can be no doubt of our securing needful modifications; till then we ought to have patience; the evil of loss of confidence is greater than of loss of time. The chiefs, whose treaties Mr. Prichard so summarily disposed of, would look with dread and suspicion on the security he offers in their stead, and such breach of faith would reopen the now healing wounds of the annexation period. It is a mistake to treat petty chiefships as if on a level with the more important States, and to describe all as if ruled by us in the same way. A large number are directly governed by British officers, some are generally controlled, and others are only controlled within the limits and according to the terms of our treaties. For the British officers* in these last to act on the principle advocated by Mr. Prichard would open a floodgate of intrigue and disaffection. Every disappointed suitor, quite as often wrong as right, would besiege him night and day, and the power and just influence of the Durbar would be paralyzed. It behoves the Resident at a native Court to be most discreet in the admission of suitors, and to give no encouragement to claims that he has not power to take up and carry through, and this is quite compatible with an ear ever open to information, and to a suavity of manner that may conciliate even while discountenancing complaints. The evil influence of the native subordinates is greatly overrated, as far as my experience, extending from north to south of the Bombay Presidency, leads me to believe. In States directly ruled by political officers, they hold open court, where all may attend, and a box is kept accessible to the public for receipt of petitions, which are publicly read out and decided upon on stated days; moreover, the Government receives petitions direct by post or otherwise, and, whenever it thinks fit, calls for explanation. In larger agencies, where the control is partly direct and partly indirect, such as the Guzerat Peninsula of Scorashtre, commonly known by the name of one of its ten provinces, Kattywar, petition boxes are open to the public, and complaints heard by the Political Agent and his deputies. All these functionaries travel about and are in constant intercourse with the people. Under such a system the power for evil of the native underlings is most limited; but, do what we will, we cannot save ignorance and credulity from being wronged by others, whether in or out of office. I once laid hold of a man who had gone about the country levying taxes in my name, his only credentials an empty gooseberry bottle of Crosse and Blackwell, with the Royal arms on its label, and by way of warrant a rude illegible scrawl, stamped for my seal with one of their mustard-jar corks! The only cure for such evils is education, with careful selection of *employés*, and every year now widens the field. I do not see how such a court as Mr. Prichard advocates could be instituted, as he alleges, without revision or alteration of treaties; and I do not think any first-class native State would willingly submit to it, nor is it necessary to take the power out of the hands of the Viceroy, who can always refer disputes needing judicial acumen to fathom to competent parties for an opinion, and we know that the Crown receives appeals even from his decision. What better

* In the Western Presidency the Political Agents are nearly all directly under Government, and not under the subordinate authority as described by Mr. Prichard, unless on some special emergency the Government desires to consolidate power.

guarantee can a native State have than that given by the recent Mysore case, when the decision of the Government of India was reversed? The Political Committee of the Indian Council is, in fact, such a court of appeal as Mr. Prichard requires, and I don't see the need of one in India also that would weaken the position and dignity of the Viceroy, and stimulate a flood of litigation. What, for instance, would be thought, even by ourselves, of a proposition to refer our present quarrel with Greece to a court of ex-colonial judges? And would not Greece demand seats for some of its own judges or jurists on the bench? Yet some of the States of India are more deserving of consideration than that troublesome and turbulent little kingdom.

"P.S.—I would wish to give every facility for the claim of every native State, either against Government or against each other, *being equitably decided*. How to effect this without undue encouragement to litigation, and weakening the authority of the paramount power, is one of the difficult problems that await solution in the reforms going on in our Indian Administration; and, in my present weak state, I am not prepared to enter on it. But I am opposed to any change that would take the subject out of the political department. At the same time, if any State voluntarily chose to place itself under the same laws as regulate British territory, and accept our system, I would admit it, and, in that case, reform of the present system of appeals (a subject already properly taken up by our body) is all that would be needed. This, however, is not a very likely occurrence; I think I see my way to better results than the present system gives us, but I cannot now write it all out."

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI, having enumerated the various kinds of cases arising between the British Government and the native States, said that the question thus arose, whether a single tribunal would meet all the requirements of the case? In cases where the Government itself was an interested party it was naturally urged that the Government itself should not be the party to judge; but then it was said if cases in which the Government were interested were referred to a tribunal independent of the Government, the prestige and the dignity of the paramount power would be in jeopardy, but such an apprehension, he thought, was not well founded. For instance, in the Mysore case, where the former decision of the Government was reversed, it could not be said that the prestige of the paramount power suffered. On the contrary, an impression was produced upon the native chiefs and the people generally that there was such a thing as justice to be got from the British rulers. With regard to cases of misrule, either the paramount power must interfere and prevent any breach of the peace, or leave the people themselves to right their own wrongs. According to the present system, the Political Agent, according to his views; reported to the Government that certain wrong acts were being committed which he considered to be misrule, and the Government acted on his statement, degrading the chief or deposing him. If the paramount power was to interfere, justice demanded that the ruler should have dealt out to him the same justice by a public and open trial as was accorded to those whom he governed. With regard to those questions in which the Government itself was a party, and where, therefore, it was manifestly unjust for the Government to be the judge to give the decision, some tribunal was required by which such questions might be fairly decided. He thought the Government, if they set themselves to the task of creating such a tribunal, would find no difficulty in doing so; and the natives themselves, who were the most interested in the matter, would be only too glad to see a suitable tribunal created. With regard to cases in which the British Government themselves were not interested,—cases arising between one native chief and another native chief, or cases arising between a native chief and one of his subordinates,—an investigation of such cases should take place by a tribunal of judicial men, with a proper admixture of natives, who would be acquainted with the usages and customs of the State, and who would be able to explain the full bearings of the case. It was in relation to the latter class of cases that the greatest dissatisfaction was felt at present. Complaint was made that the cases were decided without a full investigation, and dealt with by non-judicial persons, and, moreover, that the investigation was secret. The Government would be free from all suspicion of partiality or want of conscientiousness if they gave an opportunity for a complete and judicial investigation of such cases. The tribunal to deal with such cases, *i.e.* cases not involving the sovereignty of rulers or the rights of the British Government as affected by treaties, might be constituted by a sort of native State Department, under the High Courts of the different presidencies, to which tribunal litigants might have recourse. He thought

the Government, if they gave their attention to the subject, would be easily able to devise some plan for establishing tribunals differently constituted for each class of cases. In a leader in the 'Times of India' upon this subject, the writer said that the Government had already paid some attention to the subject; that some plan had been before it which had been suggested by Mr. Kaye and others, but from some reason or other it had fallen to the ground.

Major EVANS BELL perceived that Mr. Prichard had noticed in his paper that Colonel Sykes had on several occasions proposed the establishment of such a tribunal as he suggested in his paper, and he reminded the meeting that Sir Bartle Frere, in 1860, in a Minute which he drew up when a member of the Governor-General's Council, during the discussion on the grant to the Mysore family, proposed such a tribunal, and went into the subject at some length. Sir Bartle Frere in that Minute said:—

"I trust I may not be misunderstood as saying a word against the right of appeal which every native of India ought to possess against any act of any Government functionary, however exalted. The exercise of such right of appeal will never, I am convinced, impair the true power of any Government of India such as we have had for generations past; and I trust the day is not far distant when the Sovereign may have at hand a tribunal forming a part of Her Majesty's Privy Council, or possessing the same relation to the Crown, which may at command sit in judgment on questions of executive administration, whether appealed from or referred by the Government of India, and which may decide such questions with an authority which shall be conclusive with Parliament and the public, as well as against any possible appellant.

"I believe that such a tribunal, advising the Crown on the exercise of its sovereign prerogative on Indian matters, and of necessity excluding all irregular interference, would greatly strengthen the Government of India; but I am convinced that the present absence of system in dealing with Indian claims or Indian grievances in England, is fraught with great and immediate danger to the authority of Government, far beyond the admission of inconvenient burdens on our exhausted Treasury."

And in quoting that passage in a book which he (Major Evans Bell) had published two years ago, he said—

"The knowledge that an appeal might be made to a competent Court would at once put our Governors and Councillors into a judicial frame of mind, so that very little room would be left for appeals, and very few appeals would lead to a reversal of the original decision. On the other hand, the appeal to an Imperial tribunal by a Sovereign Prince is a distinct act of submission to Imperial supremacy. In the appointment of such a tribunal there would be no loss of authority, and there would be an infinite gain of moral power."

With reference to the following passage in Mr. Prichard's paper, "A recent writer on India, Major Evans Bell, remarks that the quasi-independent condition of the native States is a political feature known and recognized in Europe," he (Major Evans Bell) did not know exactly to what he alluded, but he could only say he had always protested against the term "independent" being applied to the native States of India. Mr. Prichard may have alluded to his having said that our treaties were not come to in a corner; that they were well known in Europe, which was the fact, for all our more important treaties were published in Martin's 'Recueil des Traites' and other standard works known all over Europe; but though the States of India were not independent, but dependent, he could not admit, as Mr. Prichard seemed to suggest, that the relations of the Crown were not to be governed by treaty, or that those treaties ought not to be scrupulously observed. While Mr. Prichard objected to the use of the word "independent," he seemed to apologize for the use of the term "international." He (Major Evans Bell) thought that the word "international" ought to be adopted, because many of the native States really constituted distinct nations; they were different in their languages, in their staples of industry, in their customs, and in their standard of life; and in dealing with them international law should be applied, taking care not to overstrain analogies, and to modify that law so as to suit the particular cases. It had been said that a paramount power of such an overwhelming strength as Great Britain, and of such far superior wisdom and knowledge, could not consent to deal with the native States on the principle of international law, or submit to the technicalities of jurists. People who used that argument made the same mistake that the Civil Service in general used to make a few years ago, when they said that in administering criminal and civil law in India, we were not to be tied by the

technicalities of the law, that we were not to attend to legal quibbles, but were to try to administer the law on the patriarchal system, according to the dictates of common sense. But we do not hear much of that sort of argument now. Twenty years ago numerous remonstrances were addressed against the inferior quality of the law administered in the Sessions Court in India, and it was insisted that the judges should be better qualified, the result of which was, that stricter examinations were instituted, and greater care was taken in selecting judges, and now the best passport to all the higher judicial appointments was a competent knowledge of the law; and he thought it would be a satisfactory thing when the best passport to political appointments in India was a knowledge of international law. If ever such a tribunal as that contemplated by Mr. Prichard was instituted, most certainly that tribunal would have to guide its judgment, and pronounce its decrees in the language of our great publicists, in the language of international law. The peculiar relations that existed between the British Government and the minor States of India were perfectly well known to writers on international law, and were dealt with in the best ancient and modern treatises on such subjects; and it would not be difficult to establish a code of law that would be applicable to them. He thought such a tribunal was very much needed, and would be a great step towards that great re-organization and re-construction of the Indian Empire which he believed was urgently required, for he looked upon a reformed native State, and not a model British province, as the mature and wholesome fruit of Imperial cultivation.

MR. ROOSTUMJEE VICAJEE read the following paper:—This is a matter involving the destinies of upwards of a hundred principalities and chiefdoms in India, and the consolidation of the paramount power therein. I think the proposed tribunal is far from affording satisfaction, and far from devising a principle of policy which can do justice to the integrity of native States, and strengthen the British hold on India on a satisfactory and permanent basis. . . . Mr. Prichard makes a somewhat invidious distinction between the word "international" as applied to India, and "international" as applied to Europe. Even the paramount power, whose words and deeds, which sometimes might happen to be guilty of commission or omission, and which require to be jealously upheld if they be not seriously injurious in their effects, will have to stand as a defendant before the proposed tribunal. This position can hardly be looked upon with awe and respect by the native States, under the present state of society in India. . . . If we are to have an "international tribunal," we cannot leave "international rights" in the background. Moreover, if the native States in alliance with the British, having had the rights of concluding treaties, and the jurisdiction over their own subjects—nay, also over all those subjects of other States casually passing through or sojourning in the native States—respecting their life and property, were to appeal to the "international tribunal," presided over by English judges, for redress for wrong done to such States by the British Government, what would the rulers of such native States think of this device? Would they not, as time enlightens their mind, smart under the humiliation of being reduced to subjects from sovereigns? Is it compatible with their dignity as sovereigns that they should appeal to a tribunal solely consisting of the members of one of the contending parties, who has to appear as a defendant? The paper also suggests an appeal to the Privy Council in England against the decision of the "international tribunal." Can this plan leave a doubt that its tendency would be the gradual extinction of a hundred distinct sovereignties in India? . . . By a calm reflection we cannot but admit and rejoice that the all-wise Providence has placed the destinies of the millions of India in the hands of the British people, on the crumbling of the Imperial machine at Delhi, in preference to the Portuguese and the French. . . . We can safely aver, from the character and goodness of the British politicians, that in this transition state of India the paramount power will wield their strength with that gentleness and forethought of consequences which could secure the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the people of India, with which the interest of the people of England is also combined. To arrive at a fixed principle of sound policy we must not shrink from the exposition of truth and facts. Treaties contracted with several native States by the British Government exist to show that they were not vassals of the British power, as most of them were of the Emperor of Delhi. They were not appointed as viceroys and governors of provinces by the British, as they were by the Emperor. His Highness the Nizam, the ex-Nawabs of Bengal and Oudh, and several other Rajahs, &c., were the vassals of the Emperor of Delhi. And in like manner their Highnesses the Scindhia, Holkar,

Gaikwar, and some others, were vassals of the Sattara Raja and the Peishwa. It may be argued that the Peishwa was conquered by the British; and therefore the native States of Scindhia, Holkar, Gaikwar, &c., ought to be viewed as vassals of the British. But the contract of treaties, offensive and defensive, with those princes, before and after the conquest of the Peishwa, entirely changes the feature and upsets that theory. That they were for a certain purpose treated by the British Government as sovereigns, with constant mention of heirs and successors to their States, is unquestionable. At the same time it is also unquestionable that the power of the British has now reached to that height, that it is paramount, minus the jurisdiction of the Emperor of Delhi and the Peishwa over their own created feudatories. The reason for the want of that jurisdiction is self-evident, that the one had reached to the summit of the paramount power by direct means, whilst the other by indirect; and therefore the policy has been without a fixed principle, acknowledged by the universal law of nations, and consequently full of chaos, interfering when it suited immediate interests, and leaving the States alone when they were being plunged deep into anarchy, till the self-imposed alternative rested itself on the policy of annexation. It is argued that the word "international" as applied to India, is distinct from the word "international" as applied to Europe. But India cannot be made an exception to the rule to which "the whole human race" is subject, if civilization and regeneration of India, as well as the happiness and prosperity of all concerned therein, be the laudable aim of the British. The more we think of this subject, the less we feel inclined now to sit still and exclude India from that benefit to which circumstances have led her, through the means of the British themselves. Well, then, let us know what is meant by the word "international" and the word "nation," and whether they are susceptible of any distinction "as applied to Europe and as applied to India." Here, for their elucidation, I intended quoting several passages from the 'Institutes of International Law,' by Richard Wyldman, published in 1849, which are pertinent to the subject; but, fearing I might intrude upon the kindness and patience of the meeting to hear me, since this has already gone to some length, I have restricted myself to a few quotations applicable to the following six important points:—First. "Of such power and pre-eminence is the law of nations, that no particular nation can lawfully prejudice the same by any their several laws and ordinances, more than a man, by his private resolutions, the law of the whole commonwealth or state wherein he liveth."* Secondly. That every native State "possessing territories, and subject only to its own laws, is an independent State."† Thirdly. That "relative imbecility" of native States, "whether permanent or casual, gives no additional right to the more powerful neighbour; and any advantage seized on that ground is mere usurpation."‡ Fourthly. That the argument of those who question the title of sovereignty of the native States on account of their former allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi and the Peishwa, is futile; for "treaties offensive and defensive" have been contracted with the British Government, which apply with equal force to the one as to the other. Fifthly. That the native States do enjoy and "exercise the internal and permanent rights of sovereignty within their own territories." But "the external and occasional rights of sovereignty, which consist of the employment of public ministers and consuls; of the rights of concluding treaties" with other States but the British; "of the rights of reprisals, and the right of making war,§ are vested by the growth of time and circumstances in the paramount power, the British Government, under an unequal alliance." Nevertheless, "so long as a State retains the right of self-government, it does not forfeit its independence by contracting an unequal alliance, whereby some pre-eminence is conceded to its ally; nor by becoming a member of a federal union; nor by paying tribute; nor by accepting the protection of a foreign power. Nor do several States cease to be independent by being under one head; the proof of which is that on the extinction of the reigning family, the sovereignty reverts severally to each State."|| Sixthly. That the native States, in the exercise of their jurisdiction over their own territories, possess the right of punishment. And "the right of punishment is a right of sovereignty; it applies only to subjects, and has no place amongst equals. It is a vain imagination to suppose that one independent State can, under any circumstances, have the right to punish another, or to punish anyone that is not subject to its jurisdiction."¶ These quotations convey their authority with that force and weight that

* Vol. I., p. 31.

† Vol. I., p. 39.
‡ P. 67.§ Vol. I., p. 48.
¶ P. 61.

§ P. 33.

it would be superfluous to say more. . . . The integrity of the native States requires to be most scrupulously preserved, not more for the preservation of those States themselves than for the consolidation of that vigour, strength, and purity of the British name and power, which has now taken its permanent root in that once civilized country, and which is essential for the good of the whole body politic. Now it remains for me to say what should be done in cases of grievances of the character which Mr. Prichard has brought to the notice of the Association. Were we to look into the causes of such grievances, they will be found existing on both sides, and their origin in the want of a fixed policy. That policy has been in a great measure commenced during the government of Lord Canning; but there is something still wanting, and hence the cause of grievances. Therefore, now, the policy of the British Government in India should be so based and perfected that among 200 millions of India, a handful of the British can hold their own with paramount authority, and love and admiration of their allies and neighbours. . . . The arrival of every mail tells us that the condition of the native States in India is not so dormant as it used to be a decade or two ago. They are striving most admirably, and even vying with each other, for the good government of their respective countries. . . . In this work the British Government cannot leave them behind. This is a time of regeneration in its infancy, and it has to arrive at maturity, and requires a gentle, guiding hand. And also, till then, the greatest solicitude and watchfulness should be evinced in the selection and continuance of the representatives of the paramount power accredited to native Courts. Men of strength of mind and force of character, as some few ministers of native States at the present time, are not always to be found capable of reconciling the conflicting claims of the British Government and the rights of their own sovereigns. Hence the danger of provoking disloyal feelings towards the paramount power, instead of rendering it an object to be revered and supported. With all these preliminaries, what I would propose, instead of Mr. Prichard's "International Tribunal," presided over by judges nominated by the paramount power, is a device somewhat similar in idea, but quite different in character. He disqualifies the native States from the benefit of the "international law;" whereas I maintain that no reason, nor a sound policy, could ever justify such an act. The more I think of the status of the native States, the nature of their alliance with the British Government, and the requirements for the permanency of the British power in India, the more I feel convinced that the "international law" is the only law which can give security and peace to the paramount power and the native States. For any anomaly, quarrel, or anarchy in the internal affairs of native States which may require correction, "the general consent" of the native States should be taken. Such cases ought not to be disposed of or treated upon by the sole authority of the paramount power. For this purpose, the formation of a State Convention, consisting of those sovereigns who can be termed "Independent States," exercising jurisdiction over their own territories, would be the most desirable and expedient device. Such convention should be held at the seat of the Government of India, under the presidency of the Viceroy of Her Majesty the Queen. It should be held at the request or instance of the paramount power, or any sovereign of an "independent State." The sovereign should take a part in its deliberations in person or by an accredited agent or representative. There should be a quorum to give authority to its decision. Such decisions should be made final and subject to no appeal; but to meet the circumstances of the time and previous incidents, subject to the royal assent of Her Majesty in England in the same manner as the Acts of Parliament and the acts of the Secretaries of State are subject. I think such a measure would give relief to many anxieties that may still be present in the minds of all those concerned in or affected by it.

Mr. R. C. SAUNDERS said, the princes and chiefs of India may be compared in number and in power to the sovereigns and princes of the whole of Europe; they are above the law—the ordinary law of the land I mean—but though like the sovereigns of Europe, they are exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of justice, their very existence is insecure, they depend for their freedom from persecution on the will of a Government official, whom they are prohibited from propitiating by presents or other kind acts. If a suttee takes place in their territory, though without their authority, they are held responsible, and punished by some public degradation. When a dispute arises between them their position is one of painful humiliation, from which they have no relief but what it may chance to suit the views of the Government for the time being to grant, and which in granting is generally accom-

panied by some act on the part of the Government both vexatious and irritating in its nature to one or other of the disputants. In disputes between the Indian Government and the princes, the position is more humiliating; the iron rule of the British is only intelligible to those chiefs in its unbending harshness and severity. Only imagine what would follow if the noblemen of this comparatively small country had no House of Lords, and were dependent on the mere will of a foreigner of strange and repulsive habits for their continuance. A tribunal such as advocated for by Mr. Prichard cannot be long withheld. The means of communication are such now in India, and the eyes of the princes are being directed to the good policy of uniting together, that if something is not done for them in the manner suggested, we need not be surprised if we should see a repetition of that memorable scene which resulted in the firm and lasting establishment of our rights as Englishmen upwards of 600 years ago—I speak of the Magna Charta, the bulwark of our rights as Englishmen. One of the glorious rights then acknowledged and obstinately maintained ever since, were a solemn engagement on the part of the King in these words: "We will not deny, or delay, or sell right or justice to any of our subjects." The monarchical Government of England in the time of King John was less absolute than the despotic and arbitrary power which the Governor-General of India wields over the native princes.

Can anyone say, who has any knowledge of the history of the fallen princes of India, that justice has not been denied to them, delayed, or sold to them? Their inborn jealousy and hatred of each other, their fondness for pomp and show, and for outwying each other in struggles for getting their exaggerated notions of superiority recognized by the ruling power, together with their want of education and ignorance of history, has kept them apart hitherto, and made them an easy prey to unjust and arbitrary treatment; but the day must come when they will sink their petty jealousies and form a powerful and irresistible combination. It is better for the Government to be warned beforehand and give them what, if not given, they will, as our barons of old did, exact, and perhaps they too will use the same forcible arguments.

Another article of that celebrated Charter is that "no free man shall be divested of his liberties or be hurt in his person or property without judgment of his peers in due course of law." One would think that these native princes being under British rule, from the moment they were brought under that rule were as much entitled to the benefit of English law as other British subjects. For some purposes they are saddled with all the responsibilities of British subjects—they swear allegiance to the Queen, they are punished for treason and rebellion, and have all the penalties but none of the benefits attending subjects of the Crown. Their cry for justice and a proper tribunal is ignored; they are deposed, degraded, deprived of their property, and imprisoned without trial, but by the mere stroke of a pen. If instances are wanted, look at the cases of the King of Oudh, the Carnatic Nabob, the Nagpore and Tanjore families. The only appeal they have open to them is to a Parliament of some 400 working gentlemen, not 50 of whom have ever been to India or would tell the difference between a Nabob and a Rajah. In conclusion, I beg to quote a few lines from a letter to Lord Stanley, dated February, 1865, written by one who, to judge from his writing, is an able and experienced authority on these subjects.

"It is a singular fact, but nevertheless true, that those princes who have manfully fought and resisted the British arms in India, and refused to be deluded by treaties and other solemn (save the mark!) engagements, have been treated most generously; thus, for instance, Tippoo Sultan's family of Mysore, Dhuleep Sing of the Punjab, Scindia-Holkar.

"On the other hand, those who have submitted to indignities, breaches of faith, and forcible deprivation of rights, have been gradually exterminated.

"A tribunal such as will prevent this state of things for the future is much desired and cannot be justly refused."

Mr. HORMUSJEE PESTONJEE wished to correct an impression into which Mr. Prichard and Mr. Dadabhai seemed to have fallen at the last meeting, *viz.* that he (Mr. Pestonjee) in the remarks he had made on Mr. Prichard's paper, had said that an international tribunal was altogether impracticable. What he said was, that the difficulties in the way of carrying out such a tribunal would be very great in practice, one difficulty being the formation of the tribunal itself, and that of appointing judges that would be satisfactory to both parties; and another difficulty being the code of laws that should govern the procedure and the conduct of such a tribunal. Mr.

Prichard and Mr. Dadabhai had both answered those objections by saying that the rules of common sense would in such cases be sufficient. He contended that, were we to proceed upon that basis, all legislation would be utterly futile and absurd. Mr. Gladstone, when he brought in the *Irish Land Bill*, did not come to the House and say, Disputes between landlord and tenant shall be hereafter decided according to the rules of common sense. In fact, the necessity felt for legislation on such matters in the whole civilized world showed that the rules of common sense were not sufficient in dealing justice between different classes of men; therefore, a code of laws was absolutely necessary. A tribunal must have laws to govern it. Mr. Prichard seemed to think that all the evil results arising from the relations between the native States and the English Government, arose from the fact that every Political Agent was surrounded by a body of men called the *Amla*. He (Mr. Pestonjee) thought that that was visiting the sins of the fathers on the children. If the head of a department was himself a dishonest, weak man, it was natural that the subordinates should be utterly corrupt. If the Englishman at the head of the department was an honest, upright man, capable of discharging the duties of his position, he contended that the *Amla* would not lead to any of those evil results pointed out by Mr. Prichard.

KAZI SHAHABUDIN said that so far as his experience went—and he had himself been one of the *Amla*—there was not the least foundation for the suggestion of dishonesty on the part of heads of departments. The Political Agents were, as a rule, upright and able officers. At the same time there were certain serious defects in the present system of dealing with cases arising in or concerning native States. First, the Political Agent at a native court was an agent of Government, and a diplomatist. His diplomatic character was incompatible with the right discharge of judicial functions. A second defect was the secrecy with which all proceedings were carried on. The Political Agent being the sole medium of communication with Government, and their adviser, he often succeeded in impressing his own views on them. Want of procedure was another defect, which combined with the other shortcomings of the present system, or rather the want of a system, led to failure of justice, and long delays in the disposal of business. An inquiry into a case was often a patchwork, instituted at different times by different persons in different ways. It was not unusual to see clerks on twenty or thirty rupees a month taking depositions not in the presence of officers who might have ultimately to deal with the cases, and putting the deponents leading questions. Cases were bandied from office to office, and thus subjected to long delays. The next serious defect was the character of *Amla*, who were generally given to corrupt practices and intrigues. But for this the heads of departments were to blame. They raised men of no education and moral training to places of trust and power. Men of education and independent character had hitherto been as it were jealously excluded from political establishments. He (Kazi Shahabudin) thought that these defects in the present mode of dealing with cases that came before political officers might be easily removed if Government saw the requirements of the present times and moved out of old grooves. As to Mr. Prichard's suggestion of a tribunal composed exclusively of Europeans, he could not say that such a tribunal would answer. One important point to be borne in mind was, that if Political Agents were deprived of all judicial functions, they would certainly be reduced to a position in which they could not command that influence which they now exercised for the good of native States. If a tribunal was to be appointed, it must be a mixed one of Government nominees and the nominees of parties concerned. There was no doubt that something that might ensure purity from bias, and method and dispatch in the disposal of cases, was urgently required. He would, in conclusion, suggest that on this question the leading native chiefs should be consulted, for notwithstanding the evils of the existing way of transacting business in the political department, he was not sure that the establishment of a tribunal would not be looked upon by them as an encroachment on their position.

MR. MAXWELL TURNBULL said, he entirely disagreed with what had been said by Mr. Hormusjee Pestonjee as to the character of his fellow-countrymen. He thought there was one mass of corruption among the whole native population of India. He had never met with a man he could trust, and he had had experience of a great number of them. On the other hand, he believed Englishmen, taking them generally, to be the highest-minded body of men in the world. Those who had to decide cases in India were surrounded by the *Amla*, and all the business had to be conducted through those men; and he never knew a law-suit decided, however just the case of

the suitor might have been, in which it was not necessary to see those native officials. He never could see the necessity of the Amla; he could not see why the resident in a native State could not go to the Nawab himself, and do his business himself, instead of having twenty natives about him, intervening between the native chief and himself, making money by wholesale, and utterly destroying the *prestige* of the English Government and the English character. He suggested that a committee should be formed for the purpose of collecting information upon the administration of justice in India from persons who had had experience in India.

Perhaps it is only fair that I should qualify these remarks by mentioning that my experience only extended to *Bengal*, and that it was obtained many years ago, since which time I am pleased to hear the native character has become much elevated, and the means of the poorer class much increased; I should be extremely sorry to do them injustice in any form, as my experience led me to believe that fairly dealt with they were like children.

Colonel RATHBORNE.—The question was the establishment of a tribunal, to meet the oppression to which the natives were undoubtedly subject at present. With regard to questions arising between independent rajahs and independent sovereigns, where the Government was not a party, he thought such questions would always be settled by arbitration, and the common sense of the public would go with the decision of the arbitrator. At present, if a subject of the British Government in India had a grievance against the British Government cognizable by the judicial tribunals, he could bring it before the Courts in India, and then he could bring it by appeal to this country; but where it was a question between an independent rajah, though entirely of a judicial nature, affecting his rights or his property, it was treated as a political question, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had no power to interfere in it, unless specially referred to them by the Crown, and such cases never were referred to them by the Crown; therefore, practically, there was no appeal whatever in such cases. He thought in such cases there should be an appeal to the highest authority. The history of the Privy Council afforded an example of what might be done in cases not now cognizable by the Judicial Committee. Originally the Privy Council took cognizance of appeals in respect of grievances suffered by persons in the colonies, settlements, and plantations of England, not necessarily judicial cases, which appeals were referred by the Crown to a Committee of the Council. Afterwards the Judicial Committee assumed the form it does now, *viz.* a tribunal for the decision of appeals in simply judicial cases; and it had often been suggested whether cases not now cognizable by the judicial tribunals ought not to be submitted to the Privy Council. He thought it would be hopeless to get the Indian Department of the Government to consent to that, but there existed within the Indian Council itself a body strictly analogous to the original constitution of the Privy Council, and he thought it would be very satisfactory to the public if any person aggrieved were allowed to present his petition to the Secretary of State or to the Crown to be referred to the Judicial Committee of the Council, that the Judicial Committee should hear the parties by their counsel in the face of day, before the reporters of the newspapers and before the public, and that the Committee having come to a judgment upon it, should then report it to the Secretary of State for India.

The CHAIRMAN said that the question before the meeting was one of the deepest importance, not only to those litigants who had grievances to bring before the Government, but as regarded the stability of our empire in India. The question was whether there was anything now in the state of India in its relation to England which justified such a radical departure from all the principles of justice and public morality as to allow one party to sit in final and unquestioned judgment upon matters in which its own interest was concerned, which was the position the Government now occupied in the cases in question. One could understand that in former times political necessity may have justified a departure from the ordinary principles of justice, but that political necessity no longer existed, and there was nothing to justify the Government at the present moment in violating the principles laid down in its own regulations; for Government had, by its own regulations, placed itself in the same position as individual litigants, and declared itself subject to the ordinary courts in matters involving the smallest amounts. What was there, he asked, to make the extraordinary ~~position~~ ^{assertion} that, while the Government admitted the right of a woman, or a minor, or a man to enter into litigation with it about five begahs of land, it should, on the mere plea of political necessity, take to itself the adjudication, and final decision by a secret tribunal,

of matters involving millions of money, and the *prestige*, the power, and the character and authority of native chieftains and nobles? He thought that it was the duty of the Society, looking to the real interests of the people of India, and the real interests of the Government of India, and to the effect which these *ex-parte* judicial investigations produced upon the loyalty and affection of the people, if they found it in accordance with the feeling of the native nobility, to strive to attain that which he believed was very near attainment, because he was aware that many members of the Indian Council themselves felt that the existing state of things was unsatisfactory—*viz.* a more public and a more impartial tribunal than that which they now had. As to the character of the *Amla* (which only affected this question in so far as it was a subject connected with the scandal and discredit which attached to the present system), no one had a greater belief in the rascality of the *Amla* than he had; but he did not blame the *Amla*, but the Government, who put poor uneducated men in situations of influence without giving them sufficient pay. In the cases which now came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which were heard by the first judges of the land, and in which the most able counsel were employed, where everything was conducted in open day, no one suggested that there was ever anything like secret intrigue, or that attempts to bribe were ever made by any of the parties; but, when a political case came before the Secretary of State, from the very commencement of it to the end there was nothing but secret intrigue, bribery, unworthy schemes and unworthy machinations. Wherever there was a secret tribunal, whose proceedings were not before the world at all, encouragement was given to every species of intrigue, discreditable to the parties concerned, and reflecting discredit to a great extent upon the very highest officers concerned in the decision. Therefore, whether we looked at the important principle of the necessity of the public adjudication of all cases between the Government and the natives of India, or on the collateral abuses brought about by the present secret system, the practice of deciding great cases between the Government and its subjects in India was one fraught with the most disastrous consequences, and one which would really tend to very great future mischief. If it was said that such a reference to a public tribunal would lower the *prestige* of the British Government, he answered that if the *prestige* of the British Government depended on such factitious props and supports as that, they were not worthy the position they held. The true foundation of our rule in India was the trust and confidence of the whole Indian people, whether nobles or ryots, in our honesty and our honour.

Mr. PRICHARD, in replying, thought that it would be very advisable that the Association should take some action in this matter; and he suggested that a memorial should be drawn up by the Council, or by a committee, and laid before the Secretary of State, pointing out the evil and suggesting a remedy. One remedy had been suggested by Colonel Rathborne—*viz.* that the Secretary of State should act as the Crown acts with reference to cases that are sent to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—that is to say, that he should refer the cases that came before him to a committee of the Indian Council, to be heard before them in open court. Another remedy, which appeared to him to be a preferable one in some respects, was that the Judicial Committee, as it now existed, should exercise jurisdiction over political cases on such cases being referred to it by the Crown.

Mr. DADABHAI said the most important difficulty or grievance was the imperfect or secret investigation of cases at the commencement, and this particularly required a remedy. A public investigation in the first instance was as great, if not a greater, necessity than a public appeal here, or otherwise the appeal would be vitiated by the defects of the first imperfect or one-sided evidence. He also suggested that, considering the importance and difficulties of the subject, it was desirable that some more public discussion should take place both in India and here before the Association took any practical step, especially when persons like Sir LeGrand Jacob consider further deliberation necessary.

Thanks were voted to Mr. Prichard and the Chairman.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, FRIDAY, MAY 13, 1870.

C. WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

MISS CARPENTER gave an address

On the Work done by her for Female Education in India.

THE CHAIRMAN, in introducing Miss Carpenter to the meeting, said that Miss Carpenter had visited our Indian possessions, and had made herself acquainted with the wants of that, in some measure unknown, part of Her Majesty's dominions. He said "unknown," because he was afraid that we were a little too apt in this country to let our charity begin and stay at home, and were apt to take not quite so large and influential a part as we ought to do in the well-being of our fellow-subjects in other parts of the world. India had suffered from this narrowness of feeling on the part of the English people, and he thought our deepest gratitude was due to those who, throwing aside the comforts of home life in this country, went so far from their own homes in order to give their aid in the work of education.

MISS CARPENTER.—Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel grateful for the opportunity which has been afforded me by the East India Association of making known to you some of the objects and the results of three visits to India, which I have now completed. I first visited the shores of India to show sympathy with our Hindoo fellow-subjects, and to learn the wants of female education in that country. I have always believed, and my three visits have confirmed me in that belief, that the British Government are extremely anxious to do everything that lies in their power to promote the welfare of India. But there is something more required than good government, there is that sympathy which can spring only from personal acquaintance with each other. We in England and they in India are so thoroughly absorbed in the vast interests of our respective countries, that we have little time in England to know much of India, and in India very little is known of the proceedings of this country. Still more than that, the English who are in India have very little personal communication with the natives of that country, besides what springs from business engagements. This is partly owing to the difference in our social habits and manners. I believe, however, from my own experience and what I have myself seen, that if we were less reserved, and more ready to enter into friendly and social intercourse with the natives, we should find admirable results. On my last visit, I had the pleasure of being present at a *soirée* arranged by the Commissioner of Nagpore, which was as complete a success as any party which could be given in England to English people. There were assembled the nobility of Nagpore, some of the oldest in the country, native professors from Calcutta, and learned men from the Bombay Presidency, all associating together with English gentlemen and ladies in the most friendly manner, and forming in groups for conversation and agreeable recreation exactly as would be done in our country. If such *soirées* were more frequent, a great deal of excellent feeling would arise from them.

With respect to female education, it has long been known to us that enormous difficulties have existed in that direction, and that until lately the natives of the country were not anxious for the education of their ladies. I had, however, been led to believe by native gentlemen who had visited our country, that any English lady who went out solely from friendly intentions, without interference of any kind, would be gladly welcomed; and I felt it therefore a duty, as it was a pleasure, to go to India for such a purpose. I did not go with the expectation of producing any apparent results; I did not go expecting to establish institutions, but I went to learn what were the special wants of female education, and what could be done to help native gentlemen in the work which they were desiring to undertake. I say native gentlemen, for it is evident that no education can be given to the ladies of India unless the gentlemen themselves desire it; and it was on account of their earnest desire that I resolved to go. It will occur to many that the difficulty arising from want of knowledge of the language would be a great obstacle to my success, but I did not find it so. I was unacquainted with any Eastern language, but I found among all the educated Hindoos such a perfect knowledge of English, that I almost forgot that my own language was not their mother tongue.

My first visit in India was to Ahmedabad. My first inspection of the schools at Ahmedabad showed me at once the great obstacle to the improvement of female education in India, namely, the want of female teachers. Before proceeding further, I must guard myself from being supposed to undervalue the efforts of the missionaries, from not here dwelling on their great and successful efforts in diffusing education in India. I have, however, thought it right myself to act at all times on the Government principle of non-interference in religious and social customs. While I desire at all times to make Christianity the spring of my own actions, I devoted myself to the special work of female education, and to assist in removing from the native population the grand barriers to its improvement and diffusion. I was careful then not to infringe on the religious liberty of the Hindoos; nor, as a visitor, did I think it right to interfere with their social customs. I know, indeed, that the evil of many of them, especially the early marriages of the girls, they strongly feel, and earnestly desire to remove.

Having then seen, to my surprise, in the first school I went to that there were no female teachers, I soon learned from the native inspectors and other highly intelligent men whom I had the pleasure of meeting, that this had long been felt to be their great difficulty, and, at the same time, that they did not in any way see the means of removing it. They had gone on year after year, feeling that they had attained a point beyond which they could not improve. For nearly twenty years the school at Ahmedabad had been established, and it is an interesting and rather remarkable fact that in Ahmedabad, Surat, and Bombay the whole of the female education is what may be called indigenous, and the date of the commencement of those schools was nearly identical in all those three cities. But they began to see that while little girls had been at these schools successively year after year, yet there was no decided improvement in the whole of the female population. The reason was obvious—through the customs of the country the girls were married (we should call it betrothed) at the age, very often, of six or seven, most frequently eight or nine, or ten, and in some few cases, eleven; they were then obliged to leave the school altogether, as it is not proper, according to the custom of the country, for those little girls, when betrothed, to be in a school conducted by male teachers. Therefore the little children had to be removed when we should consider that their education had scarcely begun. Besides that, the teachers had never learnt the system of female education which we adopt. We know perfectly well that infant schools are quite different from juvenile schools. In the former, amusement is intermixed with instruction, pleasant and entertaining ways being adopted of communicating the rudiments of knowledge, and in every way efforts are made to develop the infant mind. In India there is nothing of the kind. The young ladies are withdrawn early with their minds quite undeveloped; they are soon plunged into domestic cares, and forget the little they have learned; they thus grow up to be mothers, very little superior to what their mothers were before them. Native gentlemen, therefore, felt that something was wanting before any improvement could be made, and this was a normal school for training female teachers. This subject having once engaged our attention, frequent conferences took place, and it was well considered in all its bearings. We saw that the difficulties were great. When the Government resolved to establish male normal schools, with the view of preparing native teachers, there were already a number of native educated young men prepared to receive additional instruction, and to be specially trained for teachers. Besides, it was possible for native gentlemen who were educated to go over to England and learn improved methods of training. The principal of the normal school at Ahmedabad had been in England, had visited various normal schools, and had learned how to train the students. But to establish a female normal school we must obtain trained female teachers from England, for it was improbable that any suitable ones could be found in India; certainly no native female teachers who could instruct in methods of teaching, or who could be placed at the head of such an institution. Then, where were the students? Educated young natives were already prepared for the male normal schools. There were no educated women who could be employed as teachers, if trained. Besides, if we were content with perfectly ignorant ones, where were we to look even for those? because the customs of the country threw a difficulty in the way. The only class of persons that appeared likely to be available would be the widows, because these, being removed from their former position, and often thrown into great difficulties from not having a suitable provision for life, might be available for that purpose, and themselves be much benefited. The obstacles and difficulties, which all who know anything of

India will readily imagine, were such as at first to discourage all efforts. Those Hindoo girls who had been taught in the missionary boarding schools might have been very valuable, but unfortunately there exists so strong a prejudice against native converts that, however well trained, it was believed that the employment of them would endanger our undertaking. In every part of the empire which I visited I obtained the opinions on this subject of intelligent native gentlemen, with the view of laying the matter before the Government.

In each Presidency I found a very different condition of female education. In the ancient cities of Ahmedabad and Surat, where female education had been long recognized, a much greater degree of liberty was allowed to native ladies than is usual in India. In the former place they came to visit me, not only at the houses of native gentlemen, but even at the collector's residence; and at the latter they came in numbers through the streets, to meet me in the school-room. On my last visit I was surprised to find native gentlemen and ladies assembled together to receive a call from me. In Bombay itself, remarkable progress has been made, and a very remarkable state of things exists, which is perfectly different from anything in Bengal. There, nearly twenty years ago, the educated native gentlemen who had been brought up in the Bombay College, and who afterwards formed a Students' Literary and Scientific Society, feeling the value of education themselves, were extremely anxious that their wives and daughters and female relatives should not remain in the state of dense ignorance in which they then were. It was a very daring undertaking on their part; they were considered to be sapping the very foundations of society. It was supposed that the young ladies would have no chance of marriage if they learned to read; and I have been told by native gentlemen engaged in the work, that they were even hissed in the streets, especially by women, who supposed there was a plot against them. Now, those gentlemen (one of whom is the Secretary of this Association) devoted themselves most earnestly to that work of female education, together with the mother of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and other Parsee ladies, who fully sympathized in the movement. But knowing the strong prejudice which existed in the minds of the native population against female education, and feeling that if they had any help from Government there would be a strong suspicion that there was some plot against them,—some attempt to undermine their social position, or some other dangers,—they resolved, and most properly, that they would not receive any help from Government; that the whole movement should be carried on by themselves. They struggled on most nobly, and worked together, Parsees and Hindoos. You all know the name of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, whose opulence and benevolence are celebrated all over the world. He established a set of schools, and other benevolent Parsees did the same. The Hindoos emulated them, and established also a number of schools. They are not so rich or so powerful as the Parsees, and the schools have not flourished so well; but, at the same time, efforts are being made by them, without any help from the Government, the whole being a purely spontaneous native movement.

In the Madras Presidency the case is very different. There highly benevolent and energetic missionaries, who devoted themselves most nobly to the cause of improving the native population, established a number of excellent girls' schools. They had immense difficulties at the beginning, and even made a little present to each girl to induce her to come. Gradually, however, they were able to cease making presents, and at the time of my visit the children even paid a small sum for their education; in Bombay the education is perfectly free. The ordinary mission girls' schools are boarding schools, where it is evident that a much greater influence can be exercised on the girls, and a higher education imparted, than in the day schools. But the numerous day schools for girls in Madras were all of them, I believe, originally established, and are almost entirely managed by missionaries; in one of these I saw some native teachers employed, while the daughters of the house were also engaged in teaching classes. These schools received a grant in aid from Government.

In Calcutta a very different state of things prevails; there the benevolent Mr. Bethune, in order to promote female education among the higher classes of Hindoos, erected for it a magnificent building; and he himself supported the school during his life. Dr. Duff also established a large girls' school, and his name is held in the highest reverence in Calcutta by all, whether English or natives, and many owe their whole education to his exertions; he was the first who originally induced the missionaries to pay their chief attention to schools as the means of improving the natives. I regret to say that I saw in Calcutta extremely little effort for female

education among the natives; in fact, I am not aware of any school of importance established by the natives themselves in Calcutta. The Government has been in the habit of helping them to the utmost. We sometimes find that too much fostering rather slackens personal effort; and I think this is the case in Calcutta. In another respect, however, this is much in advance of the other parts of the country: there the Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, who visited England, was the leader in India of pure Theistic worship more than forty years ago. He first broke the bonds of superstition; he was persecuted by his family, and exiled from his home; but he succeeded in establishing pure theistic worship in Calcutta, where he founded and endowed a place of worship for the one true God. He came to England, where he died, to our great regret. What he did was not completely lost, though for some time it did not appear as if much impression had been made. After a time, however, the movement was revived. I need not enter into any account of it, because the gentleman is present who may be regarded as the head of it, Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen. I found continually throughout my journey the gentlemen who were advanced in their religious opinions, who dared to throw off the shackles of idolatry, and openly to renounce it, were those who were most ready to treat their wives as equals, and bring them forward in all respects as far as the customs of society permitted. In Calcutta, then, among the Brahmos or Theists I found an advance in many respects beyond what I had seen in other parts of the country. I may refer especially to one high-caste Brahmin gentleman, Sasipada Banerjee, who has borne excommunication with perfect equanimity, and who has devoted himself in the most remarkable manner to the elevation of the mass of his countrymen. Besides conducting divine worship every Sunday, he has established a girls' school, a Social Improvement Society, a Temperance Society, a dispensary, and the last account I had of his proceedings was that he had assembled together 200 workmen, in a hall belonging to a large factory, for Sunday evening lectures, in order to instruct them, and to awaken in them a desire for improvement. Native gentlemen so exerting themselves for their countrymen can benefit them more by taking such action than any Englishman. At the same time it is most important that English gentlemen should sympathize and co-operate with any native who thus exerts himself for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. Mr. Banerjee has received such co-operation and sympathy. I may mention another native gentleman in the Bombay Presidency, Mr. Vaman Abaji Moduk, who has emancipated himself from idolatry, and who proudly assured me that his wife has the same privileges in all respects that any English lady has in her home. That gentleman has taken a course which, I believe, is unique in the country, and I am happy to mention it in the presence of so many native gentlemen, because I hope it may stimulate others to do the same, *viz.* he has devoted himself to the visiting the prisoners in gaol, with a view to educate, improve them, and sympathize with them. That is so common in England, that it may not strike those who do not know India, but those who do will highly appreciate the effort. That much good has been done to the prisoners by his efforts has been testified by the superintendent of the gaol. I had the pleasure of being present on one occasion, and saw the earnest attention with which the prisoners listened to him. When the prisoners received his first visit, 300 were collected together before him and his two friends. Many of them burst into tears when they found that they had come from sympathy with them, and that they really cared for them, though in so degraded a condition. This gentleman, of course, sympathizes with female education; he also regularly conducts religious worship for those enlightened persons who care to avail themselves of it. I may state that he, and, I believe, the Brahmos, though they do not receive the divine authority of our Lord, yet generally reverence his character, and highly esteem our sacred writings.

Miss CARPENTER here asked the meeting to allow her to break off her narrative for a few minutes.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, in the interval, gave a short sketch of the state of female education and its progress in the Presidency of Bombay. As Miss Carpenter had told the meeting, twenty years ago a few students in Bombay undertook to give instruction to girls at their own houses as voluntary teachers. After twenty years the result was that, in the schools in Bombay alone, instruction was now given to about 1600 or 1700 girls, both Hindoos and Parsees. Having been one of those who initiated the movement in Bombay, he could testify to the correctness of the history which Miss Carpenter had given of the progress of female education in the Bombay Presidency. Though the movement was spontaneous on the part of the natives, and though they

took every possible care to avoid seeking for any assistance from the Government, still they received very strong sympathy and encouragement from English gentlemen, especially Sir Erskine Perry, who was always ready to give his help in every possible way. It was the great want of female teachers which made the aid afforded by Miss Carpenter of so much value. Male teachers only could be got for the female schools, and, from the fact of the schools being superintended by male teachers, the children were withdrawn from the schools as soon as they arrived at the age of ten or twelve. In estimating the benefit of such aid as that given by Miss Carpenter, it was necessary to look not only at the palpable and visible results, but to remember that, as in every great effort, time must be allowed for the seed sown to germinate and to bring forth fruit. He thought that the natives of India would read with gratification the account of the meeting to-night, and would see that there was such a manifestation of sympathy and good feeling towards them on the part of English ladies and gentlemen. Crowded as the meeting was, it would have been still more crowded but for the fact that many who would otherwise have attended had previous engagements, and the East India Association could only give them a short notice of the meeting.

MISS CARPENTER, in resuming, said,—In carrying out this work, I need not tell you how acceptable was any help from either Englishmen or natives. The British Government naturally hesitated to give any pecuniary support to female normal schools, not from any unwillingness to help any onward movement, but on account of their objection to do anything that might appear in any way to interfere with the social manners and customs of the natives. To take any action with respect to the female portion of the native community was a most delicate matter. Eventually, however, the Government made a grant for the establishment of a female normal school. The plan which I proposed was this: that a well-trained certificated mistress should go over from this country who should be able to train both natives and English female students to good methods of teaching; next, that English ladies who desired to go over for that purpose should assist in the work when trained, and prepare to be themselves superintendents of native girls' schools, where they might train other native ladies, as pupil teachers are trained in England. I hoped to find eventually European ladies resident in the country who might have a knowledge of the vernacular, and who might therefore more quickly be trained to teach. As those who commenced the work with me understood English only, the question was how to communicate a knowledge of the methods of teaching to the natives? We acted on this plan; we began with a Parsee school, the managers of which wished our help. The mistress gave a lesson in the English style to a class. A master in the school, who understood English well, was present, and he reproduced the lesson to the class in the presence of other native teachers. Thus the children had the lesson in the manner in which we are accustomed to give it. The master and native teachers learned the English method, while the English ladies present learned also the mode of giving the lesson. This process went on with very great satisfaction for a couple of months, and I was happy to find on my last visit to Bombay that the good results remained in the schools in which we laboured. Unfortunately a dangerous illness stopped any further work on my part. One of the ladies, however, Miss Chamberlain, was able to go to Ahmedabad, and she was established in the school there as lady superintendent, at the wish of the managers. I was unable to visit it before leaving India to recruit my health at home. After my return last year I went to Ahmedabad with great anxiety to see how the work was progressing, and I was happy to find that it was going on well. That lady had had some previous training and experience in England, which proved valuable to her. She took an interest in her work, and also was learning Guzerati. The result was this, that in the first place the numbers had increased from 80 to 130, thereby giving a distinct proof that the parents regarded the presence of an English lady as valuable. In consequence of her being in the schoolroom, the children were able to remain in the school for a longer period. She introduced the infant system with the younger children. All this, of course, was on a very small scale, and could only be carried on as well as circumstances permitted, for there was not apparatus such as we have in England to carry out a complete system of infant training. The native gentlemen there, particularly the principal of the male normal school, had made such efforts that they had collected together about a dozen native ladies who were willing to be trained to be teachers. Now, I particularly desire to point out the importance of making *training to teach* a special part of that system. There have been for some years two so-called female normal schools in India, at Dacca, and at Nagpore, where native

women have been taught. It was hoped by that means that they would become teachers, but experienced persons are quite aware that the mere fact of ignorant adult women having instruction does not fit them to be teachers, and that the learning which they can acquire in a couple of years is quite inadequate to prepare them to instruct others. At the same time, it is a well-known fact, that practice in teaching, under good superintendence, assists a person in learning. No school can properly be called a normal school which consists simply of adult classes. There must be a teaching how to teach in order really to prepare persons to be teachers. The experience of nine months at Ahmedabad, and the result of it, though of course not equal to what we could have desired, was quite as much as we could reasonably expect, and was satisfactory in showing that a right system had been adopted.

Though the system I have adopted appears the true one, there are great difficulties in the way of the extension of it. Even if we had ladies properly trained and prepared to supply all the places where their services are desired in native schools, and if we had ample funds, there would be this insuperable barrier, namely, the want of a fit abode for the lady superintendent. I could hear of no suitable residence for one. The house where the lady superintendent resides at Ahmedabad is purely exceptional. At no other place could I hear of any house where any English lady could board respectably. Until an arrangement is made to supply this want, it is impossible that the system can spread. In Bombay the same difficulty occurs. In so large a city it would have been supposed easy to find a respectable residence for a lady, but it is not so. I was myself compelled to remain at the hotel during the whole time of my recent visit. This, then, points to a want which Government only can supply, the providing a respectable residence for ladies, and giving them the protection of its sanction. I do not fear that the want of money would be an obstacle—with which, for a time, the salaries could be paid; it is simply want of proper provision for the suitable residence and protection of any English lady which is required. Under ordinary circumstances all English ladies who go out to India go either with missionaries or under the protection of gentlemen engaged in some official business. For any lady to be alone there, is a position which would not be desired by anyone. When I went out the second time, I was provided with a great quantity of valuable school apparatus of different kinds. I took with me a small museum of my own to stimulate to interest in natural history. The native mind is eminently æsthetic, and I felt quite certain that, if proper cultivation were given in this direction, much of genius would be developed. A small collection of drawings would be, I hoped, a little nucleus which would stimulate others to do the same, so that there might be eventually something to train the taste of native gentlemen and ladies. Where to deposit all these things was my great perplexity. I had intended them for an institution which I had hoped to commence, but which I was hindered from doing by my illness. I did not wish to take anything back to England, but to leave the collection where it could be useful. I proposed to my native friends to establish for them a small model girls' school, where they might be placed. It was desirable to have a house with a compound, if possible, in which the children might play, and one where there should be no other residents. It was thought impossible to find one with such requirements, but Mr. Morarjee Gokuldass, a rich merchant, who had built a small house in the beautiful garden round his magnificent dwelling, told us he would give us the house rent free for a year. He highly approved of the project, and sent his two little daughters to the school. I therefore fitted up the house neatly and suitably, with the full co-operation of the native gentlemen; in fact, without this, I could not have done anything. One gentleman, well known to many here, Mr. Crustnaro Pandurang, acted as treasurer and secretary, and did everything that was wanting in getting the house properly furnished. I have left him in charge of the school. Other native gentlemen who took a great interest in the matter have undertaken to visit it constantly and watch over it. This little school gave great satisfaction to all the native gentlemen and ladies who saw it. I greatly desire from Government that female teachers should be recognized as essential in these schools, and that the Government should regard girls' schools as having equally a right to help with boys' schools. This, I think, very important, and I would urge this on the attention of native gentlemen present. I feel sure that English ladies and gentlemen will be ready to help in this movement. They will also greatly help female education if they will here in England give as much information as possible to any Hindoo gentlemen who are here. In India they cannot see these things.

The CHAIRMAN said he knew he should only be anticipating the feeling of every one present in offering the best thanks of the meeting to Miss Carpenter for the information she had given. He had much pleasure in introducing to the meeting Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, a gentleman who had unbound one of the tightest of all the chains that bind mankind, the chains of local and national prejudice; who had come to this country in a spirit of friendship and sympathy, in the endeavour to learn with us that which we must all ultimately learn, how to get rid as much as possible of those dogmas of creed and those separating forms which rend asunder instead of uniting the great family of mankind, and who, he was sure, would not have laboured in vain in assisting towards that great union which all Christians and all those who worshipped the one true God must wish to see spread upon the earth.

BABOO KESHUB CHUNDER SEN said it gave him great pleasure to be able to bear his humble testimony in England, as he had done more than once in India, to the noble work which Miss Carpenter had done for the promotion of female education in India. The warm and philanthropic interest she had evinced in that work, the readiness with which she had risked her life and health and exposed herself to many inconveniences and hardships, entitled her not only to the lasting gratitude of the Indian nation, but to the sympathy and respect of all in England who appreciated useful work. When the first important public female school worthy the name was established by the late Mr. Bethune in the metropolis of India, during the administration of the late Lord Dalhousie, it evoked a feeling of discontent throughout the country, and excited great opposition and bitterness; but in spite of a large number of conservative and orthodox men saying, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther," the advancing waves of progress went on till at last, not only in the large cities and presidency towns, but even in the small provincial towns and villages, school after school rose up, and, in the course of a few years, not only were there scores but hundreds of little girls coming day after day in order to receive instruction in public schools in vernacular literature, in arithmetic, and in writing. In carrying out the work of female education, great impediments, some of them of an almost insuperable character, had to be overcome, and many defects had to be rectified. In a country where little girls became mothers when they would hardly be supposed in civilized countries to have attained the marriageable age, and when they became grandmothers when perhaps they ought to think of marrying, girls could receive education only for three or four years at most in a public school, their education stopping at the time when it ought to begin. This custom of premature marriage was pernicious, not only physically, but intellectually and morally considered; for the work of education was arrested when little girls, having become mothers, began to talk with ridiculous gravity of the duties they owed to their children. It was therefore absolutely necessary to supply the deficiencies in the work of education of the native girls with zenana instruction. As soon as that want was felt, many kind-hearted ladies both in India and in England took up the matter with an amount of earnestness which was very creditable to them. They combined in order to get funds, and sent out trained governesses to visit native ladies in their own houses. Zenana instruction was indispensably necessary for the real welfare of the country so long as the system of seclusion prevailed, which he felt would prevail for a considerable length of time. Another want which was deeply felt was the want of female teachers, and just at the time when that want was beginning to be felt, Miss Carpenter arrived in India. Her advent was cordially and enthusiastically hailed by those who were directing their efforts towards the improvement of the education of females in India. They knew she would help them, and she did help them. She saw the want with her own eyes. At once she saw that without a large number of well-trained native female teachers it was impossible to make female schools really useful. She therefore represented the matter to several distinguished native gentlemen in Calcutta, in Bombay, and in Madras. Many, of course, did not show their appreciation of the usefulness of the scheme. They were backward in the matter; a few, however, stepped forward manfully and assured her of their warm interest in the scheme, and their readiness to do all in their power to help her. She was then obliged to lay the matter before the Government. Unfortunately the Government also had serious misgivings as to the feasibility of the scheme, not that they were unwilling to educate native women, but they felt that it might interfere with the prejudices, and shock the feelings of the native population if they went too far in such a delicate matter; and it was not till instructions were sent out by the Secretary of State for India, that the Government began to be really in earnest

about it. It was then that the Government sanctioned a liberal grant for the purpose of establishing and supporting normal female schools in each of the Presidency towns. In Bengal hardly anything had yet been done towards the establishment of those normal schools. As Miss Carpenter had already very justly said, Bombay was far ahead of Bengal in the matter of female education. He had visited some of the best schools in Bengal and Bombay, and he could say from his own experience that there was a larger number of girls receiving public education in Bombay than in Bengal; but while Bengal did not come up to Bombay as far as regarded extent of education, Bengal was not behind Bombay in the matter of solidity and depth. Already several books had been published by native ladies of Bengal of a really valuable character; among others, a drama—a beautiful story—and some charming verses on the beauties and sublimities of creation. A periodical was also published in Bengal, to which Bengalee ladies very often sent most charming contributions, mostly verses, which native ladies took great delight in composing. Some of the best theistic hymns were from the pen of Brahma ladies. This showed that native ladies were not slow to learn. The Government having come forward with a liberal grant, it was the duty of the natives of India to co-operate with the Government in a friendly and harmonious manner, in order to give effect to the noble scheme which Miss Carpenter had suggested, and which, through the instrumentality of Government, had been realized at last in one of the Presidency towns. If full effect could be given to that project,—if a sufficient number of schools could be brought into existence, not only in the Presidency towns, but in the chief provincial cities in the North-west and in the Punjab,—India would be supplied with that which it most wanted at the present time. He hoped and trusted that those English ladies who were present would well weigh all that had been said by Miss Carpenter, and that they would all be stimulated by her example. He fully agreed with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that we must not too sanguinely look forward to actual and visible and tangible results, but we must look beneath the surface, in order to see whether or not Miss Carpenter's visits to India had produced a lasting impression on the native public mind, and on the minds of all those who were really interested in the work of female education in India.

Mr. FITZWILLIAM then took the chair.

Mr. TAYLER said that there had been of late in England very much conversation about the rights of women; but when we looked to India there could be no doubt that women had not their rights, for if there was any one right more than another to which women were entitled, it was the right of education. That man was the superior animal (though it might be ungallant to say so) was an everlasting as it was a Scriptural truth; but if man possessed that superiority, it was accompanied with a great responsibility. If that responsibility were abused, man descended from his platform and became the inferior animal of the two. And if superiority, whether of intellect, or power, or position, was really and truly given from on high to man, it should be employed, not to the degradation, but to the support and protection and enlightenment of women. On those grounds (without expressing his entire agreement with many of the sentiments expressed by Miss Carpenter, more especially those which touched on the question of religion) he acceded to the proposition of the former Chairman, in offering, and requesting the meeting to offer, their most cordial thanks to Miss Carpenter for the information she had placed before them. Female education in India was, no doubt, attended with very great difficulties, many of which had been created by the natives themselves. Early marriages, for instance, to which Keshub Chunder Sen has alluded, are due to their social institutions. While the education of native males is now the subject of very violent discussion in India, the question of female education is in its simple elementary condition; and he hoped that many ladies would be found who would follow the example of Miss Carpenter, and go forth, notwithstanding all the difficulties and all the obstructions which she had so graphically described, abandoning the luxuries and comforts of English life to devote themselves to the advancement, the enlightenment, and the elevation of their sisters in India. In conclusion, he suggested that the East India Association should record their gratitude and admiration of Miss Carpenter's philanthropic and energetic efforts to spread female education in India, and that they should, as far as they possibly could, assist her in that great work upon which she has so nobly entered.

Dr. Davis, Mr. Saunders, and other gentlemen having expressed their views, the meeting separated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 1870.

SIR BARTLE FRERE, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. W. S. FITZWILLIAM read the following Paper :—

On the Present and Future Product of Cotton in India compared with that of America and other Cotton-producing Countries.

SIR BARTLE FRERE AND GENTLEMEN,—In thus venturing to discuss so important a question as that which I am now going to lay before you, I think it due to myself to state, that in so doing I am prompted by the desire to do all that I can to promote the interests, not only of our Indian fellow-subjects, but also those of our countrymen engaged in the various branches of trade connected with that important product—cotton; and if I speak freely from my own personal experience, and give strong opinions on the subject, I hope that I shall be excused when I state that my personal knowledge of cotton-growing countries extends over rather more than forty years, and that I was for many years engaged in the cotton trade of the United States and Europe. During the periods referred to I have visited the cotton fields of Brazil, those of Turkey, Egypt, and other Levantine countries, as also those of the United States of America, and, lastly, a large portion of those of the East, including India and China.

Having thus prepared my way for stating my views upon this great question, I will now submit to you sundry facts and figures bearing upon the cotton trade of India, its future prospects, and its relative position as regards the produce of other countries; and in so doing I feel assured that all present will agree with me that, whether we regard it from a social or political point of view, its paramount importance as affecting the interests of this country and those of our great Indian Empire, must be recognized by all who desire to assist in promoting the progress and prosperity of the two countries.

I will now first speak to the position held by our own country, and the influence it necessarily exercises upon the question under consideration. In England the cotton interest, so called, has gradually obtained an important voice in the deliberations of the national councils, and has also been represented in the council of our Sovereign. Commercially and socially the progress of the interests based upon the production and use of this staple has been even greater, and, perhaps, of more importance, than politically. The importation of the raw material and its exports as manufactured goods have added millions to the trade of the country, and necessarily increased the national wealth, supplying also remunerative and steady employment to the working classes. Of its all-importance to these last, the distress and privations suffered a few years since, and even more recently in Lancashire and other cotton manufacturing districts by the stoppage of the mills consequent upon the high prices and short supply of cotton, are painful and conclusive proofs. In fact, it shows that a plentiful supply of this staple is necessary for the support of several hundred thousands of honest and hard-working people, and that its scarcity is synonymous with want, and even starvation.

In reference to the supply of the raw material from India, it is at present enough to say that extensive cotton cultivation necessarily implies the increased development of her vast agricultural resources, by the introduction of improved methods of farming more in conformity with the inventions of modern science than those now in use. It also necessitates the construction of additional canals, roads, and railways, for the purposes of irrigation and more rapid communication between the cities and towns of the several provinces, all of which lead to that increased intercourse between the several races and the peoples of India which is so necessary to their future advancement, both politically and commercially. It would be easy to pursue these arguments to greater length, but what I have thus briefly stated is enough to show that the development of cotton cultivation in India is necessarily connected with that progress which all her well-wishers have so much at heart. It is equally apparent that any encouragement which we may extend to the Indian cotton cultivators will likewise tend to strengthen those feelings of common interest between England and India which we all desire; for I need hardly say that the people of India, like any other people of the world, will naturally estimate the value of our friendship by the advan-

tages which they derive from it. Let us, therefore, do our utmost to help them in developing the vast natural riches of their country, and we shall have secured a firmer hold upon their loyalty than we can attain by treaties and manifestoes, or any other mere political demonstration. In order, however, to show conclusively what sort of future awaits the cotton trade of India, I must direct your attention to several preliminary considerations, such as, What is the present condition of the other cotton-growing countries of the world—most notably of all, of America? What are the future prospects of these countries; and what the reliable data upon which we are to base our estimate? Finally, what are the real capabilities and advantages of India; and are they such as to warrant the conclusion that India is in a position to take permanent advantage of the new channels opened to her within the last few years, or to assume a foremost place in the cotton trade of the world? I shall also have some observations to offer on the revolution likely to be made in Indian commerce by the opening of the Suez Canal—that is to say, on the probability or rather certainty of the whole of Europe becoming India's customer in the matter of cotton. I shall now give a brief sketch of the American cotton trade before and after the war, and endeavour to show, from figures as well as from certain social facts, that we cannot expect any considerable increase in the quantity now produced in that country.

Previous to the war America supplied no less than four-fifths of the cotton consumption of the world. "The circumstances under which it was produced had little occupied the thoughts of those who dealt in it, either as produce or as manufactured goods, nor did many think of the possibility of obtaining it from elsewhere. Exertions certainly had been made to encourage the improvement and growth of cotton in India, Egypt, Turkey, the West Indies, and South America. But the progress made was not great. From Egypt and the Brazils the supply was gradually increasing, but from India, Syria, Turkey, and other eastern countries, the trade with England had almost ceased. In fact, when the War of Secession broke out in the United States, England and Europe generally were dependent for their supply of cotton upon that country. The prices at which it could be profitably raised by slave labour, and the low freight at which it could be conveyed across the Atlantic, defied competition. American cotton was therefore, so far as Europe was concerned, "king." The revolution brought about in the cotton trade by the War of Secession is represented by the following estimates of imports from America, as compared with those from India, during the years from 1860 to 1865 inclusive. The estimates are of bales of 400 lbs. each.

		America.			India.
1860	.. ..	2,838,000	.. ..		422,000
1861	.. ..	2,026,000	.. ..		740,000
1862	.. ..	80,000	.. ..		805,000
1863	.. ..	145,000	.. ..		1,043,000
1864	.. ..	217,000	.. ..		1,349,000
1865	.. ..	488,000	.. ..		1,056,000

That is to say, America, from supplying as much as 82·40 per cent. in the year 1860, fell as low as 7·03 per cent. in the year 1862; whilst India rose from 12·25 per cent. in the former to 71 per cent. in the latter year. In a word, *Indian* cotton now became "king." In the year last mentioned—that is, in 1865—in discussing the question of the future supply of American cotton in the leading journal of Calcutta, I gave the following, among other reasons, for supposing that the supply would never again attain its former position:—that the total abolition of slavery, as then proclaimed by the American Government, rendered it doubtful if negro labour would ever again form an important element in the production of cotton in the United States. All those who are familiar with the character of the negro, whether of direct African birth or descent, know that he will not work for hire, except to meet his immediate necessities, certainly not in any proportion to what he did under compulsion. We have enough evidence of this in our West Indian colonies, and certainly the American negro, though born and bred in that country, has never shown himself superior in any way to those born under British rule. Of the few hundreds that have gone from America to Jamaica and Trinidad, the reverse has been proved. White labour will never be, to any appreciable amount, available for cotton cultivation. The climate of most of the cotton-growing American States is an insurmountable barrier to the employment of Europeans or North Americans in field labour. Therefore, under the most

favourable circumstances, cotton can never again be supplied from America to anything like the extent of the shipments made before the war; and as all exported must be raised for the future by free labour, at a very high rate of wages, whether paid to black or white, the prices at which it can be put down in the European markets will, in a great measure, prevent its competing, except as regards quality, with that of Indian growth.

It appears to me that this question of labour supply is the most important as regards the future condition of the American cotton trade. I will therefore make no apology for adducing another long quotation from a memorandum made in the same year (1865), and which fully corroborates the opinion which I have already expressed. The report was made by Captain Hickens, of the Royal Engineers, and transmitted by him to the Hon. Fred. W. A. Bruce, then our Minister at Washington. This memorandum with other documents relating to the same subject are appended to a most valuable pamphlet upon cotton, written by Mr. Cassella, of London. Thus writes Captain Hickens:—

"A negro has no idea of the sanctity of a contract, and will, as far as in him lies, evade the performance of his part of it. The means in the hands of the planter to enforce its due execution on the part of the labourer are very slender. Summary dismissal for idleness or negligence is out of the question, as there are no other labourers in the market, or not in sufficient numbers, to be available, so to be put in competition with the negro. Added to this, it is probable that at least one-fourth of the old negro labour is already lost to the agriculture of the South. The mortality among the black population has been very large, and to this loss has been added the great number of the intelligent who were impressed or who enlisted in the Federal armies, and those who, escaping enlistment, have swarmed into the large towns, where they find employment much more suitable to their taste than that of field labour. There has likewise been more or less emigration to the North. I very much fear that we must look forward to a still further decrease year by year, and ultimately to the almost total extinction of the race." With regard to the cultivation of cotton by white labour, he believes that, except in the more Southern States, it would be found possible, and, perhaps, profitable; but the introduction of white labour, he considers, must be a very slow and gradual process under the most favourable circumstances, and although the central Government may do much to retard, it is powerless to accelerate the influx of white emigration, nor have the results belied these views and statements. In support of these views, Mr. Hunt, the British Consul at Rio Janeiro, speaking of negro labour in the Brazils, says, that since the date of the final suppression of the slave trade in 1851, the labour has diminished at the rate of 7000 negroes a year. The reduction in the number of slaves is seen in the decreased sugar crops. In 1862-3 the gross produce was 145,000 tons; in 1868 to 1869 they had fallen to 124,000 tons.

The comparative imports into Britain from America and India since the year 1865 are as follows:—The estimates, as before, referring to bales of 400 lbs. each.

		America.		India.
1866	.. ..	1,282,000	.. ..	1,619,000
1867	.. ..	1,361,000	.. ..	1,350,000
1868	.. ..	1,350,000	.. ..	1,370,000

Again, how production in America has depended, and does depend, on slave labour may be learned from the following figures. The United States crop amounted—

In 1859 to 1860 to	.. ..	4,669,770 bales
" 1860 " 1861 "	.. ..	3,656,086 "
" 1861 " 1862 "	.. ..	4,800,000 "
" 1862 " 1863 "	.. ..	1,500,000 "
" 1863 " 1864 "	.. ..	500,000 "
" 1864 " 1865 "	.. ..	300,000 "
" 1865 " 1866 "	.. ..	2,154,476 "
" 1866 " 1867 "	.. ..	1,951,988 "
From 1867 to 1868	} It has increased to from about 2,100,000 to— 2,300,000 to 2,400,000 bales, but it has not, as far as I can ascertain, yet reached 2,500,000 bales, as estimated by the American brokers in their reports.	
" 1868 " 1869		
" 1869 " 1870		

Taking into consideration the recent political history and the great social changes which have taken place in America since the war, the problem of her future production of cotton becomes an affair of the simplest arithmetic. No writer has treated this question more ably than Mr. Cassella; and those who still hold to their old opinions as regards America's resources would do well to study that gentleman's figures, as given in a pamphlet published by him in February, 1868, in which he estimated the probable returns for that year at something below 2,500,000 bales; the true returns proved to be 2,240,000 bales. Taking the returns for 1867 and 1868 as the basis of his calculation, he in February, 1869, estimates the possible returns for that year at about 2,500,000. We now know that the actual returns were even below Mr. Cassella's estimates. It is unnecessary to enter here into any detailed examination of his figures. I shall only refer to his figures for New Orleans by way of contrasting mathematical calculations with those founded upon guess-work. "I find," he writes, "that up to the 3rd January, 1869, the total amount received at New Orleans was 419,226 bales, against 337,666 in 1866. The amount received from the 3rd January to the end of the season was, in 1867-8, about 329,252 bales, and in 1866-7 about 354,676 bales. If it is admitted that we may receive this year, dating from the 3rd January, as much as in 1867-8, the total amount to be obtained from New Orleans would be 748,478; if that of 1866-7, 773,902 bales; that is an increase in the one case of 56,136, and in the other of 81,560. This, then, fully proves that the estimates of those who, in order to obtain an amount of 2,600,000 bales, are obliged to reckon that of New Orleans as nearly 1,000,000, are erroneous, or at least do not rest upon any basis founded on fact." So long as we refuse to recognize the existence of altered conditions and their modifying influences upon the future; in a word, so long as we ignore history, our calculations will continue to be erroneous. Finally, let us take as determining elements in the question the following facts:—First, that slave labour is no longer available, and that white labour is expensive and scarce, being attracted to the Western States, where the climate is more suitable to people of northern or European birth. It is very true that improved modes of cultivation, the more extended use of manure, and the occasional application of machinery in the place of manual labour, has been brought to bear upon production, thereby increasing to a certain extent the average crop per acre, and that an effort is being made to import Chinese and other labour from the East, so far without success; but even that class of labour would be more expensive than that which hitherto has been employed. But if, despite these facts, we admit the possibility of increasing the production of cotton in America, we must not lose sight of the fact that the consumption of the raw material by the factories in that country is equal to more than one-third of the quantity produced. This applies chiefly to the factories in the New England States, which have been in operation for the greater part of this century. But we are informed that Northern capitalists are now proposing to introduce the manufacturing element into the cotton-producing States. There are already some at work in Virginia and the Carolinas, and with great success. Beyond this we must not forget that an attempt has lately been made, and with some prospect of success, of putting a duty upon the export of the raw material, and giving all possible encouragement for its consumption in the country of its growth. I refer to these facts to show that, even admitting the possibility of an increased production, there is every reason to believe that such increase will not be sufficient to meet the home demand, and that the quantity available for export will be considerably reduced. All this, I think, goes far to show that America can never again attain the position she once occupied as a cotton-growing country, by whom the chief markets of the world were supplied. Here it is right that I should say, that in addition to the information which I have derived from Mr. Cassella's book, I have also gained considerable statistical information from a work on the cotton trade of Europe, and from a report made by Mr. Isaac Watts to the Cotton Supply Association upon India as a source of cotton supply.

INDIA.

The effect produced by the American war on the cotton trade of India may be studied—first, as regards acreage under cultivation; and, secondly, as regards produce. From the able and exhaustive report recently furnished by Mr. Rivett-Carnac, Cotton Commissioner for the Central Provinces and the Berars, it appears that while in the year 1861-2 the average acreage under cultivation in Nagpore, Jubbulpore, Nerbudda,

Chattisgarh (including Upper Godavery), four divisions of the Central Provinces, amounted to 375,623 acres, for the year 1868-9 it stood at no less than 750,875. This gave an increase over the average for 1867-8, of 15,212 acres, and exceeded the average of the last year's (which amounted to 581,884 acres) by 168,991 acres. In the Berars the average of 1867-8 amounted to 1,254,552, and rose in 1868-9 to 1,286,742, thus showing an increase of 32,190 acres. In the three preceding years they stood as follow:—

1864-5	1,196,300
1865-6	910,000
1866-7	1,238,066

Thus, putting the two sets of figures side by side, we have an increase over the season 1867-8 of acreage in the Berars and Central Provinces together, of 47,432 acres; the total area under cultivation thus amounting to the high figure of about 2,000,000. Looking at these satisfactory results, the question naturally arises,—Is the cultivation in these portions of India capable of much, or any further increase? As regards the Berars it is the opinion of Mr. Rivett-Carnac that it hardly appears to admit of much further extension. "In the Valley of the Poona," he writes, "cotton now takes up nearly 40 per cent. of the cultivated area, which, allowing for the rotation of crops, and for the garden lands, which an enriched peasantry requires, does not leave much margin." Again, "It must, however, be borne in mind that though we cannot expect much, if any increase in area, there is everything to be hoped from the use of selected seeds, and the adoption of improved methods of cultivation." The Berars grow cotton entirely for export.

In 1866-7 the exports amounted to	218,000 bales
" 1867-8	207,000 "
" 1868-9	233,000 "

With respect to the Central Provinces, including the Feudatory States, there the total average under general cultivation amounts to 19,536,916 acres; the available uncultivated land to 19,975,452 acres; and forest and waste to 18,938,866 acres.

Here, then, there is a grand field open for the development of cotton cultivation in India. One example of what is meant by "India's waste resources" is indicated by the (nearly) 20,000,000 of arable uncultivated land in the Central Provinces, a proportion of which will, some day, have its share of the all-important staple. The progress made by the Central Provinces is illustrated by the following figures:—

In 1861-2 the yield amounted to	36,250 bales
" 1862-3	58,750 "
" 1863-4	78,750 "
" 1864-5	68,123 "
" 1865-6	73,120 "
" 1866-7	58,000 "
" 1867-8	35,000 "
" 1868-9	54,000 "

Now as regards the entire production of India. In the year 1860 the amount of cotton in bales of 400 lbs. each, imported into England from India, rose from 422,000 in 1860 to 1,370,000 in 1868—the highest figures reached during that interval falling to the year 1866, when the imports reached 1,619,000 bales. The number of bales for each year are given in page 150 of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's Report. A more convenient way of presenting the results will be by giving the percentages, and it will be seen by referring to the report that, as has been previously stated, "America, from supplying at one time so much as 82·40 per cent. of the quantity of cotton imported into Great Britain, fell as low as to send us but 7·03, whilst India rose from contributing but 12·25 to the position of supplying fully 71 per cent.; and although "she has since lost some ground, she still stands high on the list as supplying nearly 42 per cent. of the amount annually imported." On referring to page 160 of the same valuable report, we find that India already produces about 36·17 per cent. of the cotton used in the manufactures of the Continent of Europe. These facts speak for themselves. The

following figures show the position held by India in the cotton markets of Europe during the year 1868 :—Europe took of Indian cotton, for that year, 1,541,000 bales of 400 lbs. each; of this amount 170,000 bales went to the Continent direct, and 550,000 indirectly, that is, through England, thus giving a total of 720,000 bales for the Continent, the remaining 821,000 being taken by Great Britain.

Passing from Central India, we now come to the North-western Provinces, the cotton statistics of which, it must be admitted, are not so satisfactory as those of the Central Provinces and Benars. I learn from the 'Englishman' that in one district only, Allahabad, the area under cultivation in 1868-69 exceeded that of 1867-68, and even then the increase was only 3533 acres on a total acreage of 253,219 acres for 1867-68. Without going into details, I may state that the total acreage under cultivation for the seven divisions of Allahabad, Meerut, Rohilkund, Agra, Jhansie, Benares, and Afnere, amounted in

1867-8	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,287,726 acres
1868-9	..	..	..	..	..	..	892,383 "
Thus showing a decrease of							395,343 "

But this falling off was, in some degree, owing to the badness of the season, the lateness of the rains, and the long drought of August. It must be observed, however, that the quantity produced in the North-western Provinces, from 1865 to 1869, shows a great falling off as compared with the production from 1861 to 1865, the average yearly returns for the latter period being no less than 105,932,620 lbs. (or in bales of 400 lbs. each, 264,831), while for the former period they only stood at 62,682,890 lbs. (or in bales of 400 lbs. each, 156,707). This diminution is very remarkable, and the question naturally arises, whether it is due to permanent, or only to temporary causes. One important fact, however, indicated by the figures is the capability of largely increased production; for we find that in the years 1863-65, the produce reached from 114,000,000 lbs. to 132,000,000 lbs. respectively. As regards Madras, I have no official report to guide me in my estimates, but from returns which I have received from non-official sources, I find that in the country round Bellary, Mysore, and Salem, from 200 to 250,000 bales of cotton are produced annually. About 60,000 bales are also produced in the Nizam's country, and in the vicinity of Tinnevely about 40,000 bales, making the annual products of cotton in the whole Presidency about 350,000 bales. Beyond which there are very large tracts of land in the Presidency which, by the aid of irrigation and increased means of communication with the chief towns, could be made available for cotton cultivation. The railway system in the Madras Presidency is being greatly extended, and if Sir Arthur Cotton's plans for irrigation are adopted, may become a much larger contributor to the supply of this important staple. In the Indus valley between Lahore and Kurrachee, there are, I am informed, about 100,000 bales produced annually.

We will now speak of Bengal. Judging from what I have seen of a large portion of that Presidency, I believe that it is quite capable of producing cotton equal in quality to that produced either in India or in any other country in the world. But hitherto little attention has been paid to the growth of this staple by either those in authority, or those whose interests are identified with increasing or improving the products of the soil. In making these remarks I refer more immediately to Lower Bengal. My enterprising friend Mr. Schiller, I think, in 1862, tried the experiment of growing cotton in the Scudderbunds, under the superintendence of an able and experienced planter from the West Indies, who succeeded in producing a large quantity per acre, fully equal in quality to Sea Island; but in consequence of the death of the superintendent and for other reasons, the plantation was not maintained. Since that little has been done as regards the production of cotton beyond what is grown by the natives. A Mr. Galston has, however, in the last two years spent much time and money in testing the capabilities of Lower Bengal for supplying cotton of pure long staple, and upon a small scale has been eminently successful, but requires capital to extend his production; if he obtains that, he asserts that within three years he will be able to show that 200,000 bales of the best quality cotton can be exported from Bengal, and that from districts within easy distance of Calcutta, and with abundant means of transit by rail and steam to that port. I may here mention that a French gentleman who has recently visited India to inquire into the commercial resources of

that country, estimates the total production of cotton last year was 1,850,000 bales, exclusive of 300,000 bales used for home consumption. The countries round Bombay produce 1,100,000 bales, the North-west Provinces shipped *via* Calcutta 400,000 bales, Madras he estimates at 350,000 bales, and the Valley of the Indus 100,000 bales. He estimates that five-sixths of the cotton shipped goes direct to Great Britain, the remainder being taken to China, France, and the Continental States. Ten years since he estimated that the total shipments were under 800,000 bales. I can only hope that this gentleman will be successful in his efforts. I am glad to see that Mr. Carnac in his visit to Calcutta has inquired into the resources of Bengal for the production of cotton, and no doubt, when he enters upon the duties of his new appointment, he will give the same zealous attention to the interests of his neighbours as he has done to those of Central India, Berar, and Bombay, and I think I shall be only speaking in the interest of the people of India generally in expressing my satisfaction that the Government have thought fit to make a special appointment for the supervision and development of the agricultural and industrial resources of our Indian Empire.

Future Prospects.

With such encouraging facts bearing on the capabilities of the Indian cotton-growing districts, it is not difficult to predict a brilliant future for the trade of that country. From a glance at a railway map of Central India it will be at once apparent how much the prosperity of the cotton markets of those districts depends upon their ready access to railway communication. Khangaon, Akote, Umraottee, Deoles, Hingunghat, &c., are all within easy reach of the G.I.P. line. Mr. Rivett-Carnac, writing on the same subject, says:—"Wherever we have the railway with the black cotton soil, there high prices prevail, and a considerable portion of the soil is sown annually with cotton. In fact, the advent of railways is beginning by degrees to impress upon the cultivators the advantages of cotton. By the same authority we are told that there are other and more remote districts where not only is the land well adapted to cotton, but where the immense tracts of land lying waste would admit of the almost indefinite extension of the cultivation; there, however, the population is scant, trade is dull, and what cultivation there is is almost confined to cereals; and the extension of cotton cultivation in these districts will be dependent on the general progress of the country, that is, the increase of the population and the increase of intelligence among the people, which will provide them with both the means and the desire to extend the trade. At present the great difficulty in the way of increasing the cotton supply is the scanty population and the want of capital. A large population is required to admit of more land being broken up, and to increase the productive power of the land capital is indispensable."

These remarks, applying more or less to most of the cotton-growing districts of India, it will be evident, in order to retain a permanent place in the first rank of cotton-growing countries, India requires to be put in possession of those means and facilities already enjoyed by the most advanced among those countries. Indeed, considering the disadvantages as to the means of conveyance and transit, the methods of cultivation, the quality of seed, &c., under which India has hitherto laboured, her success in cotton growing must be pronounced very great. Anyone may satisfy himself as to the truth of this by referring to the pages of the high competent authority from whose report I have been quoting. In page 14, referring to the condition and kind of agricultural machinery in Central India, he says:—"I am confident that everyone who examines these statistics must be impressed with the rough and scant materials with which the agricultural system of this part of India is worked. The supply of cattle for agricultural purposes is very limited; indeed, in most districts the average area to each plough—i.e., a plough and one pair of bullocks capable of drawing the plough—is 24 acres. Where the stock is scanty, the difficulties which impede any attempts to encourage deep ploughing and other improvements are very great (a cultivator with only a pair of bullocks, and with 24 acres to look after, may well be excused if he prefer scraping the ground with a *bukhar*, or light grubber, to toiling through the heavy black cotton soil with the *N'agai*, or deep plough); and, for the same reason, the deficiency of stock renders it almost impossible to manure the land to any great extent, the more especially, as in the highly-cultivated country, where manure is most wanted, forest trees and jungle not being available to provide fuel, the people have to use the cow-dung for that purpose. I may now here remark that one of the greatest disadvantages under which India has, until very recently, laboured,

was her want of direct communication with the European Continental markets. This ought to be specially borne in mind by the enterprising merchants of this country, especially those of Manchester. For the future the consumption of India cotton will not depend wholly on Manchester or other manufacturing cities of Great Britain. The impetus which the Suez Canal is destined to impart to the trade between India and the Continent has been already felt. India will, before long, carry on a direct and prosperous trade with Europe generally.

Some of the French factories, and even those in Germany, were fitted many years since with machinery suited to the spinning of short-staple cotton of Indian growth, chiefly imported through England; and when the supply of American cotton fell off to so great an extent, the machinery of the factories in these countries has been, I am informed, generally adapted to that class of staple. Thus, Indian produce, which has also the merit of cheapness, finds favour abroad. In Russia, on the other hand, the machinery employed, it is said, necessitates the use of a superior cotton; and thus, while the French shippers buy up Oomraottes and other cotton readily, the purchasers for Russia generally prefer that of Hingunghat, and the long-stapled Darwar cotton, grown from American seed. At the numerous factories in Switzerland, and in Northern Germany, and also in the manufactories which have of late years sprung up around Vienna, and even in Italy and Spain, Indian cotton is well known, and not lightly esteemed. The overland trade—that is, cotton shipped by way of Egypt—between India and the Continent shows, with the exception of a single year, a large increase from the year 1865 to the middle of 1869. The following are the figures;—

1865	..	..	..	..	..	1,198	bales
1866	..	..	..	..	..	456	"
1867	..	..	..	..	..	17,456	"
1868	..	..	..	..	..	20,836	"
Six months of 1869 (30th June)	..	..	..	..	..	35,296	"
						<hr/> 75,296	"

Equally encouraging results are seen in the case of England.

1865	..	..	..	..	..	43,536	bales
1866	..	..	..	..	..	83,469	"
1867	..	..	..	..	..	98,850	"
1868	..	..	..	..	..	60,434	"
Six months of 1869 (30th June)	..	..	..	..	..	102,315	"
						<hr/> 388,604	"

That is to say, a grand total both to England and the Continent of 463,900 bales, and that, too, in spite of almost prohibitive rates.*

We must now consider the effect of the American war upon, and the present position of the other cotton-growing countries besides India and America. In the year 1860 there were imported into Britain from Brazil 46,000 bales, from Egypt 129,000 bales, and from Turkey, West Indies, and "other sources," 7000 bales, against 422,000 bales from India, and 2,838,000 bales from America during that same year. In 1861, the produce in each of the first-named countries, with the exception of Turkey, and the countries grouped with her, fell off. In 1862 Brazil took a considerable stride in advance, rising to 60,000 bales, and increasing rapidly ever since to 250,000 bales in 1868. In the case of Egypt the increase has not been nearly so great as in the Brazils; for while the imports into England from Brazil have multiplied more than five times since 1860, that of Egypt has hardly doubled. The imports for 1868 in this last instance reached 236,000 bales. In the case of Turkey, the West Indies, and other sources, the returns have been very fluctuating, rising from 7000 to 151,000 in 1865, and falling to 80,000 in 1868. The relative position maintained by all the cotton-growing countries with reference to England may be best exhibited by percentages. Of the 3,286,000 bales of 400 lbs. each imported into Britain in 1868, America supplied 41·08 per cent.; India, 41·69 per cent.; the Brazils, 7·61 per cent.;

* See p. 165 of Mr. Carnac's Report.

Egypt, 7·19 per cent.; Turkey, West Indies, and other sources 2·43 per cent. In other words, Brazil, Turkey, Egypt, &c., supplied between them considerably less than the half of the amount supplied by India alone.

Having thus arrived at the position which the cotton cultivation of India at present holds as regards production and the supply of that staple to other countries, I will now briefly express my opinion as to the manner in which its cultivation can be increased and its quality improved; and in so doing it is only right to say that I shall but repeat opinions which I expressed many years ago, in fact at the breaking out of the American war, when Lord Canning appointed a Special Commissioner (Mr. P. Saunders) to inquire into the subject. Since that period, as you are aware, the Government appointed Mr. Rivett-Carnac Special Cotton Commissioner for the Central Provinces and Berar; and, if he will permit me to say it, our respected Chairman has devoted much of his time and energy to the development of cotton production in the Bombay Presidency and elsewhere. Much, as I have previously stated, has been done, but much more could have been done, and much more is required to promote the object now under consideration; for, except in the Central Provinces, Berar, and Bombay, the authorities have given, comparatively speaking, little or no attention to the subject. You are aware that a Department of Agriculture and Commerce has lately been established—at least so it is reported, not officially, that I am aware of, and an Indian paper, the *'Friend of India,'* throws some doubt upon the statement; I hope, however, that it is true—and it is in connection with this branch of the Government that I would suggest that a special service should be organized for the supervision and extension of model farms, seed-grounds, and the general improvement of cotton cultivation, which could, if necessary, be extended to the cultivation of cereals and other Indian produce. The present Forest Departments of India would to some extent serve as a model for the proposed service. It would, however, be well if those persons who qualify for the higher positions in this department were sent for a year or two to America, or other cotton-growing countries, to study the means employed there in the production of that staple. This refers to those who qualify at home. In India, I have reason to believe, it would be easy to find many persons highly qualified to undertake the duties which will be required from those engaged in the proposed service, and in this opinion I include Europeans, Eurasians, and natives, who, to say the least, would be fitted for the subordinate branches of the department; these, however, are mere details, and I will no longer trespass upon your time, but conclude by repeating the opinions I have expressed to those in authority many years since, that, to secure the desired effect, it will be necessary, firstly—To organize in India a competent department of control and instruction for the development of agricultural products. In suggesting this I have not forgotten that a cotton department has existed for some time in the Berars and Central India, and that the authorities in Bombay have for some time exercised a supervision over the production of that staple grown in the Presidency. But this is not enough; this supervision must be extended to every part of India, and a separate department in the Supreme Government is required to secure that object. Secondly—To promote the extension of railways and roads, so as to secure cheap and ready transit for cotton and other produce to the several markets and ports of shipment throughout India, and in every possible way to promote the extension of canals, the improvements of rivers, and other means of providing a water-supply for the purpose of irrigation, upon which the agricultural products of India so much depend. I again repeat my opinion that no time should be lost in organizing the proposed department, and in promoting the extensions of canals and railways. Money I know will be required for this, but that can easily be obtained in this country by loans under the guarantee of the Indian Government, whenever offered to the public, and at even lower rates than those at which previous loans have been contracted.

Since coming here I have been shown a letter addressed to an able journal (the *'Asiatic'*) by Mr. Watts, the Secretary of the Cotton Supply Association, in which, referring to some opinions expressed in that journal in favour of establishing a special service for the supervision of cotton cultivation, he remarks that a special service with this object does already exist. Of this all here conversant with the subject are quite aware; but, as I have previously said, this supervision is in a great measure limited to Central India, the Berars, and, to some extent, to Bombay. But these districts form only a portion of the cotton-growing countries of India, and it is for this reason that I argue, in the interests of that country and that of our great manufacturing

districts, that this special service should be extended over all India, under the supervision of a department especially organized, and forming a part of the Supreme Government. No one doubts the ability or zeal of the gentlemen who are already engaged in the supervision of cotton cultivation, but I repeat that such supervision requires extension. Mr. Watts seems to prefer a plan which the Cotton Supply Association have laid before the Duke of Argyll to that which I have now briefly suggested. This is, however, a matter for the decision of the Government. My sole object in promoting this discussion is to keep this important subject before the Government and the public at home, so that it may not be forgotten, as many other questions affecting the interests of India have been, and are likely to be again, unless the cotton interest and the people of India themselves compel attention to the supply of cotton from India.

CHAIRMAN.—I feel sure that the very able and carefully-prepared paper which Mr. Fitzwilliam has just read to you must have been listened to by you all with great interest. I am sorry to say that, since I came into the room, I have received a very urgent call which obliges me to go sooner than I expected, and therefore I shall ask your leave to vacate the chair; perhaps, Mr. Prichard will be kind enough to take it when I vacate it. There are many gentlemen here present who, I feel sure, would be able, from their personal knowledge, to add a great deal to what Mr. Fitzwilliam has sketched out, and, in expressing my extreme regret that I am unable to hear the discussion, which, I trust, will take place upon this paper, perhaps you will allow me to refer very briefly to a few of the points which, I think, Mr. Fitzwilliam has most clearly brought out, and on which I personally entirely agree with him. And, first of all, I will refer to that truth which he has illustrated, I think, very clearly, that the question of the extension of cotton production is, above all, a question affecting the communications of the country, whether those communications be the main communication with India by sea, or the internal communications. If you trace to their source all the suggestions which have been made, and which have been proved to be practical, I think you will find that they resolve themselves, one after another, into an extension of the present means of communication. Now, of course, that is very evident when you come to talk of the cost of bringing your produce to market, but it may not be so evident in one or two other points. Let us take, for instance, the improvements in packing. This is a point which every practical man knows is a point of very great importance. How would it be affected by an improvement in the means of communication? Simply in this way, that when those who produce the cotton and those who purchase the cotton can meet face to face, and discuss their business personally, half of the temptations to false and fraudulent packing will disappear. It is the same with all improvements in agriculture—it is the same in all improvements in mechanical appliances. I believe what is wanted above everything else is that those who are interested as merchants and brokers in the trade at our great ports of shipment should be able, occasionally, to see those who produce the cotton, and who have it to sell out of their own fields. I trust that all those who are interested in this question will keep in view that, whatever you do to diminish the distance and to diminish the cost and the time required for intercourse between this country and the cotton cultivators in India, must, in a hundred ways, improve and extend the production of cotton itself. I see many gentlemen present who will be better able than I am to deal with the question whether we shall be likely to get cotton from those parts of the country from which we have hitherto had very little, for instance, from the immense fertile districts of Bengal. I trust that some gentlemen who know Bengal personally will address you on that subject, and I will only refer to one fact as showing that it is not only those provinces which are at present great cotton-producing provinces, to which we may look for a supply of cotton in future, but that we may expect a large supply from those provinces which hitherto have supplied very little. At the time to which Mr. Fitzwilliam has referred, when Lord Canning appointed the Cotton Commissioners (who were appointed, in fact, in each of the Presidencies), Mr. Walter Cassels, of Bombay, produced a volume of most valuable statistics and reports relating to the cotton trade of Western India; and it is a very noteworthy fact that, taking immense pains at that time to ascertain all the countries which were then cotton-exporting countries, he left the whole of the Punjab uncoloured in his map, indicating that it was a country which at that time produced no cotton for export; but in the course of the next four years the export of cotton from the Punjab rose to the very high figure indi-

cated by the export of cotton from Kurrachee, for almost all the cotton exported from Kurrachee was Punjaub cotton. I do not know what the exact figure was.

Mr. FITZWILLIAM.—100,000 bales.

CHAIRMAN.—That was no small quantity to come from one province which was, on the best authority, returned as a blank among cotton-producing provinces, and that exportation arose merely from the inducement offered by improved prices.

Mr. BRIGGS.—What was the date of the blank?

CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Cassels' report was, I think, at the commencement of the American war. This export took place merely in consequence of a higher price being offered, without any perceptible improvement in the means of communication, without any improvement in cultivation, and above all, be it remembered, without any agency, except the natural agency of the trader and the broker and the cultivator—it was entirely spontaneous.

Mr. FITZWILLIAM having seconded the motion that Mr. Prichard do take the chair, Mr. Prichard took the chair.

Mr. J. O. B. SAUNDERS.—I agree so completely with the paper which Mr. Fitzwilliam has read, that I have very little to add to it. I am a witness on the subject of cotton cultivation in Bengal, and as to the capability of the lower provinces of Bengal for growing cotton. When I was in India a short time back, a good many samples of the finest possible cotton were laid before me, but, at the same time, the cotton cultivation at present carried on is little better than experimental garden cultivation. No doubt, in the Soonderbunds we have a large extent of land now almost waste, which would produce very excellent cotton, if we could find labour, and if we could counteract the unhealthiness of the climate; for the difficulty we have in the Soonderbunds is the unhealthiness of the locality. No doubt, if the forests were cleared, and the lands either drained or protected from the inundations, it would be nearly as healthy a district as Calcutta, and you would be able to extend the cultivation of cotton there to a very great extent. But both those points involve the finding of capital, and, perhaps, Government assistance would be required in protecting the lands from inundation, and preparing them for the capitalist to work on.

Mr. BRIGGS.—What is the population in the district to which you refer?

Mr. SAUNDERS.—None whatever. A gentleman of the name of Morell has done something in the way of cultivation, but it has been by imported labour. The lands I am speaking of are all waste.

Mr. A. CASSELS.—I have listened with very great interest to my friend Mr. Fitzwilliam's paper, but there are one or two points on which I rather differ from him. If I understood him rightly, in speaking of the crop of American cotton this year, he put it at 2,500,000 bales only, but the receipts at the ports have already amounted to 2,800,000, and Mr. Wright, a great authority on the subject, estimates that the crop, including the quantity taken by American spinners, cannot be less than 3,250,000 bales; moreover, the prospects of the coming crop in America are so brilliant at this moment, that it is already casting its shadow before on the Liverpool market, and prices are sinking in consequence. I think, therefore, Mr. Fitzwilliam has underestimated the capabilities of America. I think, also, he has not quite done justice to Egypt as regards cotton cultivation: as I have been largely interested in that trade, I know something about it. It is true that the number of bales is exactly as Mr. Fitzwilliam states them, but of late years the size of the bale of Egyptian cotton has increased so much, that it is fully one-third larger than it was five years ago, and therefore the crop of cotton in Egypt has really increased very materially. But, however America and Egypt may increase their supply of cotton, there will always be a demand in Europe for as much East India cotton as the country can grow. And I heartily concur in what Mr. Fitzwilliam says as to the establishment of a Department of Agriculture in India to show by model farms what might be done by improved modes of cultivation, by the use of better machinery, probably by deep ploughing, or by irrigation; to show the Indian ryot how to produce 400 to 500 lbs. of clean cotton to the acre, as they do in America, instead of only 60 to 80 lbs., which is the produce in India. In this country science has enabled the farmer to get a very large increase in the yield of his farm; why should not science do as great things for India? There are many questions connected with cotton cultivation in India which the establishment of model farms would enable us to solve. For instance, it is said that deep ploughing would have a good effect. The natives will tell you in many places, that if you turn up the soil too deeply, you enable the burning sun to destroy the ferti-

lizing qualities of the land. Then, many people say irrigation is very necessary,—the ryot will tell you his plant differs from that of the Southern States of America, and that after a good monsoon the Indian plant requires no further water. These are points that can only be settled by experiments on a model farm, for it is impossible to expect the ryot to risk his means of subsistence by trying such experiments for himself. We want improved means of communication, not only railways, but roads. Look at the beautiful cotton field of the Southern Mahratta country, where there are hardly any roads at all. Look at Guzerat, where there are only fair-weather roads; and in other parts of the country roads are very much wanted. But, besides making roads and railways, we require to teach the native to get a better yield out of his land; and then if we make roads and railways to help the producer to bring his produce to market, India will go on increasing her production of cotton. It is marvellous what cotton has done for India. When I first knew India, nothing could be worse than the position of the ryot of Western India: he was under the iron tyranny of the middle-man and the money-lender—he was in a state of abject poverty. Now he is a comparatively prosperous and comfortable man. Cotton has done that for him; and I really think the cotton trade has done more for India in the last ten years than any legislation has done. Anything that has been done by our Government for the development of India has really been wrong from the hands of our apathetic rulers by the importunity, I might almost say, of Lancashire. Lancashire has been accused of selfishness, and all the rest of it, in this matter; but people forget that, whereas it is mere pastime for us to talk about cotton supply, to the spinner and manufacturer at Manchester it is a question of life and death. He is terribly in earnest in the matter. A supply of cotton means bread for himself and his children. And I think, also, Manchester has realized more fully, perhaps, than other parts of England have done, the truth, that in trade you cannot do good to yourself without doing good to others at the same time. Trade, like mercy, “is twice blessed; it blesseth him that gives and him that takes.” I think that point has been overlooked very much, and Lancashire has been accused of selfishness in the matter, when really she has been doing both England and India very good service.

MR. HYDE CLARKE.—Mr. Fitzwilliam has opened to us a subject of the most vital interest to India. It has been our misfortune too often in the consideration of this subject that we have had one special portion of the measures necessary to be taken in dealing with the matter in question placed before us, while others have been completely neglected. On this occasion, however, we have had the subject brought before us, completely and impartially, by one who has had practical experience in time past in the United States, in Turkey, and in India. He has opened to us particularly the relations between commercial action and the action of the Government; and we have, unfortunately, too often had the two put in antagonism to one another. It has been said that commercial action alone should be called on in this matter, that the Government has nothing to do with it; while, on the other hand, it has been urged that the Government should be called upon to do what is required. It is natural that, to a certain extent, I should look upon this matter myself from a comparative point of view, because, antecedently to the American cotton famine, and subsequently, I was engaged in Turkey, under the Government of that country, in carrying out there some of the same measures which you have carried out in India; and the experience afforded by that country is applicable to India, for it was by means of the Manchester Cotton Association that the Government of Turkey, like the Government of India, was induced to act in this matter of the cultivation of cotton, and it will be found that the experience of the two countries has been the same; wherever they carried out those measures which were recommended to them by the Cotton Supply Association, there they succeeded; wherever they neglected them or delayed them, they are suffering from the consequences of their neglect. One fact which particularly impressed me, and which at a later period I was able to urge upon the Ottoman Government, is that which has been pointed out by Mr. Fitzwilliam, and also by Sir Bartle Frere and Mr. Cassels, that the large price paid for cotton has, in all cases, gone into the hands of the cultivator, and it has emancipated him from the local usurer. If nothing else but that had been done, it was a great boon conferred upon the agricultural populations of cotton-growing countries, and it was likewise a great boon conferred on the Governments of all those countries in the increase of their revenues; and I cannot but regard it as a most unfortunate circumstance that the Government of Turkey, which has had a great disposition to apply these measures, and the Government of India, which has

been backward in exhibiting such a disposition, have not availed themselves of the opportunity offered to endow their respective countries with this great branch of industry. Mr. Cassels tells us that already the coming American crop is casting its shadow before in Liverpool by causing diminished prices. What is the result of that? That a less sum must be available for the encouragement of cotton cultivation. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that the Government of India should not wait at all, that it should put its shoulder to the wheel, and that while we have high prices, which perhaps may not last for ever, every measure should be taken to advance this important cultivation. There is one subsidiary point with regard to the effect of high prices for cotton, which results from facts which have been laid before us by several speakers, though it has not been put before us in a distinct form, and that is that high prices enable new ground to be broken up for cotton, and they enable that class of soil to be broken up which would not be available for the ordinary purposes of agriculture in such countries, because, as we all know, the common crops are very loosely sown; they bring a very small return, and they do not pay for breaking up forest ground, jungle land, or other ground which requires a very great expenditure to be put into it. I know myself, in some of the poor parts of Turkey, as much as 15*l.* an acre has been paid for clearing heavy land for cotton growth, and I have reason to believe that there are many parts of India where at least 10*l.* an acre has been paid, and I have heard even of 15*l.* having been paid. Look at that important fact; and that bears particularly upon the question of the displacement of crops. It is said that if we push cotton growing too much, we displace other crops—we displace food crops. It is true that in Egypt it has happened that the extension of cotton cultivation has operated in the direction of displacing food crops; but we have one means of providing for this question of displacement of food crops, and that is by bringing new land into cultivation, and there is nothing so well calculated to produce that result as the extension of cotton cultivation. Cotton cultivation will, in some cases, cause land to be broken up for cotton which would not be used for other crops. At the same time it provides funds for the cultivation of lighter lands, which could be made available for food crops; but it likewise does this. As cotton cultivation particularly stimulates intelligence and improvements in agriculture, it has the effect, as has been seen in some parts of India and in other parts of the world, of improving all modes of culture. It may well be doubted whether the mode of sowing seed in India is a perfect and economical operation. With regard to the manuring, it is deficient from various causes in many parts of India. If, therefore, under the pressure of high prices for cotton, we can, by improvements in agriculture, increase the quantity of food crops from the same land, we shall hear no more of the question of displacement. All these points bring us to the question of the duty of the Government to give that assistance which a Government alone can give. It is the Government alone that can provide those permanent measures which are necessary to promote cultivation,—it is only by the organization which exists in the hands of the Government alone that what is required can be done. How can an individual cultivator construct a road or a railway in his neighbourhood; how can he open a distant port; or how is it possible for him to bring the water of some far-off river to irrigate his land? It is the Government alone who can do all these things, and unless Government co-operation be applied for such purposes, neither the merchant who furnishes the money on the one hand, nor the cultivator who produces the cotton, can effectually do his part of the operation. As Mr. Fitzwilliam said, if the question is fairly considered, it is not a question of where are the means to come from. A great part of the means would be found in this country from the merchants, and another large portion of the means would be found in India itself from a greatly enriched population. In India, as in some other countries, the misfortune has been that questions like this are made subordinate to questions on finance. Finance is put forward as if it were the most important matter, instead of the progress of the country (on which the development of finance depends) being first looked at. In these matters we are putting the cart before the horse, but the misfortune is that we have no horse in the case.

MR. BRIGGS.—We have no cart either.

MR. HYDE CLARKE.—We have the cart blocking up the roads, and we have no horse. We have a Minister of Finance to look after the expenditure of the money, but we have no Minister and no Department for the development of the resources of India; we have no Minister of Agriculture and no special Department such as that which Mr. Fitzwilliam has sketched out for us; we have no one to look after the

means of production, and we allow those whose simple duty it is to collect taxes to interfere with and impede our progress.

Mr. W. TAYLER.—I feel myself totally incompetent to discuss, or offer any pertinent observations upon the statistical details with which Mr. Fitzwilliam has favoured us in his very interesting and valuable paper. I also feel I am not qualified to form an opinion on the question whether America and Egypt are likely to enter into a very damaging competition with India; but there is one subject connected with this discussion which I approach with much greater confidence and with a certain feeling of self-gratification. The subject to which I refer is the absolute necessity of the establishment of a system of agricultural superintendence on the part of the Government affecting every part of India. I say self-gratification, because twelve years ago it was a scheme I myself submitted and brought partially into operation when I was in charge of one of the most important and wealthy of the districts of India. That scheme fell to the ground at the time; but it remains upon record, and it will be found to contain the embryo of all that Mr. Fitzwilliam has now suggested. With regard to cotton, I look upon the little cotton-tree of India as the germ of the future welfare and prosperity of India. I have great faith in that small shrub, because cotton is wanted by the whole world; and the fact that cultivation is now being extended, whether in America or in Egypt, is accompanied by the fact that all the countries of the world are requiring cotton. I believe, therefore, that as the cultivation increases the requirements will increase, and I look forward simply to that rivalry on the part of other countries as an incitement and impulse to the Government of India to encourage and extend the cultivation of cotton in that country. With regard to the question of the political expediency of establishing a Department of Agriculture, it seems to depend simply upon this question. Many people—I will not call them obstructives, but I might call them old-fashioned—believe that, because the native of India, with his little bullock, by scratching the surface of the light alluvial soil and by leaving the seed just as it is cast from his hand, can by the bounty of Providence reap a very fair and remunerative crop, that on that account all the improvements of Western science will be thrown away upon a country like India. I do not believe that any more pernicious fallacy has ever been spread abroad to retard and obstruct the agricultural progress of a country like India. Now that we have passed what may be called the spasmodic period of Indian history, now that wars are passed, and political embarrassments and mutinies are no longer heard of, there is no question that the great object of the Government of India should be the systematic development of the material resources of India. (Hear, hear.) We have in conjunction with that undoubtedly a great moral duty to perform, namely, to educate the people; but I leave that out of the question for the present. When we look, as men of business and as financial administrators of India are bound to look, to the paying capabilities of India, there can be no question whatever that it is to the complete development of the illimitable resources of that great country that we are to look for the future welfare and elevation of India, because, as has been truly said, trade does not benefit merely the trader; it is in the wake of trade and commerce that the greatness and exaltation of nations has ever followed. We have now, we may say, exhausted our political or administrative efforts, such as they have been. Poor enough they have been—but they have had this effect, that they have brought England and India into communication, how intimate it is not necessary for me to say; I need only refer to a party which took place the other day, in which high principalities and powers communicated with each other in the course of five minutes. We have before us a great country, out of which we have squeezed a great deal, and out of which we can squeeze nothing more, unless we ourselves assist that operation by the application of our science and civilization and progress. But in attempting to apply those benefits and improvements, which are the product of Western civilization, to India, we are immediately met by difficulties, and we have to encounter great differences of opinion. At this moment I know many men of great experience in India, and great practical ability, who will tell you that the ryot is a better farmer than the highest farmer in England, and that to introduce the appliances of Western civilization into India is simply to destroy and to injure instead of to benefit. Who can tell us where irrigation is required? Who can tell us where deep or shallow ploughing is the right thing? Who can tell us how to watch the variations of the seasons? Who can tell us what system of farming can be most beneficially applied to the land in various parts of India? It is only by the establishment of a general organization under the patronage and support of the Govern-

ment, embracing the assistance of the most competent men of the day, both natives and English, that these questions can be solved. That upon the solution of these questions depends the future of India, I think no man can possibly doubt. We are in financial embarrassment, opium is failing us, public works are riding rough-shod over our heads, and yet the future of India depends upon more railways, more canals, and more roads. How are those to be supplied, and where are the finances to meet them? It is only by the development of every inch of the soil of India that money can be found for the purpose. If that is the case, I know of no subject so important, so intimately connected with the immediate benefit of India, as this particular suggestion now thrown out by Mr. Fitzwilliam, and no one object to which a Society like the East India Association can so beneficially devote themselves as to moot in every possible way this particular proposition, to bring it before the authorities, to discuss it, to show its advantages, to invite opinions on it, and, if possible, to accomplish that which when it is accomplished will be the beginning of a bright and glorious future to the great country which God has committed to us.

Mr. SPENCER PRICE.—It is the old story to-day, as it is whenever we discuss Indian subjects, whenever we discuss the great wants that exist in connection with India, with regard to the development not only of public works, but of great industries like this cotton industry—the old story, that the Government is at fault, that it is not giving that assistance which we think is needed. It is now nearly twelve months since I was present at a meeting in this room when we had a discussion on this very subject, and amongst the speakers were one or two gentlemen who, I may say, were peculiarly qualified to give practical information upon the subject. I remember Sir Thomas Bazley bringing with him, under a glass cover, a sample of cotton which he had grown in Manchester. Some people were very much astonished when they heard that cotton could be grown in Manchester, and he was almost tormented for the rest of the evening, after he had concluded his speech, by gentlemen who were anxious to know how cotton could be cultivated in Manchester. The conclusion which Sir Thomas Bazley drew from the practicability of growing cotton in Manchester was that it was not, after all, so much a matter of the increase of the acreage of cotton cultivation in India, for that was the question in dispute. There were gentlemen present from India who stated, from their own practical experience of the country, that cotton cultivation could not be greatly extended. I believe the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester scarcely goes so far as to say that—their secretary, whom they sent to India, has returned, and no doubt he has given them very intelligent ideas as to the extent to which we may increase the cultivation of cotton in India—but on this occasion Sir Thomas Bazley said he would be quite content if the quality of the cotton was improved; and, from his Manchester sample and from statistics of cotton cultivation in other parts of the world, he maintained that the staple could be materially improved in India, and that if it did not rival Sea Island cotton, the finest cotton of the Western world, at any rate it might be brought up to such a standard that it would quite place Manchester and all our manufacturing interests in this country at their ease, and give them no more anxiety even if the Northern and the Southern States were to go to war again next year. I think, with regard to the supply of cotton from America, it is a question entirely of labour; and, if the supply is now increasing, it shows that with their indomitable energy and perseverance, the planters have overcome, or are proceeding to overcome, the labour difficulty which arose after the abolition of slave labour. It was stated, not many months ago, that there would be no more cotton from the Southern States of America unless they got Asiatics to grow it; and very elaborate plans were set on foot for the purpose of importing Chinamen by way of San Francisco into the cotton fields of the Southern States; but it has only, I believe, been tried to a very small extent. Chinamen, when once you get them in the right groove, are very gregarious, and no doubt you would get a great deal of work out of them; but they are hard to get in motion, and so far the experiment has certainly not been attended with success. I think the practical point which this valuable paper of Mr. Fitzwilliam seems to elicit is that which Mr. Tayler has just now referred to. If we can attain to the proper point in the improvement of the Indian staple, we have it upon the highest testimony that we need have no fear as regards the supply of cotton for our looms. Sir Bartle Frere mentioned the enormous development in the supply of cotton in the Punjab, 100,000 bales being exported from a country which a few years before had been returned in Mr. Cassels' map as a blank. I do not know whether we are to assume these 100,000 bales were produced under the

pressure of war prices; if so, we cannot safely rely upon that instance as an indication of production upon an extended area under ordinary circumstances. But if you improve the cultivation you will extend the production, and how can we improve the cultivation better than by having a Department of Agriculture, or some organization for the purpose of systematically showing the natives how they can improve the cotton. I think not more than a year ago we had to be content with two Cotton Commissioners and four gardeners. I believe one or two more gardeners have gone out lately; but it is ridiculous to go to work in this sort of cheese-paring fashion, seeing, as is agreed on all sides, that such enormous results are depending upon our operations. The Government, at no great cost, might send out fifty or even a hundred gardeners and treble or quadruple the number of Cotton Commissioners. I gathered from Mr. Cassels that he thought Mr. Fitzwilliam's paper did not do sufficient justice to the growth of Egyptian cotton; but I think, in the figures given by Mr. Carnac, in which he brings forward Egyptian cotton very prominently, he says he has not taken the number of bales of Egyptian cotton of the large size, but that he has in his calculations taken the aggregate amount and divided it into bales of the Indian size.

MR. A. CASSELS.—I may mention that I have seen a great deal of Indian cotton grown from exotic seed; but the finest cotton I have seen grown in India was grown from Egyptian seed.

MR. WILLIAM MAITLAND.—I can do very little more than re-echo what has been said by the gentlemen who have gone before me. I think the establishment of an Agricultural Department would be a very great benefit indeed to the country. As has been very truly said, though we should like to see farmers in India trying experiments, we can hardly expect them to do so. Though their circumstances have much improved from what they were, yet they are not in a position to undertake the cost and risk of experiments for the benefit of others, though they would be at the same time benefitting themselves. But what I should like to urge upon this Association would be to press upon the Government to take this measure, and to take it promptly: "he who gives quickly, gives twice." It is hardly necessary for me to confirm what Mr. Cassels has said as to the general feeling and belief in England now, particularly in Liverpool and Manchester, on the subject of the American crop. There is very little doubt that in spite of the immense distress that was experienced in the Southern States of America in consequence of the war, with that wonderful energy which we know is possessed by our American cousins, they have to a great extent retrieved, and are daily retrieving their losses. We even hear that some of the Southern States are beginning to talk of such things as paying interest upon their bonds. We know that a very large export of railway iron is going on to America to re-establish their communications. In fact, it is, I am told, very generally believed, and I believe correctly, that the American crop, which was last year largely increased, is next year likely to be increased still more. I have not much fear of there being a small demand for Indian cotton, in spite of the large American crop, when I look at the great increase in the demand for cotton, not only in England, but in various parts of Europe, more particularly since the Suez Canal has been opened. We know that a number of vessels are now leaving Bombay with cotton for Trieste and other places in the Mediterranean. We know that the American war gave an immense opening to India, which has been availed of to a considerable extent, though not to anything like the extent it might have been. But when we compare the position of India with the position of America, what do we see? We see in America a most energetic and indomitable race. We see any amount of capital. We see rivers, and railways, and first-rate means of communication. They are nearer to us than India is, though India is much nearer to us since the opening of the Suez Canal than it was. In short, they have many advantages in their favour. I remember when I first went to India the trifling export of cotton which there used to be from India, and we know how much that has increased, and how much more it may be increased. But if the Government are to help in the establishment of a Department of Agriculture, the sooner they do it the better.

MR. ROWLAND HAMILTON.—I have very little indeed to say in addition to what has already fallen from speakers who have gone before me. In regard to the supply of cotton, I must say I am rather inclined to agree with Mr. Cassels in thinking that India will have to undergo a severe competition with the United States. The skill and indomitable perseverance of our American cousins will result in producing a large crop of cotton, and though we may not expect to see the old prices of twenty years ago, still we shall have to contend on much more rigorous terms than we have

for the last six or seven years with the States. But, seeing what we have to look forward to, it behoves us to set our house in order, and to prepare ourselves for the competition which it was one great object of railways to render possible. We should endeavour to improve and cheapen our means of production by every means in our power. There is no doubt that the help of the Government is more required in a country like India than it is in a country like our own; and I cannot but think that the misapplication of the commonest truths of political economy, the misuse of such terms as "Supply and Demand," and "interfering with private enterprise," and "competition," have done a great deal of mischief, in causing a total misassociation of ideas as regards industry in India. The help that the Government can give is as much in the nature of favouring the organization of private companies as any direct aid in providing funds. There seems to be a mistaken idea that the great principle of free competition is violated if any organization of labour is carried out by the sanction and aid of Government. In order to show how the organization of public companies is required to meet the great difficulties we have to contend against in India, let me refer to a single practical case, the reclamation of the Soonderbunds, a district which I have known for a long time. I was there in 1856, fourteen or fifteen years ago, and my impression was this—no doubt there was an immense quantity of land there that could be most profitably cultivated, but I felt that my individual 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.*, if I had had the money to take away from business and devote to the reclamation of that land, would have been a mere drop in the ocean, and would have been altogether lost and sunk in so immense a field. What we wanted was not merely a large but a well-organized company, and I think the Government should not be so timid as it has been in encouraging undertakings of this kind. It should have provided, among other things, means for securing the health of the labourers employed, which is one of the great difficulties to be dealt with. We have only to go from the Soonderbunds to Burmah to see what precautions are taken there. The houses there are built on high piles. Any medical man will tell you the height above the ground at which the influence of the malaria is not felt. If certain qualified persons had the power to make by-laws to regulate the sanitary condition of the labourers, and if the men were only permitted to sleep in healthy places, and were required to obey certain sanitary laws, the great difficulty of reclaiming a tract of land like the Soonderbunds would be reduced very much, and the great objection attaching to the carrying out of such works, *viz.* the risk to human life, would be very materially lessened. With regard to model farms, the mistake seems to have been that the Government have taken up such matters in a dilettante way simply, but if the Government enters upon the establishment of model farms in a thorough-going spirit, they cannot but have a great effect in developing production in India. The whole result of the experiments carried on in such farms would be open to every cultivator, and everyone who desired to enter into similar undertakings. If a man has a successful undertaking, or makes a successful experiment as a private individual, he naturally, and fairly enough, looks to working the thing for his own profit rather than sharing it with the whole world. The object of a Government farm, on the other hand, carried on at the public expense and for the public benefit, would be to disseminate really practical information as much as possible, and reduce the cost of production for the general advantage of trade and consumer. There is one subject in connection with the trade in cotton which is very much misunderstood in England, and that is, the desire of the people in India for a contract law. It has been very often said that we desire to invent a new crime—that we want to make the non-execution of a civil contract a subject of criminal legislation. I do not believe anything of the kind was ever thought of by any influential man in India at all. What is required is just exactly what we see every day in England, where if a man who receives money for one object wilfully applies it to another object which renders it impossible for him to fulfil his contract, he is held criminally guilty of a breach of trust. What we want is simply that the ordinary principles of the common law, as administered by every Government in the world, should be brought to bear on the question of cotton. The objection has often been made, Where is the necessity for these measures in the case of cotton in particular? The answer seems to me very plain, simply because cotton is a large interest, in which a large body of persons are concerned, and because, as a matter of fact, dishonest persons find ample opportunities of committing fraud. As in the case of any particular district in this country, if it receives and sends out a certain quantity of letters you give it a post-office, not because the individuals of that district

have more right to letters than any people in any other part of the world, but because the aggregate of the interests in the place is so large that they have a claim upon the Government to give them a post-office. The only thing required in the way of preventing frauds would be simply the careful administration of suitable police regulations, not to make new crimes, but to enforce the commonest principles of the common law.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—In considering this question, it seems to me that we must fairly look the difficulty in the face, that America expects to export a very large crop of cotton. Mr. Cassels has anticipated me in some figures which I intended to mention. In the last report, which I have from Mr. Wright, hopes are entertained that the Americans will produce a crop of at least five millions per annum, in the course of five years. The report says, "We fully believe in the successful working of these men" (that is, the Chinamen), "and that it will not be long before further importations will give us the needful help to raise 5,000,000 bales per annum, which we confidently look for in five years or less." Whether these expectations will be realized or not, we must be prepared for the realization of them, and all the encouraging circumstances that are pointed out very properly by Mr. Fitzwilliam and by others will go for nothing if we are not prepared to meet that competition, and if we do not adopt the necessary means to compete on simple trade terms. With regard to a Department of Agriculture, the great object which that department would serve would be to answer such questions as Mr. Tayler put, Where ought we to have large irrigation works, so that those parts of India capable of producing good and cheap cotton might be turned to account? Such a department would be for the purpose of inquiry. If the Government has confidence in the necessity of such works, and in the ultimate result of such works, they must not, as Mr. Hamilton says, go to work in the dilettante way in which they have been working, but they must at once set on foot a proper establishment, whose functions it would be to say to the Government—Here are certain spots where irrigation will do, and where it will return large crops, and where cotton can be grown advantageously. If this is taken in hand in a proper and bold spirit, the Government having confidence in the work and in the benefits to result from it, there is no reason whatever why India, with the great advantage it now has in having the Suez Canal opened, should not be able to compete, to a very great extent, with America. The great requirement is correct information, and for the disseminating of that correct information we must have a proper establishment. That having been done, let Government or let private enterprise come in and import into India more capital, and more science and European enterprise, and so develop the resources of the country, which cannot be fully developed without a full application of the capital and knowledge of the present century.

MR. FITZWILLIAM.—I am very glad that the paper which I have read has done exactly what I hoped for, and what was one of my chief objects in writing it. It has elicited the opinions of men several of whom have had equal experience with myself in all these questions connected with cotton cultivation; and it is from that expression of opinion that I hope to influence the Government, and others, to take the best measures for producing an extension of cotton cultivation in India. As regards my estimate of the probable future supply of cotton from America, I may state that I have, in a great measure, depended on the statistical returns furnished me by gentlemen whom I thought well competent to give information upon the subject, and I think more to be depended upon than the estimates of New York brokers, or even those occasionally put forward in Liverpool. Depending, therefore, upon the estimates which I have adopted, and upon letters which I occasionally receive from friends resident in America, I still hold very much to my opinion that it will be a long time before the large production in America that has been anticipated is realized, and, as I have before stated, simply because slave labour is no longer available, and white labour is attracted to other States, where it can be turned to greater profit. I think it very probable that if a sufficient number of Chinese could be settled in that country, they would be suitable for the work. Some years ago I myself suggested to the Government of India the introduction of Chinese labourers into India for the cultivation of tea and cotton. But all will depend on the class introduced. They should be agriculturists, and not, as has been the case in the West Indies and Australia, ~~negro~~ men and other classes who know little, if anything, of agriculture, or even ordinary farming. Some were introduced into Bombay; but, from the class of people introduced, the experiment did not, I believe, succeed. However, speaking

personally, and in the interest of many of my friends in that country, I shall be very glad to find such an increased cultivation in America as is anticipated, though I very much doubt if it can be accomplished in the time anticipated by Mr. Cassels and other gentlemen. Beyond this, as I have before stated, I believe that if the production of America is increased during the next few years, that the consumption in that country for manufacturing purposes will also be increased. But even admitting an increased production in America, I do not believe that it will at all obstruct the growth of that staple, or in any way prevent India from competing successfully in the supply of the European markets. All will, however, depend upon the course adopted by the Government in the promotion of cotton cultivation.

On the motion of the Chairman a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Fitzwilliam for his paper.

On the motion of Mr. Cassels a vote of thanks was passed to Sir Bartle Frere and to Mr. Prichard for taking the chair.

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Society of Arts for allowing the Association the use of the room.

MEETING, WEDNESDAY, JULY 13, 1870.

SIR CHARLES DILKE, BART., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Major EVANS BELL read the following Paper:—

Is India a Conquered Country? and If so, What then?

No term of political science has been involved in so much ambiguity, and has led to so much confusion of ideas, as that of "conquest." Popular works are full of the error; our standard treatises on jurisprudence and history, from Montesquieu to Hallam, abound in its correction. Even the Revolution of 1688 has been stigmatized as the Dutch conquest of England. But nowhere has this term been so misapplied and perverted as in the history and politics of India.

If our Indian administrators, and our writers and speakers on Indian politics at home—even those who have taken part in the proceedings of this Association—were to be asked by what title or tenure they conceive the British Government to hold its immediate possessions in India, and by what law its Imperial supremacy ought to be regulated, I fear that some of them would still appeal, in language worthy of the middle ages, to the law of might—to the right of conquest.

"The law of force itself," says John Stuart Mill in his latest work, "has always seemed the most natural of all grounds for the exercise of authority. Conquering races hold it to be Nature's own dictate that the conquered should obey the conquerors, or, as they euphoniously paraphrase it, that the feebler and more unwarlike races should submit to the braver and manlier."

I need scarcely say that these vague and vainglorious notions meet with no countenance or support from Mr. Mill. They were never derived from international law, even in its most primitive stage, and would be utterly rejected by the leading authorities of the present century. No doubt the first ideas of law, when the earliest human community was formed from the association of several families, or the growth of a family into a tribe, were based on the superior force and prowess of the person who by these qualities had won the position of prince or chieftain. One great jurist, Mr. H. S. Maine, explains in the commencement of his 'Ancient Law' that in the infancy of the race there was no legislation, and consequently no law, as we now understand the term. The king was the judge, not the author of law. The king's decrees are "single or mere commands," not "laws,"—simply adjudications on insulated states of fact, and do not necessarily follow each other in any orderly sequence.

The rule of force, the idea that might is right, connected with a certain faith that Providence will always strengthen the just man's arm, pervaded all the precincts of law during many ages of the historical era, lingering in some old form or formula long after it had been eliminated both in principle and practice. Some of those now

present may have been living, though few may be able to remember, when the wager of battle, abolished by Act of Parliament in 1819, was still by the law of England the last appeal of a man accused of murder. The element of pure force apart from deliberation and conviction,—the notion of might being right,—has disappeared entirely from the domain of municipal law. It has disappeared more and more, though not entirely, from the home and foreign politics of all European nations, and has been constantly more and more disavowed, since the dawn of the Protestant Reformation, as the sister sciences of international law and moral philosophy have been cultivated and perfected. We no longer, for example, attempt to enforce uniformity of opinion, or to its expression, however extreme, in matters of religion or government. The independence and equal standing of small and weak States in their intercourse with the most powerful is unreservedly acknowledged. If the rights of the weak are sometimes infringed by the strong; if the wager of battle is still maintained as the last appeal of nations, the *ultima ratio regum*, it is only because our jurists and diplomatsists, though substantially agreed as to their code of law, have not yet devised a tribunal or a system of procedure; above all, have not yet provided for that irresistible combination of power by which the decrees of such a tribunal could be enforced. In India, where the problem may, I trust, be solved as an example and a lesson to the West, we have the superior force of the Empire duly organized under a paramount head, duly respected by the minor States and the general community, but we have neither a constituted tribunal nor a recognized law.

The Indian Foreign Office, and the political agents in immediate subordination to that department, are not guided and controlled by any code founded upon international law, or based upon any intelligible principles. The political practice of the Imperial Government of India—using the word “political” in the Anglo-Indian sense—is in that primitive stage described by Mr. Maine in the passage from his ‘Ancient Law,’ which I have already quoted. Its decrees are “single or mere commands,” not laws, nor presupposing the existence of law—“simply adjudications on insulated states of fact,” “not necessarily following each other in any orderly sequence.” Instead of political ethics we have political casuistry.

It is easy to account for a phenomenon which would otherwise appear very extraordinary, when we consider that the able and honourable men who, as Viceroys, as Members of Council, and as Foreign Secretaries, conducted the relations of the paramount power with the allied and protected States of the Indian Empire down to the year 1854, were, without any exception of which I am aware, mere amateurs in the law of nations. They were amateurs in every sense of the word; they had not been trained in that or any other department of jurisprudence, and they were not instructed to guide themselves by any judicial principles; so that if they did refer, as they sometimes do, to the maxims of international law, or employ some of its phraseology, they did so because they liked it for that occasion, not because they felt themselves bound by it on all occasions, not because it governed their judgment, but because it seemed to fortify their foregone conclusions.

Until the year 1854, when the Government of India Act of 1853 came into operation, the Legal Member of the Supreme Council took part in legislation only, and had no voice or vote in executive proceedings or foreign affairs. In the very first political case of any consequence—the proposed annexation of Oudh—that came before the Supreme Council as constituted under the Act of 1853, the judicial tone of the Legal Member, now for the first time admitted to take part in these deliberations, offers a remarkable contrast to the arbitrary and peremptory style of his colleagues. Their recommendations were based on an extreme solicitude for the people of Oudh, and on the assumption—very erroneous, as we now know, and as they might have known then—that the disorderly condition of an unreformed native State was “hopeless” and “incorrigible.” These words recur very frequently throughout the consultative minutes, and are illustrated by a reference to the Nizam’s dominions, which the Governor-General declares to have been “for many years past in a state of internal disorder and misrule second only to those which prevail within the territories of the King of Oudh.” Since that portentous declaration of hopelessness was recorded, great progress has been made in the reform of the Hyderabad State, under the enlightened auspices of the Nawab Salar Jung, with no interference by the British Resident beyond friendly advice, and with no agency but such as could be entirely under the minister’s own control. But the assumptions and considerations just mentioned weighed very little with the Legal Member of Council. His judicially-

trained understanding led him at once to the principle and just ground of our intervention, which he found in the Treaty of 1801, and he called attention to one point, previously quite neglected in the discussion, that if our Government complained of the maladministration of Oudh as a breach of treaty, we could easily enforce the Treaty without destroying the native State.

"In considering this question," said Mr. (now Sir Barnes) Peacock, "I think we should consider, not what would be the best for the people of Oudh, or for the British Government, but what will afford reasonable security that the object and intentions of the framers of the Treaty of 1801 will be carried out for the future."

"Now it certainly," he continues, "was never the intention of the framers of the Treaty of 1801 that the people of Oudh should cease to be the subjects of the Rulers of that Province, and become subjects of the British Crown: it was their intention to guarantee to the Nawab Vizier and his heirs, the possession of the territories which remained to him, together with the exercise of his authority within those dominions: at the same time it was intended to secure to the people a government which would be conducive to their prosperity and would afford protection to their lives and property."*

Mr. Peacock thought that "if the King would consent to vest the whole civil and military administration of his kingdom in the East India Company," "a sufficient guarantee for future good government would be obtained without the necessity of compelling him to abdicate, and to vest the whole of his territories in the British Government." He could not recommend that Oudh should be "declared British territory," or that "any part of the revenues of Oudh" should be appropriated to "the general expenses of the Government of India." He would not advise that any of the former treaties with Oudh should be repudiated, for a very sufficient reason. "As our title to the provinces ceded by the Treaty of 1801 depends upon that Treaty, I would rather uphold it than declare it to be annulled."† The question of "title" is one that is very much evaded and slighted under the amateur law of our Indian "acts of State." The rule of force—the notion of might being right—having prevailed without a check in the dealings of our Government with the native States of India before the year 1854, has since that time been but slightly modified in practice by the occasional influence of the Legal Member of Council. There seems to be very conclusive evidence in the despatches and proceedings of the Calcutta Government that have come to light during the last sixteen years that the influence of the Legal Member of Council has only been occasional, that he does not usually take any part in the current and ordinary business of the Foreign Department. In spite of Sir Barnes Peacock's valuable hint in the Oudh case, the Viceregal Government appears to have gone on considering what would be the best course for all parties, ourselves included, instead of confining its inquiry to what course would be in strict accordance with actual rights and engagements. Nothing can cure this radically vicious though well-intentioned practice, and dispel the false traditions arising from its long continuance, but the introduction and establishment of law. Let the Government, consulting, as it always has done in analogous cases, the best qualified persons and the representatives of the parties most deeply interested, construct its own code, embodying, if it pleases, such modifications of the accepted law of nations as it may consider to be demanded by the peculiar ties between the British Government and the minor States of India. I myself believe that all that is wanted is a tribunal of appeal such as was proposed in the able paper by our friend Mr. Prichard read before this Association on the 28th of last January, and recommended in the recorded opinions of Sir Bartle Frere and Colonel Sykes, and that no special modifications of ordinary international law would be required for the guidance of a properly constituted court.

Whatever may have been the military events which preceded and induced the several compacts by which each one or any one of the native States is bound to the British Government, no jurist, no one moderately versed in international law and in the proper application of its terms, would say that the supremacy of the paramount power depended on the right of conquest. He would say that it depended partly on express compact or treaty, partly on traditions and precedents of our own and former Governments, but chiefly on the obvious political facts and necessities of India, and the tacit consent of its princes and people. Very few of the existing native States can be said to have been conquered by the British Government. The great majority of

* 'Oudh Papers,' 1856, p. 230.

† 'Oudh Papers,' 1856, p. 232-3.

them have not only never been conquered by the British Government, but have never been at war with it. The largest and most important of them all, the State of the Nizam of Hyderabad, has not only never been conquered, but has repeatedly shared in conquests gained by the united arms of the two Governments. Most certainly, therefore, if we are conquerors, we are not the only conquerors exercising the functions of sovereignty on the continent of India. The ancestors of many reigning princes—the Nizam, Scindia, and Holkar, for example—acquired their dominions, in whole or in part, by conquest, and some of them, as just remarked, assisted and participated in our conquests.

Throughout the consultations and discussions on the Mysore question, which happily terminated in the late Rajah's infant kinsman and adopted son being recognized as his heir, and the native State being thus saved from extinction, the Calcutta Government, bent upon the annexation of Mysore, repeatedly descanted on the origin and character of the relations between the Imperial power and the protected State in terms such as it is scarcely possible to believe can ever have come under the revision or have received the sanction of the Legal Member of Council, or of any competent jurist. The Government of India, both in their replies to the Rajah's remonstrances and in their despatches to the Home Government, speak of these relations as having originated in "the right of conquest," whereas the right of conquest simply signifies the mode whereby the Mysore territories were acquired by the East India Company and its ally the Nizam from their vanquished enemy Tippoo Sultan. Those territories having been ceded by the allies in the Partition Treaty of 1799 to the Rajah of Mysore, the relations between the British Government and the Rajah henceforth depended solely on the compact between them, called the Subsidiary Treaty. No right of conquest remained after the cession.

Two great errors pervade all the arguments brought forward in the Calcutta Foreign Office to prejudice the Rajah's claim, and to shake the stability of the Mysore State. First, the acquisition of territory from Tippoo Sultan is declared to have been purely a British conquest, although Lord Wellesley, in all the contemporary despatches and documents, fully acknowledges the share taken by the Nizam, describes the conquest as having been effected by their "united arms," and the cession as made by the two allied Governments; and declares that "the Rajah of Mysore will be restored to the throne and maintained on it, under the protection of the Company and the Nizam." And the provisions of the Partition Treaty, still in full force, are in exact accordance with Lord Wellesley's declared intentions.

The second error is that of treating the right of conquest as if it were a permanent, perpetual, and ever-enduring right, held in reserve by the British Government, instead of its simply denoting the actual means of acquisition, a right which may be said to expire when it has once been effectually exercised, and which ought to be heard of no more when once a cession has taken place and a title has been established. Thus, in one memorable letter in reply to the Mysore Rajah's claims, the Rajah was told that in ceding his territories to him, Lord Wellesley had never "*waived the right of conquest*," but, on the contrary, had "*maintained the right of conquest*," and "*kept it alive*;" the writer of the despatch endeavouring to explain and vindicate the administrative sequestration of Mysore by this unwarrantable doctrine of an eternal right of conquest always, as it were, hanging over the heads of native princes, instead of justifying it, which, with reference to its excessively long continuance, of which the Rajah complained, might have been difficult by the letter and spirit of the existing compact between the paramount power and the tributary State.

The native States of India, for the most part, have not been conquered by the British Government, and even in cases where a State has been conquered, and owes its continued existence to the forbearance, generosity, or prudence of the conqueror, the relations between the paramount power and the petty principality ought to be ruled and guided, not by arbitrary notions drawn from an imaginary right of conquest, surviving and superseding a treaty, but by the terms of the treaty itself, impartially and judicially interpreted. But if it is erroneous to say that the native States of India have been conquered, may we not say that the vast immediate possessions of the British Government have been conquered, and are held by the right of conquest? Certainly not; to make any such wholesale and sweeping assertion would be equally erroneous. The only legitimate meaning of the term "conquest" is that of the acquisition of territorial dominion by open force; and it is a matter of historical fact that, for the most part, the British possessions were not so acquired, but by various political

transactions and compacts with friendly and allied princes and chieftains. To some of these military support and defence was given in consideration of an annual subsidy, afterwards commuted into a territorial cession. Some provinces were granted to the East India Company by the Mogul Emperor, on condition of tribute being paid, a process of acquisition which cannot be termed "conquest," and which cannot have been converted into conquest by subsequently withholding the stipulated payment. And here it may not be out of place to mention that while the Nizam of Hyderabad, although for some years he paid us a subsidy for military service, has never been our tributary, the British Government, for fifty-five years from the date of the Treaty of 1768, paid that sovereign a tribute of seven lakhs of rupees per annum for the Northern Circars of the Madras Presidency. In 1823, when the Nizam's Government was very hard pressed for funds to settle its complicated dealings with the house of Palmer and Co., the annual tribute was bought up and extinguished by the East India Company, for the ready money payment of 1,16,66,666 Rs., and the Hyderabad State thus extricated from its pecuniary difficulties.

Most certainly the gradual process by which the East India Company acquired the virtual sovereignty of Bengal cannot be called "conquest." Let us take the most recent official description of the first steps in that process, as given in 'Aitchison's Treaties.'

"A confederacy was formed among Suraj-ood-Dowla's chief officers to depose him. The English joined this confederacy, and concluded a treaty with Jaffier Ali Khan.

"At the battle of Plassy, which was fought on the 23rd of June, 1757, the power of Suraj-ood-Dowla was completely broken, and Jaffier Ali Khan was installed by Clive as Subadar of Bengal."

The subsequent steps in the process—the grant of the Dewanes by the Emperor, the removal and restoration of Meer Jaffier, and the treaties by which each Nawab in succession was induced to relieve himself of some portion of his power and of his income—do not amount to a conquest. It is manifest from the contemporary records that the British authorities could at no time between 1757 and 1800 have obtained the sovereignty of Bengal by any exertion or display of open force that was possible for them. Even for their military operations they required a great amount of native support and co-operation. For administrative and fiscal purposes native support and co-operation were still more requisite. The Nawab Nizam may have been, as has been often said, our creature, a mere political instrument, but still he was an indispensable political instrument. Without the Nawab on our side, as a visible symbol of order and legality, as a link between the East India Company and the Emperor, there would have been imminent danger of a coalition of princes and a rising of the people against our undisguised encroachments and our mysterious designs.

The British title to Bengal, Behar, and Orissa is not derived from conquest, but from treaties confirmed, no doubt, but only confirmed by the submission and obedience of the inhabitants, and anyone who tampers with the conditions of those treaties, under any pretext whatever, attacks the British title, and deserves the name neither of a statesman nor of a jurist.

The British Government has never conquered the Carnatic, forming the greater part of the Madras Presidency. The Nawab of the Carnatic was never a creature of ours. Before the year 1801, the East India Company had no voice whatever in the elevation or succession of any Nawab. The obligations of that prince, and of the East India Company during the French war, lasting with intermissions from 1745 to 1782, which was entirely our quarrel, and not his, were, to say the least, reciprocal, and tolerably equal. The Governor of Madras, in 1780, placed on official record the emphatic declaration, that to the Nawab's friendship and "influence we are indebted for a great part of our prosperity, for our success against the French in the last war, and for the decisive stroke made against them so early in the present war, to which, as affairs have since turned out, we owe, perhaps, our present existence in the East."

The services rendered by the Nawab Wallajah were gratefully noticed by the Court of Directors in a letter to His Highness, dated the 1st of June, 1764, in which the following words occur:—"We are at a loss how to express our acknowledgments otherwise than by the strongest assurance of our firm intention to prove to you at once the sincerity of our past and the warmth of our present friendship, by supporting you in the most effectual manner in your government, and by endeavouring as much as in us lies to perpetuate the succession thereof in the direct line of your family." A direct lineal descendant in the male line of this Nawab,—the son of one reigning

Nawab, the brother of a second, the paternal uncle of a third,—has claimed the succession in vain since the death of his nephew in 1855.

It is equally illogical and immoral to endeavour to strengthen our false position in the Carnatic by falling foul of our own work, and ridiculing the political transactions from which we have derived so much profit, to allege that the Nawab was a mere pageant and puppet, and that all real power and authority were exercised by the East India Company. Certainly this has been the case, by compact with the Nawab since 1801, but it was not so before the treaty of that year. As the consequence of our complete success, partly due to his aid and influence, the Nawab had indeed gradually sunk to a secondary position in power as compared with the East India Company. But his position as Prince of the Carnatic and as an ally of the British Government was unimpaired and unaltered. The double government and doubtful responsibility for the good administration of the Carnatic, which had been the gradual growth of the intimate relations between the Nawab and the Company, had led to considerable inconvenience, and were at last, after coercive measures, which appear to me to have been by no means justifiable or creditable to Lord Wellesley, terminated in favour of the stronger party by the extorted Treaty of 1801. But although under this latest engagement the Nawab, on certain conditions, resigned all executive authority in his dominions, no relinquishment or transfer of sovereignty took place in 1801. The sovereignty of the Nawab who concluded that treaty, and of each one of his successors, was always asserted by themselves, and was repeatedly and continuously acknowledged and proclaimed in plain terms by the other contracting party, the British Government, down to the death of the late Nawab in October, 1855.

The Nawab of the Carnatic was one of the few Indian princes who received a royal salute of twenty-one guns. He was the only Indian prince who was admitted to the honour of direct autograph correspondence with the British King or Queen. He was the only Indian prince whose rights were guaranteed by a treaty between European sovereigns.

In the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the Nawab Wallajah was declared by the French and English Governments to be "the legitimate Nawab of the Carnatic;" and this recognition was hailed by the Court of Directors as "a confirmation of our title to the territories we hold under grants, and as leaving the French no colour to interpose hereafter in favour of any other pretender to the sovereignty of the Carnatic."*

The only titles we have ever had to such territories as we have possessed, and to such powers of government as we have exercised within the Carnatic from 1763 down to 1856, are derived from the Nawab's sunnuds granting certain jaghires to the East India Company, and from the Treaties of 1787, 1792, and 1801, the two former treaties being renewed and confirmed in that last mentioned. We have never conquered an acre of it. Not an acre of the Carnatic has ever passed to the British Government in sovereignty by conquest, by cession, by escheat or lapse, by Imperial act and proclamation, or by any process known to international law. It need scarcely be added that the sovereignty has never been acquired by popular vote and acclamation, or by any process known in modern history, or definable according to modern revolutionary doctrine.

We have never conquered the Carnatic; and although the Treaty of 1801 was undoubtedly imposed upon the Wallajah family against their will, the contemporary records prove clearly enough that the British Government was not at that time prepared for such a difficult, doubtful, and costly undertaking as the conquest of the Carnatic. It was not considered prudent or politic to attempt the seizure of those territories by open force, if their absolute management could be obtained by means of a treaty.

But, it may be said, the British Government after all was in full possession of the Carnatic during the life of the late Nawab, and has merely continued in full possession. No real change has taken place since the late Nawab's death. A very great change has taken place. We have repudiated the obligations by which we held the Carnatic. We had nothing to show for it but the Treaty of 1801. We cannot show that treaty now. The Treaty of 1801, renewing and confirming all friendly and favourable provisions of former treaties with the Nawabs, "their heirs and successors," conferred upon the East India Company "the sole and exclusive administration

* *Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. x., 1808, p. 495

of the civil and military government" of the Carnatic, and reserved for the Nawab a certain revenue, with the dignity and privileges of royalty. So long as these conditions were observed, and they were observed until the 8th of October, 1855, the treaty was our title-deed; the Nawab was the representative of legality, the witness of our right and our good faith. Now we have trampled our title-deed in the dust, and struck down our living witness. Henceforward our footing in the Carnatic, until rectified by some new convention—as I still hope and trust may be done—is utterly undefinable by the law of nations. We occupy a perfectly lawless position. The man who reduced the British Government to that position can have been neither a statesman nor a jurist. It is difficult to believe that any person acquainted with the first principles of law, or accustomed to judicial deliberation, ever gave his approval to that act of State, or expressed his concurrence with the extraordinary arguments brought forward in its justification. And it is worthy of remark that in October, 1855, when the late Nawab of the Carnatic died, Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, was at the Neilgherry Hills, within the limits of the Madras Presidency. He lost no time in signifying to the Governor of Madras, Lord Harris, his views as to the extinction of the Nawabship, and subsequently took his seat as President of the Madras Council Board, recorded a minute on the subject, and wrote a despatch to accompany the proceedings of the Madras Government home, in which he trusted "the determination of the Honourable Court would be formed and their orders issued on the papers now submitted."* Thus the question was virtually settled at Madras, before the Supreme Council at Calcutta could consider it at all. Nothing that appears in the Blue Books gives the slightest indication of approval, or of an opinion by the Legal Member, Mr. (now Sir Barnes) Peacock. We have no means of knowing what his views were, but I think we may assume that he would not have decided that we had acquired the Carnatic by conquest.

Certain portions of British territory were undoubtedly acquired by conquest. A great part of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, for instance, were fairly conquered from Tippe Sultan, and from the last of the Peishwas. But, as we have already remarked, in some of these wars native princes were our allies, and shared in the partition of the conquered territories, and many minor chieftains gave their best help on our side. In every war we have ever carried on in India our armies have contained a large number of native troops. The series of gradual political changes consequent on the decline of the Mogul Empire, which opened the door for us, was to so great an extent a native movement, our military operations, though almost uniformly successful, depended so much on native services, and were preceded and followed by so many coalitions and compacts with native princes and chieftains, that it is impossible, with any regard to historical truth or legal precision, either to attribute the British conquest of India to any particular triumph, or to employ that phrase as a description of the general results of many campaigns, and of power slowly consolidated. But if the phrase could be accurately employed, what then? The only legitimate meaning of the term "conquest" is that of the acquisition of territorial dominion by open force. Conquest, especially when confirmed by treaty of peace and cession, constitutes the best possible title to the possession of territory. The best confirmation of conquest in all cases is the tacit consent and submission of the people. In the words of Sir Travers Twiss:—"Title by conquest resolves itself judicially into title by cession, and it is not the superior power of the conqueror which gives right to his conquest, but it is the consent of the conquered which ultimately sanctions the conqueror's right of possession."†

Thus the effect of conquest is in its essence transitory and investitive. It simply denotes the mode of acquisition and records the original title of the existing Government. The fact of the former Government having been conquered should confer no special faculty of domination, no licence or privilege upon the new masters; it should inflict no degradation or disability upon the new subjects, from whose willing and intelligent obedience the best confirmation of the conquest must be drawn. No difference of race, language, or religion in the inhabitants of the newly-acquired provinces can justly place them in a position inferior to that of the inhabitants of the older and more central territories.

Let us take, as an example and illustration of what I have been saying, the case of Canada. Canada was conquered from the French in 1759; and the conquest was

* 'Carnatic Papers,' 1856, p. 38.

† Twiss's 'Law of Nations,' p. 192.

confirmed by cession in the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the same treaty in which the Nawab Wallajah was recognized by both contracting parties, as "the legitimate Nawab of the Carnatic." The inhabitants of Canada at the time of the conquest were all French. Since that time there has been a great immigration into Canada from the British Isles, and the Anglo-Saxon element now preponderates in the proportion of about five to one. But the people of French origin have increased and multiplied wonderfully in Lower Canada, which contains at the present day a French population of nearly 800,000, entirely distinct in blood, language, and manners from the English-speaking minority in that province.

The British title to Canada since 1759 rests upon the right of conquest, confirmed by the Treaty of Peace in 1763. But how arrogant, how absurd, how iniquitous it would have been, to have based any political measures or doctrines, at home or in the colony, at any time during the last century, on the fact that Canada was a conquered country, and the French inhabitants a conquered people! Any such distinction would have been equally unwarrantable in the case of the French in the Mauritius, the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, or the Spaniards in the Island of Trinidad, where there has been no English emigration. All these are conquered countries. The right of conquest merely asserts that there is a good title, and records the original mode of its acquisition. When a country has once been acquired by conquest or cession, its inhabitants become British subjects, endowed by adoption with all those privileges which are ours by birthright, and, as citizens of the Empire, equally concerned in Imperial politics, and equally entitled to take part in them. As each country or province is acquired, those who have the conduct of affairs are bound to provide for it the best and, I will add, the freest Government that is possible under all the circumstances of the time, and with due regard to the capabilities and social advancement of the people. For I by no means intend to assert that the British possessions in India are entitled to expect immediately that same system of free and responsible government—amounting to independence in all but external relations—which was conferred upon Canada thirty-five years ago. I positively deny that India is fit for any form of representative Government. I do not ask for any particular form of Government; but I demand that the highest principles of the law of nature and nations, as expounded by our best authorities, shall be applied without reservation to the government of the British possessions in India. And I insist, more especially, upon two points, which should be carefully borne in mind and scrupulously observed.

The first of these is, that modern political science, from the time of Montesquieu's immortal 'Spirit of Laws,' down to Austin's 'Jurisprudence,' and Twiss's 'Law of Nations,' knows nothing of a dominant race, whether domination be claimed on the ground of conquest, or on the ground of some alleged superiority, inherent or acquired, of intellect, morals, or creed. In deciding on admission to all branches of the public service, and to a direct share in the government, there must be no discrimination of blood or lineage; the personal qualifications of individuals must alone be considered. And among the qualifications to be inquired into and taken into consideration religion must not be included.

The second point is, that India must be governed and administered solely with a view to her own advantage, not of course as an isolated country, not without regard to Imperial interests, but with no over-ruling regard to the special interests of Great Britain, or any class of the British people. Let India have such an army as is necessary for the preservation of external and internal peace, and let India pay for it. But that army ought never to be kept up at an excessive strength or on an expensive plan, nor ought home charges connected with the army, such as have never been imposed upon any colony or dependency, to be imposed upon India for the benefit of the British exchequer. Let no Protectionist doctrines be employed in the fiscal system of India; let its taxation be allocated and apportioned in the most approved manner. But in giving the preference to one tax over another, in deciding to avoid an export duty, or to reduce an import duty, the rulers of India should have, to say the least, no more tenderness for the interests of Manchester and Leeds, than for those of Umritsur and Dacca. If India requires railroads, and can afford them, let them be constructed; but it cannot be right that India should pay for unprofitable railways because Lancashire wants cotton.

Let the highest ability be secured for the public service of India, and let there be

no stint in its remuneration, either in salaries or pensions. To whatever extent it may appear necessary, either for administrative efficiency or for upholding Imperial supremacy, to employ a certain proportion of English gentlemen in all departments, and even to reserve exclusively for them certain high appointments, let it be done without hesitation. But let us be very sure that we have none but legitimate motives of administrative efficiency and political stability for our home patronage and our reserved offices. Let us not be told that the great places must be allotted to British officials because they belong to the dominant race, and that natives must not be admitted to any share in the government of their own country because they are a conquered people. Let us not hear that the middle classes of Great Britain and Ireland expect and are entitled to have a provision made annually for some of their sons by lucrative employment in India, and that therefore the higher branches of the administration in every department, whether open to competition or not, must be chiefly recruited in England.

I know very well that the false principles on which I have animadverted will never be avowed by any British statesman or high official engaged in the Government of India, or by our legislators in either House of Parliament; but it would be useless for anyone to tell us who are assembled here this evening that such false principles are not sometimes avowed in more or less influential quarters, that they do not animate a portion of the Anglo-Indian press, that they do not occasionally, in some degree, decide or qualify political action and legislation, and that they are not practically enforced, to some extent, in the administration of India.

Against these false principles, and the false history, and bad law from which they spring, I hope to induce you to protest this evening.

India is not a conquered country. It should be a source of national pride to the British Government and the British nation, as it has been a great source of political advantage to them, and one important cause of their success, that they did not win their immediate possessions or their Imperial supremacy in India as foreign invaders and conquerors, but that, being peacefully established in the country, and compelled by aggression or disorder in a period of revolutionary transition to take an active part in its affairs, they pressed forward and won the foremost place, certainly not without a wonderful display of military skill and prowess, but as certainly with the assent and assistance of a great portion of the Indian people. But, let us assume for the moment, what I think has been shown to be totally inadmissible, that the gradual reconstitution of a paramount power, after the decay and downfall of the Mogul Empire, can be called the British conquest of India, what then? Where territorial dominion has been acquired by conquest, no disabilities or degradation can be justly imposed on the indigenous races, no privileges or pre-eminence claimed by those who call themselves conquerors, no profits or tribute in any form demanded for the central or metropolitan state. These principles, if I am not mistaken, are in harmony with the modern law of nations and the code of moral philosophy by which we, in common with all the Western world, profess to shape our national course. No one here, I trust, will maintain, not only that the old satirical charge is true, but that it represents what must be and ought to be, that in moving eastwards we really do leave our principles behind us, and that our ethics vary according to the latitude and longitude.

The British Government of India can never dispense with the assent and assistance of a great portion of the Indian people. Unless it can always retain the more educated, enlightened, and reflective classes of the population in willing and intelligent submission to its sway, and in cordial co-operation with its plans and projects, its mission of reform and civilization will be checked and counteracted. No Government now-a-days can maintain itself merely by military prowess, nor, I will add, merely by good administration. "What citizen of a free country," asks the greatest political and social philosopher of the day, John Stuart Mill, "would listen to any offers of good and skilful administration in return for the abdication of freedom?" India, it may be said, is not a free country, and is not fit for freedom; certainly not in the sense of being fit for representative institutions. But India is under a government of law, not under an arbitrary despotism. India, under British rule and guidance, is possessed of the most important constituents of freedom—a free press, and the right of public meeting and political combination. We must not quarrel with India if she profits by the education we are giving her, and learns to use with effect the political instruments we are placing in her hands. We must not meet her growing desire of more freedom

and more self-government by the contemptuous assertion of the rights of conquest. That assertion is not true, and if it were true would be irrelevant and unmeaning.

MR. TAYLER.—I have only time to follow out one part of the subject dealt with in the present paper, and that is the treatment of those whose lands or territories have come into our possession, not by conquest, fraud, or cession, but by treaty. There are a great many parts of India which we hold entirely on the faith of treaties; and looking, as we now do, upon the natives of India as our equals in intelligence, and as striving to equal us in honourable feeling, I do think that it is of most vital importance, if we wish still to hold our empire upon the basis of the affection and goodwill of the people, that in every instance where we are bound by treaties, those treaties should be *inviolably preserved*. And this brings us to a question with which the Association has lately been practically dealing; and as allusion has been made to the able and exhaustive paper read by Mr. Prichard some time ago, I will occupy the short number of minutes allowed me by saying a few words upon that subject. Mr. Prichard's paper took up the great question of the necessity, in all cases where the pecuniary interests, or even the political interests of the Government and its great feudatories came into collision, of those questions being tried, heard, and decided by an independent tribunal,—hearing, trying, deciding in public, counsel being heard on both sides; and so dealing with the adjudication of such questions as to inspire confidence in the honesty, good faith, and honour of the British Government. This I believe to be a great practical question; and I am not without hope that ere long it will form a subject of discussion in both Houses of Parliament. But it may be said that such a mode of dealing with questions between the Government and the native chiefs is injurious, or may be injurious, to what is called the prestige of the British Government. Now the word "prestige" is one of those unhappy words which have been bandied about from one part of the world to another, which everyone mentions with a certain amount of shame and discomfort, and of which it is very difficult to know the exact meaning; but that any prestige, either of a government or an individual, can be in any way prejudiced by open and honest dealing, I for one cannot bring myself to believe. Now, if we look back at the history of India, so ably illustrated by Major Evans Bell, if we look back to the earlier times of British ascendancy, when there were all sorts of political embarrassments, when there were wars, disaffection, breach of treaty, every conceivable state of political confusion,—we can easily understand how the Government, struggling as it was to ascendancy, thought it necessary to retain in its own hands the settlement and adjudication of almost every conceivable question that could arise between itself and its feudatories. But, now that all that is past, now that the horizon is clear, now that the great struggle for native ascendancy has failed and passed away, we believe for ever; now that we have no wars or rumours of wars, but have settled down in what we may confidently call a peaceful administration, and our supremacy is undoubted,—what conceivable reason can now exist why the Government, in violation of every principle of justice and public morality, should retain to itself the power, which Major Evans Bell so ably adverted to, of deciding in its own interests great questions between itself and native chiefs? It is impossible to give an answer to that question? No English gentleman can say that the very idea of such a thing is not entirely opposed to the first principles of conscientiousness and morality. It is opposed to the customs of this country, to the foundation of all judicial procedure, and has no one conceivable excuse except the old parrot cry of the prestige of the Government. That some of Major Evans Bell's conclusions are somewhat extreme I believe; they are of such a nature that, if they were followed out thoroughly, I believe the result would be simply that we should have to take our farewell of India altogether. However we may have obtained it, I believe it is our duty to hold the country now till we feel that Providence sees fit to withdraw it from our hands. I do not agree that cession is not conquest. I believe nobody ever ceded sixpence of his property unless he thought it valueless, or that if he did not cede it, it would be conquered and taken from him. Therefore the difference between cession and conquest is a distinction without a difference. But with a treaty the case is different. The treaty, for instance, between Meer Jaffer and the East India Company was a treaty of iniquity, in which both parties were equally wicked—the one undermining his own Master, and the other colluding with him in the sin. But still, when bad people make an iniquitous treaty, that treaty between them is as inviolable as if

it were made between two angels. It is impossible to enter fully upon this subject, as every one sentence of Major Evans Bell's paper would give room for a discussion for an hour or two hours at least. However, I would wish that in every question brought before the Society we should endeavour to draw some practical lesson, and upon that lesson to found some practical action. It is some time since Mr. Prichard's able paper was read. We have taken no action upon that paper, and yet it is a question rising up every day before us. I believe I speak within the mark when I say there are nine or ten great cases at this moment under adjudication before the Secretary of State, in which the interests of the individual and the interests of the Government, in pecuniary matters, in matters of possession, and in matters of treaty, are at issue between them; and I believe all those questions are, according to the usual custom, being decided, not as English gentlemen would wish them to be decided, publicly and openly, but secretly, in a conclave of three or four gentlemen of the India Office—gentlemen of great experience, but of rather obstructive propensities—gentlemen who, individually and personally, would be incapable of the slightest deviation from honesty, but who, as a collective body, do not, I fear, hesitate to decide and to feel a little too much in favour of their own side of the question.

Mr. PRICHARD.—I think that one great service that Major Evans Bell has rendered to India, and, I may add, to our Association, is this, that in his remarks he has removed a great misconception which exists in the public mind as to the method in which our dominion in India was acquired. Whether India was acquired by treaty or by conquest, or by cession extorted by violence, which to my mind is very much the same as conquest, matters but little. We are bound, however, to carry out our duty as the paramount power in India in administering justice to the people. I think that too much attention can hardly be drawn to the great necessity of our Indian legislators and political officers paying more attention than they do to the study of international law. I know that mistakes have frequently arisen, and frequently do arise, from an utter disregard of the well-established principles of international law which have been already laid down by our great writers. I might, perhaps, illustrate this by one instance. We all know that in international law the class called belligerents have certain rights, which rights are not by international law admitted in the case of those who are regarded as rebels. Now, when Oudh was annexed by Lord Dalhousie, the grasp of the British Government upon that province had not been made secure before the rebellion broke out. The people of Oudh, finding that they had an opportunity at hand, took up arms, and endeavoured to secure the freedom of their country. When the war was over, or nearly over, the famous despatch which goes now by the name of Lord Stanley's Despatch (though it was sent out from the India Office in London just at the change of Ministry, and, perhaps, the authorship of it can hardly be attributed to Lord Stanley, but it goes in history generally by the name of Lord Stanley's Despatch), clearly dealt with that point, and it was laid down there in plain and unmistakable terms that the people of Oudh were to be regarded by the Indian Government and treated as belligerents, and not as rebels. Whether from absolute ignorance of the principles of international law or from inadvertence, the tenor of this despatch on this important point was entirely overlooked in India, and in the proceedings that followed, when the re-organization of Oudh took place after the war, those men, who were really in every sense of the word absolute belligerents and entitled to the rights of belligerents, were treated as if they had been rebels. Since that time to the present I believe a great many efforts have been made by the Government to remedy as far as possible the injustice that was committed owing to that oversight or mistake. The India of the present day is not the India of five years hence. We who have been in India the last twenty years or more, and have recently left it, can easily mark the very great changes that have taken place, more especially since the suppression of the rebellion in 1858 and 1859, and this change is progressing at a very rapid rate. India ten years hence will be something totally unlike India of the present day; and as these changes proceed, and as our network of railways spreads over the whole country, we are necessarily brought constantly into ever-increasing and closer contact with the native States; and the result of this is the spread of commercial relations, and, as a consequence, the constant occurrence of questions involving rights and disputes which have to be settled, and for the settlement of which there is at present positively no machinery existing.

Dr. MOORE.—There is one acquisition which has not been mentioned here to-night

which I think it right to mention, namely, the acquisition of Dr. Hamilton—Calcutta and the twenty-four pergunnahs were given by Akbar, King of Delhi, for medical services rendered by Dr. Hamilton; and in my writing and speaking, I have alluded to that as perhaps the most honourable transaction that ever occurred between our Government and India. That was long prior to any treaty that Major Evans Bell has alluded to to-night.

Mr. NOWROOJEE FURDONJEE said that it seemed to him immaterial now whether the whole or any part of India was a conquered country or not, or how it had been acquired. No doubt it had been acquired partly by conquest, partly by cession, partly by internal dissensions amongst the native chiefs, and partly by treaty; but, even if it were conceded that India was a conquered country—which could not properly be said of the whole of India, because a great part of it had not been acquired by conquest—it did not follow that the conquered nation should be ruled with an iron rod by the conquerors, a brave and enlightened nation like the British. (Hear, hear.) A great and highly civilized nation like the British would not deign to rule those over whom it had acquired dominion in the way in which tyrants and autocrats ruled the countries conquered by them, but would desire to rule them with that justice and liberality which distinguished and characterized England in all its acts in this country. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that the principles enunciated by Major Evans Bell in his paper as being those which should actuate the British nation in the conduct, management, and government of the British Empire of India, would have the concurrence of the Association. They were principles of which the British nation ought to be proud, and to which it ought to adhere. On behalf of his countrymen he thanked Major Evans Bell for his able advocacy of the rights of the natives of India, and he trusted that the English nation would produce many such advocates. With respect to one principle upon which, according to the view of Major Evans Bell, the government of the British-Indian Empire ought to be conducted, *viz.* to give the natives a fair share in the administration of the country, he trusted that upon that and similar questions the attention of the Imperial Parliament and of the British people would be aroused and awakened, and that the British Parliament and the British public would be induced to take a much greater interest in such questions than they had hitherto done. The British-Indian Empire had been deservedly called the brightest jewel in the Crown of England, and it behoved the British nation not to omit any opportunity to see that the affairs of that country were properly and justly administered. He deplored the fact which had been stated by a preceding speaker, that it was difficult to induce the press of England to take a lively interest in Indian matters; and he deplored also the fact that Parliament could not be induced to take that lively interest which it ought to take in the affairs of the great country which Providence had committed to its care. Parliament was the supreme governing authority over the British Empire, and Parliament ought to take a much greater interest in India than it did take, the fact being that whenever anything relating to the interests of the 150,000,000 of people in the far East committed to the care of the British power was mentioned in Parliament, or whenever the Indian budget was submitted to Parliament, there was barely a House of twenty or twenty-five members present to listen to affairs of such vital importance. He sincerely trusted that the day was not distant when that indifference would be a thing of the past—(hear, hear)—and when the British Parliament and the British public would be induced to take a greater interest in Indian matters. At the present moment, having to deal with a financial crisis, it was doubly necessary that the British public and the British Parliament should take an interest in the administration of the affairs of India. It was high time that they should inquire into the causes of that financial crisis; that they should ascertain how it was that, notwithstanding the revenues of India have been increasing from year to year, large deficits had arisen, necessitating the imposition of new and objectionable taxes, and the enhancement of taxes that had been previously imposed. One point connected with the expenditure, which had been referred to by Major Evans Bell in his paper, was the military expenditure. It had been characterized as “enormous” by the Under-Secretary of State last year when the Indian budget was submitted to Parliament; it had been referred to by the Secretary of State as excessive, and admitting of reduction to the extent of 1,500,000*l.* per annum. The Chairman also, in the work he had recently published, had adverted to the fact that the Indian military expenditure was enormous, and that it had been needlessly kept up on a very high and extravagant

scale. He (Mr. Nowrozjee Furdonjee) believed if that expenditure, and the expenditure in other departments, which had gone on increasing unchecked from year to year for a great many years, were checked and curtailed, the present financial difficulty would be overcome, and the necessity for increasing the taxation which presses so heavily on the people of India, and from which they were at present suffering, would be obviated. If those grievances were inquired into and remedied in time, he believed the allegiance of the native British subjects would be strengthened—(hear, hear)—and he trusted that, through the praiseworthy exertions of the Association, the British Parliament and the British public would be induced to take that interest in Indian affairs which it was necessary they should take considering the Imperial interests that were at stake.

MR. FREELAND.—I came here as a visitor to-night, not intending to take any part in this discussion, but as the Chairman has kindly told me that I am at liberty to make a few remarks, I shall gladly avail myself of the permission, and I hope that I shall not trespass unduly on your indulgence. I came as a learner and made a few notes on Major Evans Bell's paper, which I should have taken away with me as matters for study and reflection, had it not been that I feel almost constrained to speak in consequence of some observations which have fallen from the gentleman who has just spoken with so much force and eloquence, and who sits next me. The chief point on which I rise to speak is this. When I sat for a few years in the House of Commons, I did feel painfully and strongly the gross neglect of Indian subjects to which the last speaker has alluded, and which characterized the proceedings of that House. (Hear, hear.) I felt it, and it stung me to the quick. I said to gentlemen with whom you are acquainted, with whose names I will not trouble you, "Gentlemen, I will take care to be always present when an Indian subject is under discussion to help you to make a House, and to form at all events a very humble portion of at least, so far as depends on me, an attentive audience on Indian subjects. I will not speak unless it should so happen that I have been able to study them, and I will never speak unless I feel I have something practical to propose." I have come here to-night hoping that I might make myself a little better acquainted with those subjects, and have listened with very great interest and attention to all that has been said by different speakers. But there have been some terms made use of by one or two of the speakers which I wish that we might discard from the discussion of Indian questions—the question, for instance, whether this or that Nawab is a creature of the Government or not. I think that in the discussion of these questions it would be well that such a term should in future not be used. Then again it was said, that India should be ruled solely with reference to her own interests. I must venture to take some exception to that phrase. I should wish that all Indian interests should be duly considered, but one thing I do wish even more, and it is this, that English and Indian interests should be considered as one and the same, so long as those two countries are to be held, and God grant that they may long be held, together. (Hear, hear.) The gentleman to whom we are so much indebted for his paper, and with whose name every friend of India is familiar, divided his subject into different heads, and I think the chief points to which he referred were our position relatively to the conquered States, our position relative to the protected States, and relative also to the principles of international law which may be applied to India, and which of course apply especially to our relations with the independent States of that country. I will not trespass on your kind indulgence with more than two or three remarks upon the subject of our position relatively to the conquered States of India. I shall only venture to express one earnest hope, with reference to our dealings with those conquered States, namely, that we may think in future less of the rights which conquest may give, and more of the duties which conquest imposes on us. As regards the protected States of India, the question of rights comes less under our consideration; but in the case of those States, I hope that with a double earnestness and under a sense of a double responsibility we shall think of those duties which our connection with those States, and our feelings and duties as members of a great Christian and civilized country, distinctly calls on us to fulfil. As regards the principles of international law, which apply rather to our relations with the independent States of India than to our relations either with conquered or protected States, all I can say, and I say it from the very bottom of my heart, is this, that I do hope we shall never cease to apply those principles of international law, which form the safeguard of the

weak against the strong—that we shall never cease to remember that the weaker an independent State is in India, the more scrupulous should we be to give it the full measure of those rights which international law, when rightly interpreted, secures to the weakest member of any community of States or countries. (Hear, hear.) As I said just now, I do not like talking of India and England as if we were to have a merely Indian policy or a merely British policy. I think our great duty and object should be to have an Imperial policy, to make an Indian feel when he comes to live amongst us, that he is as much at home in England as he would be in India, and to make an Englishman when he goes to India feel that he is as much at home in India as he would be in England, and that it is his duty to look upon those he meets there as his brothers and as members of one great State, the glory and greatness of which we are all equally anxious and bound in duty to promote. We must have not only an Imperial policy, but we ought to have, I admit, an Indian policy to a certain extent. It has been said to-night that what we ought to do in India is to carry out our moral and our material obligations. Our Indian policy, which is a sort of local policy within the Imperial policy, seems to me to resolve itself mainly into this, that we should do everything in our power to educate the people of India in all that relates to health of mind and health of body. We should endeavour to carry education, not proselytism, not notions of sectarianism or principles of that kind, but good sound rational education, apart from proselytizing notions, into the families of the natives, and especially to spread it among the women of that country. Our first duty there is to educate the mothers of the rising generation, in which we hope that we may find firmer and faster friends than we get even now. (Hear, hear.) I admit that we should also have within the limits of our Imperial policy, not only an Indian but to a certain extent a British policy. The first duty of that British policy, as it seems to me, is to educate in a thorough knowledge of the physical resources, the capabilities, the languages, the productions, and the wants of India, those whom we send out from this country to fill offices there. Many of these offices will, however, I hope be filled by a fair proportion of the natives of India, irrespectively of race and creed. (Hear, hear.) I think that if those principles are carried out, and if the attention of the Legislature is fixed as it ought to be fixed, whether by meetings of this kind, or by speeches as forcible as that which the gentleman on my left has favoured us with to-night, we shall arrive at a better position of affairs as regards our relations with India. I think that we shall cement the ties of brotherhood between the people of both countries, and by so doing, consolidate, as members of a great Christian and civilized community ought to do, a proud and an extended empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HARDING remarked that those who had preceded him had hardly said a single word upon the question upon the card—a question the wording of which was somewhat unfortunate, for it was almost impossible to answer it either in the affirmative or in the negative. India itself was certainly not a conquered country, because India was composed of a variety of States, some of which had been conquered, others of which had been obtained by cession. He quite agreed with an observation that fell from one of the preceding speakers, Mr. Tayler, that, whether we acquired India by cession or by conquest, at all events in these days we were not entitled to insist upon the rights of conquerors, and to deny the people whose territories had been so acquired rights which we conceded to those whose territories we had acquired by treaty. He was well aware that, according to the maxims of international law, it was within the competency of conquerors to exercise certain rights over conquered countries which they were not permitted to exercise over countries acquired by treaty; but England could not claim to be a “magnanimous” country, to use the word used by Mr. Nowrozjee Furdonjee, if she insisted upon denying to States which she had gained by conquest all the rights, to the fullest extent, which she accords to those which she gained by treaty.

Mr. BRIGGS, with regard to what he took as a slur cast upon the Lancashire manufacturers in Major Evans Bell's paper, said that whatever the Lancashire manufacturers took from India they paid for; and, in fact, Lancashire, in paying war prices for cotton, had, in ten years, paid India 100,000,000*l.* more than intrinsic value received. Moreover, Lancashire wished them to retain the cotton trade in their hands instead of having to go to America. With regard to the question whether India was a conquered country or not, the country having come into our hands, whether by conquest, or by cession, or by other means, it was our duty to make the best of it, and to

govern it, not in the way we were doing, by a paternal Government, with constitutional machinery; not by the policy of the sword, but by the policy of the ploughshare.

GOPAL CHUNDER ROY, in proposing a vote of thanks to Major Evans Bell for his paper, and for his advocacy of the rights of the natives, said that he agreed with Major Evans Bell that the term "conquered," in the proper signification of the term, could not be applied to India. At the time of the settlement of the English in India the country was in a state of internal strife and dissension, and the people were oppressed by the native Governments, and were yearning after a change in the ruling power of the country. In that state of things it was the policy of the British Government to ally itself with some of the native States, and thereby to set the rest at defiance. Had it not been for the assistance rendered by some of the principal native States to the British, it was doubtful whether they could have gained the supremacy which they now held in India; it could not therefore properly be said that India had been conquered by the British nation. Taking that proposition for granted, the next question was whether the British nation had properly performed the duties devolving upon them on the different States of India coming into their possession, and whether they had given the natives those rights which a Government ought to give to the people it governed. It could not be denied that the natives had received a great many advantages from British rule; but the natives could not derive all the benefits which they were entitled to expect so long as they were shut out from representation in the Government of the country. Though it was true that at present three of the native princes were allowed to hold a place in the Legislative Council of India, their power in that Council was merely nominal; those native princes were chosen by the Government, and, at the pleasure of the Government they might at any time cease to be members of that Council. That being so, they generally adhered to the side of the Government instead of representing the feeling of the natives. In order to ensure the advancement of India an Indian Parliament was necessary, to which members of the intelligent classes of the natives would be sent, in which Parliament the grievances under which the country laboured could be discussed, and by means of which the proper remedies could be applied.

CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen, in rising to take up the discussion before Major Evans Bell is called on to reply, I must say that I should like very much to see the question which Gopal Chunder has just raised, *viz.* the question of a native Parliament, taken up by the Association on some future occasion. The question of the exclusion of natives from the service of the State and from political power is one of far too much importance to be discussed in the few minutes that remain after ten o'clock; but I hope on some other occasion we may go into that question, and treat it with the attention it deserves. I will only say one word on it now. In speaking of such a Parliament, Gopal Chunder said that such a deliberative body should be chosen by or from the intelligent, and, I suppose he would mean, particularly the educated classes in India; but I take it that great difficulties would arise in the constitution of any such body. If you have a nominated body constituted on a wider basis than any nominated body which we have at present, that nominated body when constituted will still be open to all the objections that have been raised, but if you have an elective body for all India, or even for the largest Presidency—the northern Presidency—you get into great difficulties as regards the distribution of power, and if you attempt, as it is clear you must attempt in carrying out any such experiment at first, to throw the power into the hands of the educated class, then the tendency will be, as we see is the tendency at present, to throw the power too exclusively into the hands of the Presidency towns, and therefore into the hands of those peculiarly connected with the railroad interests and the commercial interests of the country, neglecting to a great extent the interest which, above all others, we have to look to, namely, that of the agricultural classes. To pass from that important subject, which one is now able to do no more than touch upon, let me say one or two words with regard to what fell from Mr. Briggs. Time will prevent my going into his statement that we had paid more for cotton than we had got value for—a statement which is opposed to my notion of political economy. I think Mr. Briggs somewhat misunderstood the point to which he rose to reply. If I remember rightly, Major Evans Bell was speaking of the way in which the interests of India, or the dominant portion of those interests, might be sacrificed chiefly from ignorance here, and he said, for instance, unproductive railways might be made at the cost of the people of India, or indirectly at their cost, by means

of guarantees, which might be made for Lancashire rather than for Indian interests. Mr. Briggs would, I think, be going too far if he assumed that Major Evans Bell laid down any general proposition that the interests of India had hitherto been persistently sacrificed to those of Lancashire. I think what Major Evans Bell was contending for was, that we had no adequate safeguard, no adequate security existing at this moment that that should not be done, rather than that it was done as a matter of fact. That leads me to the question of the attention paid to Indian affairs by the English press and the English Parliament, and to what fell from Mr. Nowrojee Furdonjee upon that subject. With regard to the press, it is clear to everybody that the press not taking up Indian matters merely means that the public do not take any interest in them; because, if the public took any interest in such matters, the press would take them up, and that of course reacts also upon Parliament, because, if no great amount of interest is felt by the constituencies on any particular subject, naturally there would be less interest felt in that subject on the part of the members representing those constituencies in the House of Commons. But, before too much is made of that point, and before too much blame is laid on our backs for it, you must remember how very much overworked Parliament is, for what a short period of the year it sits, and the enormous amount of business that comes before it,—an amount of business far greater than that which comes before any other Parliament in the world; for a large amount of local business which is done in this country by Parliament, is done in other countries by local bodies, which unfortunately do not exist here. As a natural consequence of this state of things, a certain amount of positive resistance is, as it were, exerted against bringing up any questions which are not pressed on by some immediate necessity, and this circumstance acts with special weight upon all Indian questions. I must also say this in our defence, we can do very little good upon most Indian subjects. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech the other day in answer to Sir Wilfred Lawson, laid down a doctrine which, if not contradicted, puts an end at once to all practical good that can be done by such an Association as this, because what he told the House of Commons was, that the revenues of India were something entirely beyond its scope. Without pledging myself to his exact words, the doctrine he laid down was, that it was all very well for us to talk of interesting ourselves in the revenues of India, but as far as dealing with them was concerned, that was both morally as well as legally beyond our power. The first thing we have to do, is to have some clear understanding in the House of Commons as to how far the revenues of India are beyond our power. So far as I can make out the bearing of the doctrine enunciated in that speech, the discussion on the Indian budget in the House of Commons every year is a mere sham—not a mere sham because a sufficient number of people do not take interest in the budget, but legally a sham, and which sham would be just as great a sham if the budget were listened to by 400 instead of 40. I may also say this, I have only had a seat in the present Parliament, but I believe it is generally admitted that there has been a great improvement in the attention paid to Indian questions in the House of Commons. I believe persons interested in such matters have counted the number of members present upon all discussions upon Indian affairs, and they say that on the discussion of the Indian budget last year there were nearly treble as many members in the House as had ever been present on the same occasion before, and I believe that that interest is increasing; but, at the same time, I am bound to say that so long as things remain in this unsatisfactory position with regard to the power of Parliament in checking the disposal of the Indian revenues, so long that interest will be paid rather, as it were, as a matter of benevolence than as a matter of duty. To leave that portion of the subject, I will say a word or two with regard to the paper of Major Evans Bell. Mr. Tayler, and I think Mr. Prichard also, said that they thought the former portion of Major Evans Bell's paper had been somewhat theoretical, and that it was only in the latter portion of his paper that he descended, as it were, to practical results. But with regard to the speeches of Mr. Tayler and Mr. Prichard, and with regard to the paper itself, if I might venture on any kind of criticism in the presence of such great authorities—and I only venture on it from an international point of view, and not from an Indian one—it seems to me that in those two speeches, as well as in the paper of Major Evans Bell, too much attention was paid to a mere question of words. After all, I cannot help thinking that the rights of conquest have not, as has been since said, any very great bearing upon this question. I think we ought to look at the thing as it stands now. I am speaking now of countries which we, by one title or

another, actually hold. I am not speaking of those which are still independent States. With respect to those States which have come into our possession, whether by conquest or in any other way, we have to deal with the existing state of things as best we can; with regard to independent States, I am in the unfortunate position of not having read Mr. Prichard's paper, but as to the international tribunal which he proposed to constitute, I have read a great many schemes for the constitution of international tribunals and for dealing with the relations between one country and another in Europe, or in the world generally, not between England and protected countries in India, but of late we have been replacing very rapidly all those schemes which were very popular in the last century and the beginning of the present one, by the arbitration of one nation in the case of disputes arising between any others. I think this must be a test to some extent of our relations with the still remaining independent powers in India. Are they sufficiently independent that we could refer our differences with them to the arbitration of third parties? If not, I fear that any such international tribunal is likely to be more or less a sham. I have not read Mr. Prichard's paper, and therefore I speak very much in the dark, but I cannot conceive of any plan by which you could work such a tribunal, with a power at its back that would command sufficient respect, in a case where you could not apply this arbitration by means of a third power. I cannot think with Major Evans Bell (if that were his opinion, and I understand it to be so from his paper) that it is a test of dependency in a State that she is said to be protected by a stronger power, and that she has no external foreign relations. I cannot think that every power which is simply shut up in itself, which has no external relations, is necessarily dependent. If the independence of the independent native States is preserved, as it is likely to be, looking at the state of public opinion in England upon this point, we must look forward to their growing less dependent rather than more dependent upon us. I think there would be every disposition here certainly to preserve those States in a still higher degree of independence; and though possibly there might be no increase of diplomatic relations on their part with outside countries, though they might not be allowed to keep up large armies, or any armies at all, still, as regards their internal government, as regards the collection of revenues, they might attain to a higher state of independence and self-government than before.

Mr. TAYLER explained that Mr. Prichard had no idea that a third power should be appealed to, but his idea was that, instead of a Committee of the Indian Council in secret conclave deciding questions arising between the Government and the native States, the Government itself should appoint a tribunal, even a Committee of the Indian Office, or a Committee of the Privy Council, which should hold its sittings in public, and hear counsel on either side, and receive evidence in public, and give its decision in the light of public opinion.

The CHAIRMAN, in justification of the view he had taken of Mr. Prichard's proposal, said that one of the speakers had founded his arguments in support of Mr. Prichard's proposal on the fact that at present we were interested parties and judges in our own case—even with publicity that would be the case if we did not refer the questions to a third party.

Mr. TAYLER remarked that the publicity would be the check.

Major EVANS BELL.—At this late hour I will not occupy more than a very few minutes. The necessity for saying much, in fact, has not arisen during the meeting, for when we do agree in this Association our unanimity is wonderful. I find, though I have risen to reply, there is hardly anything for me to reply to. Mr. Tayler, in the few observations he has just addressed to us, has, in fact, anticipated what I was going to say with regard to the proposed tribunal. The great thing that is wanted is publicity; that instead of these great matters of State being decided in a secret room, without the parties being heard, that they should be openly discussed, and that judgment should be given with the sanction and supervision of public opinion. As to the objection that Mr. Harding made to such a tribunal, that he did not understand where the power could be found to enforce the decrees of such a tribunal, I do not see what that objection is founded upon, because the Paramount Power in India now manifestly has power to enforce its decrees, and those decrees could of course be equally well enforced by that Power if they were decided in a public tribunal. The justification for the use of the word "International" in such cases is simply this, that in any tribunal of that sort the law of nations must be the foundation of the code and of the precedents by which the cases would be judged.

With reference to the remarks made by Mr. Briggs, Major Evans Bell said that all he had intended to say about Manchester was, that there had been strong representations made to the Secretary of State by the Cotton Supply Association, calling for an enormous expenditure of money in making railways, and he could not see that any arguments were adduced by them for the construction of railways, except that they were to be for the advantage of Manchester manufacturers; and he concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The motion, having been seconded by Mr. KAZI SHAHABUDIN, was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, in returning thanks, said that he took a great interest in Indian affairs, and that he hoped to be of some service to the Association.

The vote of thanks to Major Evans Bell for his paper, proposed by GOPAUL CHUNDER ROY, was seconded by Mr. BRIGGS, and carried unanimously.

JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1870.

W. S. FITZWILLIAM, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Extracts from a paper read by MR. T. ILTUDUS PRICHARD, F.R.A.S., F.S.S.,

On Indian Finance.

THE nature of the subject and the immense difficulty of successfully administering the finances of India will be apparent, if you consider that the Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer has not to deal with one large territory, or even with two or three. To administer the finances of such an Empire is a task far more difficult than that which falls to the lot of a Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, yet in ten years, since 1859, India has had no less than five different financial members of Council, that is, one for every two years. In the case of three of the five, they were men wholly without any previous practical acquaintance with India at all. In the case of the other two a want of acquaintance with the country and with Oriental character and history cannot be alleged as a ground of incapacity. The present Financial Minister, unpopular though he is, is perhaps the ablest administrator the ranks of the Indian Civil Service contain, and, if any one man selected from that distinguished body of public law can be expected to cope with such tremendous difficulties as are involved in a successful administration of the finances of India, that man is Sir Richard Temple. To blame him for what in reality are the results of the system, is unjust. Fettered and shackled, and forced to make his Budget to order, he cannot be held answerable for the present state of affairs any more than Lord Canning could be held responsible for the course of events which resulted in the rebellion of 1857.

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India is in the condition of an estate which, up to ten or eleven years ago, was in the hands of a corporation who were pecuniarily interested in its successful management. The management was taken out of their hands and vested in trustees who, having little time to attend to it and less inclination, make the management over to other trustees, professing to hold them responsible. The result is that there is no one really responsible. Officials in India hold office for so short a time after reaching the posts where they take part in the government, that there is no prospect of their official life lasting long enough for them to see the result of their policy. Under such a state of things there is an inherent ten-

dency in human nature, that cannot be resisted, to tide over present difficulties, regardless of future consequences. The Secretary of State is responsible to the House of Commons, and the House of Commons, when India is mentioned, retires to dinner or the smoking-room. The responsibility of the Supreme Government of India is thus so divided that it is impossible for anyone to say where it rests. The powers of the Local Government are so restricted that a legislative enactment, after passing the Council in India and being confirmed by the Viceroy, is liable to be vetoed in England. We have had one instance within the last five years where a Budget has been rejected by the Home Government and sent back to India to be recast, and we have recently been edified by the exhibition of a Finance Minister producing before Council in Calcutta a Budget made to order. The administration of India is in fact a sort of patchwork—a composite of different patterns and colours sewn together without any attempt at unity of design. We have legislative councils sitting in India composed of men selected for their local knowledge. We have the Indian Law Commission sitting in London to frame codes of laws, composed of eminent lawyers with great Indian judicial experience. We have a council of India composed of officials who have distinguished themselves as statesmen, diplomatists, and soldiers, but most of whom knew India as it was twenty or thirty years ago, before the tide of recent progress—which has effected, and is daily effecting, such a transformation in the country—had begun to flow. Enactments passed by the legislative bodies in India are liable to be vetoed here. Codes of laws, drawn up with the greatest care and after the most diligent research and study by the Law Commissioners here, are sent out to India and returned by the Legislative Council of Calcutta because not adapted to the condition of the people. The Finance Minister has to arrange his Budget so as to satisfy two masters—the Local Government and the Home Government. Each has the power to veto his measures and disapprove his Budget; but as the latter can lay its veto on any of his measures, even when sanctioned by the Local Government, he prefers the course which is likely to be attended with the least confusion in the end, and takes his orders from this country.

The result of the present system of administering the finances of India is a total misapplication of means to an end. The revenue is raised certainly, but instead of being administered on any well-defined and well-established principles of political economy, we have nothing but a yearly succession of temporary efforts to meet ordinary requirements by extraordinary fiscal measures. In the midst of a period of profound peace, when India is in the enjoyment of immunity from political disquietude, such as it has not been her lot to enjoy, certainly ever since the British power obtained a footing in the country, and such as we have no right to expect her to continue to enjoy if we are to learn anything from past history—in the midst of such a period of tranquillity the country is burdened with a war-tax, which presses unequally upon the people and produces the minimum of results with the maximum of discontent.

What the Government will have to meet now is a certain increase of the deficit to the extent of from two to five millions within the next few years, from the failure of the opium revenue; that item of the revenue

has always been regarded as precarious. The profit from opium has depended, hitherto, upon the superiority of the article produced in India, a superiority that was mainly, perhaps solely, due to the restriction on the growth and manufacture of opium in China; that restriction has now been practically withdrawn, and opium cultivation is now rapidly on the increase throughout the length and breadth of the land. Our opium monopoly is virtually at an end; when once the Chinese can depend on their own produce (and we have no grounds whatever for the conclusion, which many persons adopt, that the superiority in the Indian manufactured article will always secure a market), our Indian opium trade must cease. I have stated from two to five millions in round numbers, as the estimated deficit which looms upon us in the future. In 1868-69 the actual receipts under this head were close upon eight millions and a half; in 1869-70, according to the regular estimate, they were 7,958,000; for 1870-71 it is estimated at 6,922,000; every day's intelligence, since the Budget was published, shows that prices are continually falling.

In addition to this, still looking to the future, we find Sir W. Mansfield thus expressing his well-founded apprehension in his speech before the Calcutta Council in April last. Alluding to the income-tax, which, as you know, has just been doubled, and about which I shall have a few words to say by-and-by, Sir W. Mansfield says:—"It must, I think, be admitted, with regard to what was published under the authority of Government last year, that, although it may be inappropriate to apply the word crisis to our difficulties of the autumn, it is certainly accurate to say that an extraordinary emergency had arisen. Unfortunately, as so clearly shown by Sir R. Temple, we are still labouring under the difficulties which may thus be called extraordinary, the inference being that the Government is justified in having recourse to what I for one must characterize as extraordinary." Then he goes on to say:—"There is one more point to which I would invite the attention of the Council, that being the growth of non-effective establishments. I need not advert to the statement of General Hanyington and Colonel Broome, beyond uttering the remark that, while those distinguished authorities differ in detail, they are agreed in presenting a picture of future liability which is positively alarming. In short, we are threatened with the serious danger of all our economies in India in the combative force being eventually greatly more than swallowed up in the growth of the non-effective expenditure. Under such circumstances, a further greater danger might be forced on by public outcry, involving perilous reductions, to meet non-effective charges. The price India pays for the amalgamation of the army is, as Colonel Broome shows, considerably upwards of half a million per annum, expended uselessly on officers who are without regiments, and without men to command, or any difficult duties to perform. An arrangement of military expenditure so costly, as Colonel Broome says, that history presents no parallel to it, and General Hanyington, who adopts the most favourable view, and recently dissuaded the Government from taking any steps to get rid of the continually-increasing burden by a present payment, shows that that half a million will go on increasing till it becomes a million and a half before it begins to fall. In the present period of profound and unprecedented political

tranquillity the bow is strained to the farthest limit. Even if, contrary to the experience of the past, India continues to enjoy her present immunity from political disturbance, yet we have financial difficulties looming in the future which there is no attempt whatever being made to meet.

"The force of my remarks will be apparent to anyone who will take the trouble to read over the different Budget statements by the successive Finance Ministers. There is one for every year since 1860-61. There is the same tone throughout, and, when they are read collectively, the utter absence of any system or principle becomes very strongly marked. Each Minister in turn seems to be endeavouring to tide over some pressing emergency by temporary measures. All is makeshift and dreary repetition of extraordinary efforts to meet the exigencies of the year, a reduction here, a clipping there; an additional tax levied one year, repudiated the next, and then re-imposed with modification. But, indeed, the absence of any sound system has already been admitted by the members of Lord Mayo's Government in terms so plain that it is needless for me to take up time in proving it."

In the discussion in Council which is recorded in the 'Gazette' of the 28th April, Mr. Strachey says:—"For years past every year has regularly ended in a deficit, and the obvious reason has been that, although the growth of the revenues has been very great, the growth of expenditure has been still more rapid." That, indeed, as Mr. Strachey says, is sufficiently obvious. If there was a regular deficit every year, as well as a regular increase of revenue, it is sufficiently clear that expenditure has outrun revenue. "At the beginning of every past year," he continues, "the Financial Department has laid before the financial member of Government an estimate of income and expenditure, which the actual experience of the year has proved to be totally untrustworthy; and the truth is, that for some time past we have all, Government and the public alike, been living in a sort of fool's paradise, accepting these imaginary figures as facts, and congratulating one another on the excellent state of the Exchequer."

Now, you must recollect that this exposition of Indian finance must not be looked upon as if it were a charge made against a Government power from the Opposition benches of the House of Commons. A statement of this kind coming from an official in Mr. Strachey's position is much the same as if a member of the present Ministry were to get up in the House of Commons and say, "Ever since the present Chancellor of the Exchequer came into office we have been living in a fool's paradise, the Government and the country alike being deluded by budgets manufactured with altogether imaginary figures." I venture to think such a confession, as coming from a member of a Government *in esse*, is almost unique.

Lord Mayo speaks even yet more plainly. "It has been repeatedly stated," he says, "but a great truth can hardly be stated too often, that from the year 1866 to the present time we have been plunged in a chronic state of deficit. We have spent an ordinary expenditure in those years of upwards of six and a half millions more than we ought to have done."

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The comparison I have instituted, and which, indeed, has been already so often made, between the British Government in India and the ordinary landlord, holds good to a certain point, and there stops. We ought never to lose sight of the political conditions under which we hold India. A long period of repose is apt to engender confidence, but the element of political danger is never wanting to our position there. We dare not relax our vigilance. It has so often been repeated as to become a truism that our only security for permanent tenure of India is in the loyalty and attachment of the people. Towards securing that, we have as yet made no perceptible progress. Nor shall we do so till education has leavened the masses. Our best intentions are misunderstood, our best efforts misrepresented. We have enlisted the attachment and loyalty of no single class. In Upper India the landed aristocracy of the country has been almost improved off the face of the earth by a rigid adherence to a line of policy in land tenures of which you know Lord Lawrence was so strong a supporter. Nor do the poorer classes like us. There never was before, perhaps, such wide-spread distress and discontent as there is now. It is easy to show, by tabular statements and an imposing array of figures, that the revenue has increased so many millions, the exports and imports so many more, or that twenty-two millions were poured into the country in one year, owing to the demand for cotton. All this does not benefit the masses of the people; on the contrary, it increases their burdens. A writer in the '*Friend of India*' of the 4th May thus describes the condition of the country, and, so far as my experience goes, the description is a truthful one.

"The unprecedented succession of year upon year of drought and famine, and the yearly increasing dearthness of the necessaries of life, rising at a much faster rate than wages have yet risen, is filling the country with sadness and discontent, though as yet the low mutterings of the suffering poor appear not to have reached the ears of the council chamber. What to them are railways and telegraphs, the great highways of commerce, and the diffusion of education? to which our legislators proudly point as the work of their hands. They only contrast their present condition with the past, when grain was cheap and they had plenty to live upon, and when they used to enjoy their native sports and pastimes, all of which are fast dying out with the decay of the princes and nobles who supported them, and nothing to replace their loss."

But I dare not trust myself to speak further on this matter; I only allude to the condition of the people to show how unwise it is to strain the bow to the utmost extent in a time of no political emergency, by laying on a heavy war-tax; when, if it is true of any country in the world, it is true of India, we ought to keep this tax to fall back upon in case of exceptional emergency and great and pressing need.

I may, I suppose, take it for granted that most of those who hear me are aware that the great strain upon the Indian exchequer has been caused by a lavish expenditure on public works.

The '*Gazette of India*' of the 9th April contains a singularly lucid and comprehensive exposition, by Lord Mayo, of the proceedings of the past and the present and ensuing year, in the Public Works Department. Their works are divided into two classes, ordinary and extra-

ordinary. The first class comprises the works which are undertaken out of income; the second, those whose expenses are defrayed by loan.

The total expenditure in public works in India and in England for 1869-70 will have been about 8,000,000*l.* altogether. For the ensuing year, 1870-71, the expenditure is placed at about 7,475,500*l.*; of this, 6,900,000*l.* will be spent in India, and 500,000*l.* in England.

Out of the grant for 1869-70, the sum of 1,040,000*l.* was paid to the shareholders of the East India Irrigation and Canal Company, better known as the Orissa and Soane Irrigation Company, for their property. This item being deducted from the grant for 1869-70, the real expenditure for that year will be reduced to 6,900,000*l.*; so that, says Lord Mayo, we hope to expend during 1870-71, in works of public utility, a much larger sum than we spent last year. But he proceeds to remind the Council that these great sums of eight millions in 1869-70, and seven-and-a-half millions in 1870-71, by no means represent the whole of the expenditure on works of public utility, for which the Government is responsible. In India we shall pay, in 1869-70, 1,570,000*l.* in interest and net charges on account of railways. The railway companies, under Government guarantee, will spend in the same year upwards of 4,000,000*l.* in construction; so that in reality the gross expenditure on works of public utility in India during the past year, and the necessary expenses in interest on loans, will amount to nearly 14,000,000*l.*! Similarly in 1870-71, the total expenditure will be upwards of 14,288,000*l.*

"I wish the Council," adds His Excellency, "to note these facts, because I do not believe that it is generally known that there is such an enormous expenditure going on for works of public utility. If we put these two sums together, we shall have expended in the two years ending March 31, 1871, upon works of public utility and their cognate expenses, altogether the enormous sum of 28½ millions, a sum considerably more than the annual revenue either of Spain, of Italy, of North Germany, and three times as much as that of Holland."

As to the proportion which these sums bear to revenue, Lord Mayo goes on to say, "We may take the available revenue of India for the year just closed (he was speaking in April last) as being 28,000,000*l.*" By "available revenue" he means the revenue after deducting all imperative charges, such as cost of collection, charges, payment of interest, pensions, and payments under treaty. Thus, from the available revenue of the past year, a sum equal to about 17 per cent. will have been spent on public works. In the year 1870-71 our net available revenue will be 28,090,191*l.*, of which a sum equal to 14 per cent. will be similarly expended.

"To put it in another way," His Excellency continues, "the net expenditure on public works, deducting recoveries for this year, amounts to 18,800,000*l.*, which, compared with the net available revenue, gives a sum equal to 47 per cent. This percentage will be increased during the present year; so that, in reality, we expect to spend, within the ensuing year, on works of public utility in India, a sum nearly equal to half of our entire available revenue; and I believe that this is an effort in the direction of public improvement that has hardly ever been attempted by any other nation in the world."

We cannot but endorse Lord Mayo's enthusiastic encomium on the result of these stupendous efforts at works of public improvement. The future historian will have to record whether the zeal for public improvements manifested by those who have charge of the finances and the administration of India, has been tempered by that prudence and discretion which is quite as much an element of real statesmanship as zeal for public works.

This is but a meagre outline of Lord Mayo's valuable exposition. It is sufficient for my present purpose thus to state the outline, for it will be apparent at once that, magnificent as is the scale upon which these works of improvement are projected, there is obviously no such pressing necessity as to justify the adoption of a most obnoxious system of taxation to enable the Government of India to construct so large a proportion of these works out of revenue. Another instance of what I before remarked, of utter want of system in the financial administration of India, is to be found in the condition of affairs depicted by Mr. Strachey in the speech already quoted. It was proposed to cut down the grant for public works. "To do that," urges Mr. Strachey, "would be nothing short of ruinous." So many works have been begun that many have already had to be abandoned, and great loss has been the consequence. "It is impossible to go out of our houses," adds Mr. Strachey, "without seeing huge half-finished buildings remaining untouched for want of funds."

Sir R. Temple consistently, and with a boldness worthy of a better cause, declares the income-tax the best fiscal measure that could be devised, and fairly retorts upon those who found fault with it, while they nevertheless voted for it, that they at any rate had suggested nothing better.

In spite of Sir Richard Temple, who must have been laughing in his sleeve when he stood up for the tax, there is hardly anyone acquainted with India, either within or outside the official circles, who will not tell you that the income-tax is a species of impost totally unadapted for India. When Mr. Wilson first came out, he brought the scheme cut and dried in his pocket. He was utterly ignorant of the country, of the people, of their character. He had studied political economy as understood in Europe and America, where the whole conditions of life are totally different—in some respects a complete contrast—to what they are in Asia. Sir C. Trevelyan, who knew the country well, protested against the ill-judged measure, and was recalled, to be sent back three years later at the head of the Finance Department. But what do the members of the Legislative Council, which voted the tax, themselves say of it? The debate will be found in the '*Gazette of India*,' already quoted, April 28, and it is instructive as showing the character of that so-called legislative body, and the mode in which it works. The Hon. Mr. Chapman says:—"I believe the tax to be utterly unsuited to the circumstances of the country. I believe the small results obtained from it are quite incommensurate with the hostility it creates on the part of the few who are called upon to pay it, but who nevertheless constitute the intelligent masses of the community." The Honourable Mr. Bullen Smith says:—"In common with almost all who have troubled

themselves to think about the matter at all, I have always considered the income-tax unsuitable to this country, and the more I have heard of its working, the stronger has this opinion become." The Honourable Fitz-james Stephen remarked "that it might be necessary to impose the tax, but it was a most grievous necessity." The Honourable Mr. Strachey agrees with Mr. Chapman, "that if in time of peace and prosperity we increase the income-tax to an excessive amount, we shall have shut ourselves off from almost the only certain and immediate source of financial relief to which we can have recourse in times of danger and serious difficulty." Sir H. Durand, endorsing the opinion of the Maharajah of Jey-pore, describes the tax as "odious to the country, unsuited to the people, and very poor in its return."

Englishmen cannot understand that the income-tax is wholly unsuited to India. Officials on the spot resort readily to it, because, in the first place, it is a scheme they find ready made to hand, and it saves the trouble and responsibility of studying the question, and devising any other system of increasing the revenue. It was introduced by Mr. Wilson, and has the *prestige* of his name. But had that able man lived longer, he would have been the first to admit that he was wrong, and his old colleague, Sir C. Trevelyan, right. Again, it saves trouble, because it can be collected with the existing machinery. But it presses most unequally on the people. It is unfair, because it is easily evaded. How can you tax the income of a man who buries his money in the ground, or melts it down into ornaments? It opens the way to more abuse, more oppression, more foul play, than any other impost that could be devised. It adds another link to the galling chain which the Amla have bound on the necks of the suffering people; and its return is wholly out of proportion to the trouble, the expense, the worry, the ill-will caused by it.

But I must pass on to the questions, Why is this war-tax necessary? What is the emergency which has called it forth? Is it necessary? 'The Times' the other day, in an excellent article on the subject, called attention to the fact that, in 1865, when the revenue was six millions less than it is now, Sir C. Trevelyan said that the existing taxation of India was sufficient to meet the necessities of Government. In 1868 Mr. Massey expressed the same opinion in almost the same words. Whence has arisen the increased expenditure? We have been engaged in no costly war. There has been no rebellion to suppress, no gigantic reform in the Administration, calling for unprecedented outlay. On the contrary, our efforts have been professedly directed to effecting economy. Reduction has been the burden of the song ever since Mr. Wilson went out to take the reins in hand. Yet, rapidly and enormously as our revenue rises year by year, the expenses of the ordinary Administration increase in greater ratio, and every year the Finance Minister complains of some fresh deficit that he has to meet; and if there is but a deficit of his own creation, he is pretty sure to find out the result of past maladministration developed.

While we have before us a certain prospect, even if the present unprecedented immunity from political troubles is not interrupted, even if we continue to enjoy a condition of peace, of which I say the experience of past history does not justify the expectation, we have a certain prospect

of a falling-off of opium revenue to the extent of several millions, and of those other liabilities alluded to by Sir W. Mansfield, a drain of half a million at least to pay for non-effective military establishments, a legacy left us by Lord Halifax consequent on the wretched bungling in the army amalgamation. Instead of borrowing to construct public works, and trusting to a war-tax in case of war, we resort to a war-tax to construct public works out of current income, but in the event of war our credit may not be good enough to enable us to borrow; at any rate we should have to pay very heavy interest.

I think I have said enough to establish my position that the state of affairs is such as to call loudly for some strict and searching inquiry. And what I want to urge upon this meeting is the necessity of insisting upon some inquiry being instituted with a view to reform; whether that inquiry take the form of a Royal Commission or a committee of the House of Commons, or a special committee composed of men selected for practical knowledge of India and regular training in the science of finance. There is another branch of the subject into which I much regret time will not allow me to enter. I allude to the mode in which these enormous sums laid out in public works are expended. What would be the result in this country if twenty-eight millions of public money were placed in the hands of the Commissioners of Public Works to be spent by them upon their own responsibility, without the least prospect of any check, or any account having to be rendered, or any question asked? And what may we suppose is the result in a country like India? There is, indeed, a diametrically opposite set of opinions maintained by those within and those without official circles. Outside official circles the general belief is that the whole system of expenditure in the Public Works Department is one of gross extravagance. It is the general belief that Government pay from 20 to 25 per cent. more than the ordinary market rate for material, while the work executed is as a rule of a very second-rate character. I know that railway engineers laugh at the works constructed by the Public Department. I do not think the latter can deny the great superiority and durability and general execution of the works constructed by the civil railway engineers; while the frequent recurrence of accidents to edifices erected by the Public Works Department has passed into a by-word; and buildings that fall down before they are finished, or shortly after completion and have to be re-constructed, are called by those who have the heart to joke upon such subjects "reproductive works."

This may seem incredible to some that hear me. Yet last year a church erected at Jubbulpore by the Public Works Department had to be blown up, because it was unsafe, shortly after completion. And I see by the last file of papers just received, that the artillery barracks at the same place, now just completed, will have to be blown up, from the same cause. About two years ago, the barracks at Nusseerabad fell down, fortunately, I believe, without causing any loss of life. I recollect, however, another instance of a barrack falling down from the same cause, defect in construction, when the consequences were far more serious, and a large number of casualties occurred; men, women, and children of H.M. 54th Regiment being crushed under the ruins. I recollect a large church was erected at Peshawur, close to my own house. It was adapted for holding,

I suppose, upwards of a thousand people. The walls were completed, but one morning all had disappeared. There had been either a slight shock of an earthquake or a gale of wind in the night, and they were all levelled to the ground. How long the new High Courts in Calcutta have been in building, and how many times they have fallen down, there are probably some here who can tell us.

Again, we all know how, in large continents, where means of communication have never been properly developed, the construction of a network of railways has the effect of opening up new channels of commerce and traffic. It also has the effect of modifying very considerably the direction in which the defences of the country should be maintained, and the number and position of the different points which it is desirable to occupy with military garrisons.

In 1862, ten millions sterling were set aside to defray the cost of barracks and military works, of which five millions were expended by the close of 1869. It was calculated that the whole ten millions would have been expended by 1872. The new style of double-storied barracks, which is now adopted, not inaptly described as palatial edifices, and palatial they are in size and costliness, cannot be erected under from a hundred to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds. A range of barracks for a whole infantry regiment will consist of ten of such buildings. Yet it is certain that in many instances, owing to the development of railways and other causes, many of these expensive buildings will be found useless. I believe that already in some places they have been abandoned. At Jullundur five of these double-storied barracks, lately completed, have to be classed in the list of splendid failures, for I see that the officer commanding the 22nd Highlanders, quartered there, has moved his men out of them into the old buildings, because the latter are found to be ten degrees cooler in the hot weather, and the new edifices are left tenantless.

All these things, and many others of a similar tendency, are notorious to everyone outside the official world. The system, however, in India is such that reform in a department never can, by any possibility, come from within. All the officers in the various departments of the vast machinery employed in collecting and expending some thirty, forty, or fifty millions of money every year, are animated by a hearty sympathy and *esprit de corps*. They are absolutely unassailable by any impulse acting from the outside world; and as the feelers of a polypus all contract simultaneously, and co-operate to resist the aggressor, when you touch any one part of it with your finger, so the different departments of the Indian Government, when one of them is attacked, all combine to silence, and, if they cannot silence, to crush the assailant. Red tape and official obstructiveness, the fear of stirring a hornet's nest, the dislike to interfere with tradition and custom—tradition and custom, be it observed, handed down from a time when the pagoda tree vigorously flourished in Indian soil—all these principles intertwined and laced together form an impenetrable barrier to anything like fair inquiry that may show the necessity of reform. While engineer officers themselves will tell you, and Colonel Chesney has also alluded to the same thing in his recent book on Indian Polity, that the Office work which they have to transact, in preparing statements and overlooking accounts, so ties them to their desks that they

cannot supervise effectually the contractors. These things are no secret. Mr. Wilson found himself front to front with this tremendous barrier the moment he attempted anything like wholesome reform—a huge incubus of officialism, a negative opposition most difficult to resist. He worked and worked day and night, and worked himself to death, for he was crushed under it, as many others have been similarly crushed. His whole time was taken up, as I have been told in his own words, in untying red tape, which was tied up again as soon as he had succeeded in loosening it. I have no doubt that Mr. Laing, Mr. Massey, and Sir Charles Trevelyan, would bear the same testimony if they were asked.

But I must draw my remarks to a close. I believe no remedy will be devised or carried out till the matter has been taken up here by Parliament or by the Crown. An individual opinion on a subject so complex is not worth much, but I may say I believe Mr. Strachey has laid his finger on the right spot when he declares that no improvement of accounts and estimates, however necessary and important in themselves, will ever enable us to remedy the present unsatisfactory condition of our finances; and that until each subordinate Government is left to raise its own revenue and manage its own income, the mischief never can be repaired. This suggestion has already been mooted more than once, but we must despair of anything being done till the matter is taken up in England. The fact is, India is so vast a country, and consists of so many different territories and different races, in every stage of civilization, and under almost every conceivable condition of life, that it is utterly impossible to devise any one system of taxation or fiscal administration that is adapted to all; while the area over which the Imperial expenditure is spread is so vast, the accounts are so voluminous, the machinery for such supervision as can be exercised so cumbrous, that it is beyond the power of any one man, let his genius be ever so great, to superintend the whole. In this direction, I am persuaded, the remedy will be found. The great difficulty is to persuade the Government and the public that the emergency is so great as to demand a hearty and energetic effort to apply a remedy. I wish I could use words strong enough to describe the serious nature of that emergency. So long as we are happily free from any political disturbance, we may make shift to carry on in the slipshod manner in which we have tided over so many financial crises. India is a vastly productive country, and inhabited by races patient and forbearing enough to have been the *corpus vile* on which the crude experiments of political economists have been tried for many years past; but we cannot reckon on a continuance of these conditions; we must be prepared for political disturbances, and we must be prepared also for an awakening of the intelligent masses of the community to the consciousness of political rights, and to the knowledge that union is strength. The former we may have to encounter any day, the latter must come sooner or later; I believe it is nearer at hand than most Englishmen suppose. Should any such emergency occur now, it would find us in the worst possible condition a country can be in to meet a crisis, namely, with its whole machinery and system of financial administration out of gear.

I cannot close these remarks without alluding to a matter closely allied to the subject of finance. I have not had time even to touch upon

many branches of this important question, such as the land revenue, the costly nature of our administrative machinery, owing to its being constructed principally out of a foreign element, and the consequent drain out of the country of ten or twelve millions annually, excessive military charges, home charges, and other points.

Mr. MACLEAN said, there could be no doubt that the weak point in the system of the Indian Government was, that whereas at home the Treasury was the central power, having the control of the purse, in India the Finance Department had not that control. The Public Works Department was entirely free from the control of the Finance Minister of the time, and therefore any estimates he brought forward himself were necessarily, to a great extent, conjectural. Mr. Prichard had not in his paper suggested any substitute for the income-tax; but he thought those who objected to it ought to show in what other way the Finance Minister was to make up the deficit. Mr. Prichard had said that the income-tax was only a war-tax, but the fact was that though the income-tax was a great resource in time of war in England, the case was totally different in India, where, in time of war, a large proportion of the population would be, if not disaffected to the British Government, at all events, lukewarm. The only thing to rely on in time of war in India was the credit of the Government of India, which credit could not be kept up if we went on increasing our debt from year to year, and neglected to impose taxes to make the revenue meet the expenditure. The debt was already increasing at a rate fast enough to satisfy even speculative financiers. The question was, what other tax could be substituted for the income-tax. Colonel Chesney, in his 'Indian Polity,' said that the prosperity of the country must go on increasing in proportion as railways and other appliances of civilization were introduced into the country, and that, in the course of time, we should be able to raise the Customs and Excise revenue to such a point as would put those who had the control of the finances in a perfectly happy and easy frame of mind. But could the Customs and Excise duties ever bear the same proportion to the whole revenues of India that those two heads of revenue in this country bore to the whole of the revenue of England? India had been increasing vastly in riches and prosperity, but the Customs and Excise duties had not increased in anything like the same proportion, and it was not at all likely that the Customs and Excise duties on articles of common consumption in India would ever bring in anything like the revenue that the duties on the same articles would produce in this country. There could be no great revenue raised in India by indirect taxation on such articles as tea, coffee, sugar, spirits, and tobacco; and the increasing wealth of the people would only be touched by direct taxation. The only substitute that had ever yet been suggested for the income-tax, with the exception of an increase of the land-tax, was an increase of the duty on salt (a favourite plan of Sir Charles Trevelyan, and which Lord Lawrence, much to his honour, had steadily opposed). Mr. Prichard had said that the income-tax was oppressive, but an increased tax on a great necessary of life of the people would be much more objectionable, seeing that it would be severely felt

by the masses, whereas the income-tax pressed only on the wealthy. No doubt a great deal of deference was to be paid to the views of the Bombay and other Associations, which, whenever any tax was imposed, were always so ready to raise what was commonly called a constitutional clamour against it; but it might be doubted whether those Associations represented the people of India; they, in fact, represented only a certain class of the people. The people on whom the income-tax was imposed were the very people who benefited most by our rule, and who hitherto had paid no taxes at all, and he thought we were bound to impose the income-tax in preference to raising the duty on salt. The only plan suggested by the Bombay Association, with the view of meeting the difficulty in respect to the finances, was, that we should borrow money for carrying out public works, and renew the bill from time to time. But would they be more willing to pay the bill twenty-five years hence? He thought that we should be premature in denouncing the income-tax till we could point out in what other way the Finance Minister could raise money for carrying on the government of the country.

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE stated that, as Secretary of the Bombay Association, he had been deputed to come over to this country to support the petition which that Association had sent to the Secretary of State and Council of India, praying that the finances of India might be placed on a satisfactory footing, and that the income-tax should be abolished. In that petition the memorialists had suggested, as Mr. Maclean had pointed out, that the money expended on permanent works, the full benefit of which would be reaped not only by the present generation, but by several future generations, should be borrowed as a loan, to be paid off within a certain number of years, say twenty or twenty-five years, instead of the whole amount being drawn at once from the current revenue. But besides that suggestion, the memorialists had proposed that the expenditure, which had been increasing from year to year in every department of the Administration of India, both in India and this country, should be reduced. If that remedy were adopted, there would be no necessity for raising money by obnoxious and oppressive taxation. That remedy had been advocated not only by the native inhabitants of Bombay, but also by Government officials. Mr. Chapman, the Chief Secretary of the Bombay Government, and the representative of Bombay in the Supreme Legislative Council of India, when the income-tax was brought forward, contended before the Legislative Council that no strong case had been made out, and no necessity had been shown for the imposition of the income-tax. He contended before that Council that the establishments were susceptible of considerable reduction. The present Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Argyll, only a few months ago, in a despatch which he addressed to the Government of India, had declared that the military expenditure of India admitted of a reduction to the extent of it might be a million and a half, but at all events a million. If that reduction were carried out there would be no necessity for the imposition of fresh taxation, but as yet no practical step had been taken to carry into effect that opinion so deliberately put upon record by the Secretary of State. He concurred with almost all that had been advocated and stated so ably by Mr. Prichard in his

paper. Mr. Prichard had said that the present Financial Minister was fettered and shackled, and had produced a Budget to order. It was a blot on the administration of the finances of the Indian Empire that the Minister in charge of the Financial Department of that empire should be in such a position—it was a state of things which ought not to be tolerated, and which ought not to be allowed to continue for a moment. We ought to have a financier supreme in his department, and personally responsible for the proper conduct and management of that department, and not a mere clerk producing a Budget to order. It had been shown by Mr. Prichard that the amalgamation of the local army with the Queen's army had already cost the revenues of India half a million sterling per annum, and that that amount would go on increasing till in a short time it would amount to a million and a half. It was such unnecessary expenditure that occasioned the imposition of an oppressive income-tax. He could not allow to pass unnoticed one remark made by the last speaker, that the Bombay Association represented only a class, and that their memorial had been drawn up and supported by the wealthy merchants of Bombay who wanted to get rid of the liability to pay the income-tax, and not in the interests of the whole of the native inhabitants of Bombay, nor of the poorer classes of the people. The wealthy inhabitants of Bombay were too well known for their philanthropy and their abnegation of self, to merit such a charge. Moreover, their petition contained the following paragraph:—"Your memorialists cannot acquiesce in the justice of the expedient that has been adopted by the Government of India to increase the revenues. Your memorialists apprehend that the enhancement of the salt duty will press heavily, especially on the agricultural and poorer classes of the people in this Presidency, who contribute to the State a larger amount of land revenue than the inhabitants of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces." That circumstance, together with many other expressions to be found in the petition and the speeches of the members who supported that document, would convince the meeting that the members of the Bombay Association were not actuated by any such selfish motives as those ascribed to them. The Association had been established not only to represent the interests of those who were members of it, but to represent the interests of the native inhabitants of the Bombay Presidency, particularly the poorer and middle classes, and the native inhabitants of India in general. He for one would have no connection with an Association established for the promotion of selfish or class interests.

Sir BARTLE FREER.—I came here simply as a hearer, and in the hope of hearing something that might be of use as a guide to direct us out of the very difficult position in which the finances of India are at present placed; and I therefore trust that you will take anything I say as a mere personal opinion. And first of all, as I should like to give, if possible, a practical direction to the working of the Association in this as in every other respect, I would wish them to bear in mind that in looking into the question as to where any inquiry should take place, and what inquiry should take place regarding the finances of India, they ought first to inquire who holds the purse-strings? If you consider this most important question, you will find that the British Parliament holds the purse-strings,

and that probably we should not have been in this state of uncertainty about our finances had the British Parliament continued the practice which it had followed from the first acquisition of any considerable empire in India up to a very recent period, of calling those who administer the affairs of India to a periodical account. You may remember that as long as the charge of the finances of the Indian Government was left in the hands of a mercantile body, the Court of Directors, Parliament very rigidly required at every renewal of the Charter, that the trustees of India should submit to an examination, which generally occupied two Sessions, and took place before Select Committees of both Houses, as to what the Government of India had done in time past, and what they were prepared to do in time to come. I cannot help thinking that in abandoning that custom a very great and useful barrier to misgovernment was removed. Lord Dalhousie suggested an alteration in that system because he found that a periodical examination at fixed intervals was equivalent to a periodical call for agitation, and that considerable inconvenience resulted from its being the habit to treasure up all grievances, and to bring them forward periodically at the renewal of the Charter, to hamper the Government of India. That was a very good reason why the examination should not take place at fixed intervals, but it was not any reason why the Administration of India should not be called to account by Parliament whenever they found anything was amiss. You must recollect in this matter, that Parliament has, as lately as last year, taken to itself the direct control of matters which used formerly to be left to the Government of India, either out in India or in this country, and that the functions of the Home Government are now essentially and very widely different from what they were during the time of the old Court of Directors. I will say no more upon that point, but merely suggest that of all the modes of inquiry which I have heard proposed, the best, I think, would be a Select Committee of Parliament reporting to Parliament. There is another point which is very important, which I do not think has been noticed by Mr. Prichard, and which has not, I think, received adequate attention as yet, and that is the paramount necessity for discriminating between what I may call the arithmetical question—the question regarding the accounts—and the real financial question. We have talked all along of this very serious deficit; but gentlemen are, no doubt, aware that there are people who say there is no deficit at all, and that the state of matters is not really so serious financially as has been represented; of course it is a state of matters very serious in itself when a great Government does not know whether it is on the right or the wrong side of its banker's book. But the point I wish to press upon your attention is, that you should very carefully separate these questions of whether the deficit you have to encounter is one merely of account, or whether it is a serious, a real, and a chronic *financial* deficit. With regard to accounts, there has always seemed to me to be a very simple remedy which would ensure your getting the accounts correct and in good time. You are, of course, aware that at present two sets of accounts are kept up—one in India, and one in this country; and it is a matter of very great difficulty, as every man of business knows, ever to bring two such sets of accounts to a clear balance-sheet. The remedy for that is

that you should do as the Court of Directors did up to 1857, have your accounts combined and made up not in India, but in London, and let them be rendered to Parliament periodically. That would involve some change, no doubt, in the details; but in principle it would not be any such great change as might at first sight appear; and I believe you might then have, at the beginning of the session, your accounts laid before Parliament in a perfectly intelligible and correct form, such as would enable you to judge with great accuracy how the Government of India stood at that moment. I have no doubt myself that when your accounts are accurately made out you will find that you are in a financially insecure position, and you require more resources than you have now. I do not overlook the immense elasticity which exists in the Indian revenues, and which I believe to be far greater than in the case of almost any other country except such countries as England and America. I believe, if you really look at the case fairly, and consider what has been the case in time past, you will find that the existing revenues of India are extremely elastic; but let me remind you that the requirements of India are even more elastic, and every sixpence that you will get from increasing Customs and Excise duties, and land revenue, will be required for the increasing demands of increasing civilization. Then I come to the main question: What are you to do to fill up the gap? On this head I can only say that I entirely agree with all that Mr. Maclean has said. I have no doubt that the income-tax is a most unpopular tax, and a tax which I should be very sorry to see imposed unless the strongest necessity were shown for it; but I have been fully confirmed in the opinion I formed when this matter was laid before the Council of the Governor-General, Lord Canning, by Mr. James Wilson, when he pointed out that you did indeed require, in the case of India, some new and very productive tax to supply the deficiency which he showed had for years existed. He proved that, except at the time when he took the matter in hand, the accounts of India had for many years never really been properly balanced: and I think I may say, that from Mr. Wilson's and Mr Laing's time to this, the same thing might be said. He also proved that whatever you might do by small additions to the taxation of the country, you could not supply the real wants of the country by anything but a large amount of direct taxation. I think you should next consider whether indirect taxation admits of being increased to the amount you require, or whether you must not resort to direct taxation. Now, upon this point I beg you to bear in mind that (though, as Mr. Maclean very truly said, the income-tax was, of all others, the tax the least to be relied on in the time of war) there is no taxation which in itself is so germane to the habits and customs of the natives of India as direct taxation; and I would ask any native gentleman here present if he can name to me any single state in India, however small, where direct taxation of the moneyed classes does not form a very large proportion of the resources of the native state? If that is the case (and I speak upon that point without much fear of contradiction), I would ask whether there is anything inconsistent in the Government of India retracing its steps in this matter. I say *retracing*, because we should recollect it was only within the last thirty-five years or so that the Government of India remitted almost all the direct taxation

which it had inherited from the Native Governments. Up to thirty-five years ago direct taxation existed in every native village and town in every State of India, and I do not believe that there ever was, within the memory of any gentleman here present, any native State which did not look for a large proportion of its income to direct taxation: and though it was not got in the same way as we get it, by returns of income-tax, and so on, still it was got by finding out pretty closely what everybody was worth in the community, and if he did not pay in some other way—if he did not pay his land revenue, or his fish-tax, or his customs, or contribute to the revenue in some such form—he was instantly pounced upon, and made to pay by direct taxation. And this system of direct taxation, if you only put it in a modern and improved form, would, I believe, give you an income-tax suited to the requirements of India. That we have hit the right thing I do not pretend to say, but I only beg of you, before you sweepingly condemn the income-tax, to consider whether you can substitute for some form of direct taxation any form of indirect taxation that will fill up the gap, and do for your finances all that you require.

MR. TAYLER said the state of things at present appeared to be, that the finances of India were in a very unsatisfactory state; that, like many extravagant individuals, we were out-running our income, and the first thing we had to do was to set our house in order, and endeavour to reduce our expenditure within the limits of our income. With a view of producing a revenue sufficient to meet the present crisis, the Government of India had introduced the obnoxious income-tax. Looking at the peculiar incidents of the income-tax, especially the mode of collection, without having regard to the general subject of direct taxation as against indirect taxation, this tax met with his strongest condemnation. With regard to the remedies proposed by Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, *viz.* the reduction of expenditure and the throwing the outlay of extraordinary works, not on the current revenue of the year, but on future years, both of those were matters that could not take effect for some time. We could not expect that the income-tax would be abolished for the present year. He fully concurred in all that Mr. Prichard had said as to the subserviency of the Legislative Council as at present constituted. Under other circumstances he would regard with indignation men who could get up and pass a Bill in opposition to their consciences, but he looked at it simply as the result of the peculiar constitution of the Indian Government. The question really was, assuming the income-tax to be abolished, what was to be done in the future? Admitting what Sir Bartle Frere had said, that the requirements of India would increase with its revenue, the sound principle on which to proceed was, in his opinion, to separate all works which would benefit future generations from the accounts of the ordinary revenue, letting the outlay for them be met by a loan which would meet not only the first expenditure, but the intermediate payments of interest and cost of maintenance, so that such works should be paid for, not only by ourselves, but by our sons and grandsons. If our expectations of the future prosperity of the country were not such as to warrant our launching out into such expensive works, he would say, do not let us attempt any such works. If that was done we should find we had

no deficit, but a very considerable surplus, and the revenues of the country would be perfectly equal to the ordinary requirements of the country. He thought the Association might, without presumption, apply through the Secretary of State for the appointment of a committee of Parliament to inquire into the subject, which committee should consider the question of the separation of the expenditure on extraordinary works from current expenditure; and also the question, what were the works which should be regarded as extra-ordinary works as distinguished from ordinary works; and if those principles were discussed by the committee, and they arrived at the conclusion that extra-ordinary works would pay, he would say, let our credit be pledged to obtain loans sufficient to construct them, and pay the interest and maintenance, till they became really productive, and then the whole question would be settled.

Mr. MAITLAND.—It seems to me that the gentleman who has just sat down spoke very much to the point, and, indeed, what he said, is much what Mr. Laing, the former Minister for India, wrote in his letter in 'The Times' the other day. If we could arrive at the fact that part of the Indian expenditure is of the nature described, which I believe to be the case, namely, expenditure on works for the future benefit of the country, and which posterity ought to bear a share of, then it seems to me that our course is clear to a very great extent, and that a great part of the difficulty is got rid of. Sir Bartle Frere referred to the fact that when the administration of India was in the hands of the Court of Directors, Parliament used to overhaul matters to a much greater extent than they do now, and if they were to give more attention to the subject, and an inquiry of the kind suggested could take place by a properly constituted body, it would be a matter of very great advantage indeed. Sir Bartle Frere said very truly, in speaking of the revenues of India, we must look forward to a considerable increase of expenditure as the revenue improves. There is one important part of the revenue of India in which I have taken a great deal of interest, and which I think is likely to go on from bad to worse—I allude to the opium traffic. When I was in India, for eleven years I was connected with a house in the China trade. I have been in China myself two or three times, and I have known and heard a great deal of that trade. I am satisfied from all I have seen and heard, that the opium revenue of India is in a very precarious condition, arising mainly from the fact of the increase of the production of opium in China. I have been asked my opinion at various times about the China opium trade, and I have always said that I thought, if ever danger was to arise to that part of the revenues of India which is derived from opium, it would be from the increase of production in China; and all accounts seem to show that there is a large increase in the native growth in China. I think that question is one that will require the very careful consideration of all parties connected with India, and I cannot but fear that there is very great danger indeed of the important revenue which we derive from that article becoming considerably diminished.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI suggested that as there was no probability, as Mr. Tayler had thrown out, of the income-tax being abolished for the present year, there would be plenty of time to discuss the question carefully. The paper to be read on Wednesday next was one by Sir Bartle

Frere on Indian Public Works, in substitution of the one standing in his name on the card at present; there would, therefore, be a further discussion then on the same subject, and, if Sir Bartle Frere's paper did not render it unnecessary, he (Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji) proposed to read to the meeting on July the 27th, a paper on Indian Public Works in relation to Indian Finance, which would again give an opportunity of further discussion on the same subject. He therefore thought it advisable for the Association not to take any action with a view of putting the finances of India on a sound footing till those other opportunities had been given for further discussion.

Colonel RATHBORNE.—Sir Bartle Frere alluded to the direct taxation in former days in India. When for any purpose of Government a sum of money was required, a certain proportion was fixed upon the different cities and towns, and the communities divided the amounts amongst themselves, which was a mode of collection which answered exceedingly well. If that mode had been followed in reference to the income-tax, many of the difficulties which have arisen would have been avoided, because the sum required by the Government would have been levied upon the various communities in the same way as the sum required for the main-sewer rate in the metropolis is levied by the different vestries and parishes among themselves, when the quota which they have to contribute is indicated to them. I cannot help thinking that by such a mode of collection the Government would have been able to raise a much larger sum than the million or a little more which they have raised by the income-tax; and such a mode of collection would not have had the inquisitorial elements connected with it which the income-tax has, and which has caused it to give the greatest offence in India.

Mr. PRICHARD.—I gather from what has fallen from Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee and Sir Bartle Frere, that they think that I ought to have proposed something in place of the income-tax. I never professed to do anything of the kind; my invitation to the Association was to read a paper on Indian Finance, and I said I would preface the remarks I had to make by saying that I had no intention of dogmatizing on so difficult a subject, and that all that I wished was that the matter should be thoroughly ventilated, with a view to inquiry. I made no profession that I should be able to suggest a cure for the difficult position in which the finances of India appear to be at present.

CHAIRMAN.—In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Prichard for his paper, I wish to make one or two remarks. My experience in India has convinced me that the Indian financial system, past and present, has been and is one huge blunder, and that a thorough reform is wanted before you will ever be able to ascertain the precise amount of revenue and of expenditure which is necessary in order to complete the Budget of a Financial Minister; and I really think Sir Richard Temple and all his predecessors have been right in claiming public sympathy with them for the labour they have gone through, and for the trouble and anxiety they have had to suffer from those causes. I may say, to use the words of the late Mr. Wilson to myself, that the passive obstructiveness in all the official details of the Finance Department of India renders it impossible to come to a correct estimate. As regards the income-tax, I advo-

cated its introduction, because direct taxation was supposed in European countries to fall upon those who could best afford to pay; but when, as a Commissioner of Income-tax, I began to look at the way in which the tax was levied, and the administration of it generally, I found that so far from its being levied on the rich, or the classes which could best bear it, it came upon the classes that could least afford it, or who could not afford it at all. Mr. Prichard has given us the instance of the old man without any teeth. I myself on one occasion sat in the Income-tax room to hear appeals from 200 or 300 people whose mode of living one could hardly venture to speak of in decent society. The tax was attempted to be imposed with the grossest tyranny, and upon a class that certainly no statesman would think of taxing at all. In the up-country the difficulty was this:—Those who had the charge of the income-tax were officers employed in other ways; they really had no time to perform the duties connected with the income-tax, and they trusted to a deputy, the deputy, in his turn, trusted to somebody else, and the result was that the Government received very little taxation from those best fitted to pay it, and who ought to have paid it. This altered my opinion entirely upon the question of the policy of imposing an income-tax in India, and I hold now, that it is the most oppressive mode of taxation that has ever been devised. With respect to Mr. Maitland's remarks about our revenue from opium, I have seen a little of China myself, and I fully agree with him in thinking that the time is not far distant when the opium trade between India and China will fall so low as to become nearly extinct. What will the financial position of India be then? At any rate, we should then have to resort to that principle which has been so ably advocated by preceding speakers, and I agree with them in thinking that we ought to adopt it at once, *viz.* borrowing money in England for public works in India, instead of paying for them out of current revenue. There are certain public works, the expense of which, no doubt, should be borne out of revenue, but for all the larger public works, provided for the benefit of future generations, let the money be borrowed.

Mr. TAYLER having seconded the motion, That the thanks of the Association be given to Mr. Prichard for his paper, it was put, and carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE, a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22, 1870.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD LYVEDEN IN THE CHAIR.

The following Paper was read by Sir BARTLE FRERE :—

On Public Works in India.

SIR BARTLE FRERE said :—I can hardly hope, even in such a congenial atmosphere as that in which we are now, with the thermometer far above summer heat, to bring forward anything that would be very new or very interesting, with regard to Indian public works ; but there are a few of the old facts which perhaps may be put in the new light of recent circumstances, and which may afford us some useful instruction regarding the course which it would be desirable for those who are in authority and in power connected with India to follow, whether that power be the power of Government or the power of capital, the power of labour or the power of talent ; and, therefore, without further preface, I will address myself to the subject, asking you, first of all, to define in your own minds what you mean by “public works,” because I need hardly remind you that those words in different countries signify very different things. If you were to inquire what they meant in this city of London, you probably would be told that a public work was public or not, according to the use for which it was designed ; but you would be very much puzzled when you came to classify the great works of public utility which you saw around you. You would be told that one was not a public work because it belonged to the Dean and Chapter, that another was not a public work, because it belonged to the parochial authorities or to municipal authorities, or to some corporation which did not at all acknowledge the authority of Mr. Ayrton to deal with it as the Commissioner of Public Works. If you went to Scotland you would probably find even a still more restricted application of the term. On the other hand, in Ireland you would find the application of the term rather more extended. In France it would be still more wide, till when you come to India, you would find that almost every great work which served any purpose of public utility was regarded and treated as a public work. Without attempting any minute definition, I will only mention that I propose to use the term “public works,” in the sense of *all works constructed with funds wholly or in part derived from public taxation or with private funds, for the use of which the public pays interest either in money, or in some public right, or in some practical monopoly, which is conceded to those who provide the funds.* Using that definition, I will only say that, once for all, I propose to have done for the present with any attempt at discriminating between what are called “remunerative” and “unremunerative” public works ; because if we once attempted anything of the kind, I doubt whether the space of three lectures would suffice to conduct you to a clear definition of what a really remunerative public work means ; or, rather, what really useful public work deserves to be classed as *un-remunerative*. I need only instance such works as forts and barracks, and military works of that kind. We should probably be told that nothing could be less remunerative than those, and yet I would ask you, what would become of

any Government or any state of civilized society, more especially in India, if you did not as statesmen and capitalists consider that you were applying public funds profitably, and laying out your capital wisely, to enable small bodies of men, by the aid of such works, to protect the country, and to allow its inhabitants to pursue their avocations in peace? Then take such public works as harbours of refuge and lighthouses. It is true you can, to a certain extent, make those remunerative by imposing tolls and light-dues, but still there are cases in which there is, and can be, no attempt to get any direct remuneration from them; and yet I doubt whether any outlay of public money is as clearly remunerative to the tax-payer as outlay upon harbours and works, which enable the mariner to carry on in safety his work between nation and nation. Then let us take canals, with regard to which we seem at first sight to have the thing in our own hands, and to be able to judge whether the canal is remunerative or not by the direct returns. But what a mistake would this be! for we know that the indirect returns from goods and cheap water-carriage are infinitely greater than any possible direct returns. You see this clearly when you get to the improvement of navigable rivers. You may occasionally find the means of directly recouping yourselves, to some extent, for such outlay. But in most cases the improvement of a great navigable river is a work of such general benefit to the whole country, that it would be extremely unwise to look for payment by direct returns or to postpone it because you cannot so pay for it. Such works would, in this country, where we are so chary of the public money, be put in the hands of public bodies like the Trinity House or Board of Trade, and paid for out of the general revenues of the country. But the most striking case of all, perhaps, is the case of ordinary roads and bridges; for there is, probably, nothing which is so essential to the life of commerce as good internal communication, and yet none in which it is less desirable to look for direct remuneration in the shape of tolls. Tolls in this country are almost become a thing of the past, but there is, probably, no means of making the people who are benefited by a public work pay for what is done for them, which is so logically defensible, and so practically indefensible, as a toll upon a road or a bridge. Looking, therefore, to the difficulty of discriminating between the direct and the indirect value of great public works, I propose not to attempt to make any distinction between what are called remunerative and unremunerative works. I would ask you, for the present, to judge them all simply in the light of what the Government of a civilized country is bound to do for its subjects in the way of works intended for the benefit of those subjects, and to consider them as remunerative, or the contrary, according to their real public utility and necessity.

I do not think I need detain you by any discussion regarding the financial urgency of every question connected with public works in India, because we have been told, on the best authority, that that is one of the questions which has brought about the extraordinary financial crisis in that country which has of late so much attracted the attention of all connected with India. We have been publicly told by those who administer the Government out in India, that the whole of the present financial derangement would disappear if Providence had only blessed

us with the means of doing public works without the aid of the public taxes, and that, in fact, it is solely owing to some derangement of our system of public works that our Indian finances have become so deranged. Perhaps I might say a word or two more on the insufficiency of the outlay, vast as it is, when compared with the wants of the country. I see around me here a great many gentlemen who are acquainted with India in one or other of its various provinces, and yet I doubt if there is anyone here present who can put his hand on his heart, and say that the part of India which he knows best is adequately provided with public works, or that he sees his way at present to providing his particular province or district with all necessary public works without some extra demand upon the public purse. Now this, I cannot help thinking, is a very noteworthy fact. Here is a great country, which in time of profound peace, with a vastly increasing revenue, declares itself going into the Insolvency Court in consequence of the great expenditure on public works; and yet those who know the country best will tell us that all this drain of our finances will not suffice to supply India with what it wants in the way of public works. I think the difficulty of understanding this would disappear if we could really compare in our own minds what a charge of a few millions for public works, such as appears in our Indian returns, means when compared with the whole of the area of India. I need not remind those who are here present how vast that area is; that if you take the provinces of Europe, striking off Russia and one or two of the most unproductive outlying portions, you would have an area which would be smaller, not much more populous, and hardly richer than India; and if over the whole of that part of Europe you were to divide what you had to spend according to the most extravagant Budget that has yet been framed for public works in India, you would find that you had got for every province but a very moderate amount, and it would appear still more moderate if you considered what was to be done with it, because the sum voted for public works, say in France, where so much is done by what we should call the Public Works Department, would seem very inadequate if in France, as in India, you had to do everything out of the public allowance, the smallest parish works as well as the national highways; if, in fact, not a shilling could be spent in any public work by any public officer without its being entered in the national accounts.

There is another point on which I will not dilate, though it is one on which, no doubt, many gentlemen here present could be very eloquent, and eloquent, I fear, with some reason, and that is the waste which is charged against our public works. We are told that the administration of the public works in India is a very wasteful administration, and I much fear there is very considerable ground for that charge. I am afraid we waste money. I am sure we waste time, and we waste energy and heart, which are worth more than even time and money; and, therefore, I will concede this point, and ask you to take it for granted that there is a very considerable waste, which I do not pretend to say I would undertake to remedy directly by any particular nostrum I have to propose, though I believe much may be done indirectly, as I hope presently to show. Meantime, I will consider it as rather an inevitable circumstance

connected with our position in India, that we cannot do things quite as economically, or make the money go quite as far as you would do north of the Tweed, and in some places I known south of the Tweed.

Then there is another point which I must also concede, and which is a very large concession, and that is the amount that is lost in the way of delay. This may appear to be comprised in what is lost in the waste of time; but I think it deserves a few words to itself, because we are very often apt to suppose, in dealing with questions of public works in India, that the delay of a few years does not signify very much in the completion of a work. Such at least is our practice; but it is not the practice of men connected with works of public utility in this country, and it has always seemed to me one of the most serious points connected with our Indian administration, that when we resolve to have a road, or a tank, or any other work of public utility, we do not recognize the enormous importance of getting it as speedily as possible. But this also is a blot which it is much easier to hit than to remove, and I merely mention it now, to tell you that I do not propose, except incidentally, to submit to your notice any remedy for avoiding delays in future. I trust that under the system which I would propose for your consideration there would be less waste of every kind, and, above all, much less delay. But the waste would not be avoided, nor would the delay, by any direct act, though I hope it would be avoided indirectly, as I shall show when I get farther on.

But there is yet another point of the same kind, which is one of very serious importance, and of which you will see a great deal in the charges which from time to time are brought against our Public Works Administration in India, and that is the tendency to constant change of plan, change of system. Men who are fresh from India agree with those who have been longest in India; the man who has more recently gone out fresh from our manufacturing districts to look at India for a few weeks agrees with the oldest Indian in marvelling at the rapidity and the immensity of the changes which are made from time to time in those parts of our plan of administration which in this country we are used to consider the most settled. And on this point also I must allow judgment to go by default, for I do not pretend to estimate its importance less gravely than those who call out most loudly against the tendency to incessant changes of system which has marked our proceedings of late years in all that concerns our public works. I would only ask you to consider to what that fickleness—for it amounts to that—that fickleness of purpose in a very great and powerful Government, remarkable in other respects for its tenacity of purpose, is attributable, and how it may be corrected.

And now, before I offer any explanation of the probable causes of this or of other defects in our system, or before I attempt to suggest any remedy for the evils which I point out, I must ask you, in order to save time, on this as in many other parts of the subject, not to expect me to go too much into logical proof of what I say, but provisionally to take my assertion for what it may be worth as the assertion of one who has given considerable attention during many years to this subject, and to take what I say for granted for the present till you have looked into the matter more closely. Relying on your doing this, I will tell you very briefly what I believe is the principal cause of those evils to which I have

referred, namely, the very great insufficiency of the means used, the very great fickleness of purpose, and the waste of money and the waste of time with which the system is charged; and I think you will find the causes generally to resolve themselves into this,—that no spending authority (no authority which has authority to spend money), except, and the exception is only partial, in the case of railways, has any direct interest in economy, whether of time, money, or labour. (Hear, hear.) Now, that may seem a very simple statement, and it may seem one which is open to considerable question as to its accuracy; but I would ask you in the first place to consider as men of business whether, supposing it is true, it would not account for all the phenomena with which we have to deal. If there is any man of business here present who thinks that it is possible to enforce economy, unless the authority who is entrusted with spending the money has some very considerable direct interest in economy, I must say that his views of business are different from those of any man whom I have hitherto met; and I cannot help therefore believing that if we find that the persons who have authority to spend money have no direct interest in economy, that fact alone will furnish an all-sufficient explanation of all those peculiarities and evils of which we have been speaking. Well, now for the proof. You are aware, of course, in a general way, of the mode in which almost all public works are executed in India.

Those who have the direction of the expenditure are generally men who come to the country for but a portion of their active life, and who go away before they can expect personally to benefit much by the works with which they may be connected. It is very seldom given to any ruler in India to travel for any distance along a road which he has himself designed, or with the designing of which he has had anything to do, but it is still more uncommon for him to travel along a road for which he has had personally to pay much, or the cost of which makes him personally richer or poorer. Now I would ask you to consider how very different those circumstances are from the circumstances with which you have to deal in this country, where, as far as possible, you make it a part of your administration, be it public or private administration, to give the person who is spending the money a direct interest in making the money go as far as possible. No doubt in this country you often meet with employers who employ architects and engineers, regardless of expense, sometimes for many years together. For two or three years together the country is now and then seized with a sort of mania for spending money, without looking much to the economy of the expenditure, but hitherto the fit has never lasted longer than two or three years at the outside, and we have generally had to pay for it by repentance which is not likely soon to be forgotten. But the case is entirely different in India, and I will give you, by way of illustration, very briefly the history of a great public work as it is carried out, and must be carried out under the present system in India. We will suppose that it is an extent of road 200 or 300 miles long, and opening up an entirely new country. There is no difficulty whatever in fixing upon numerous districts in every part of India where such a public work may any day be proposed by the officer in charge. We will suppose that it is proposed to carry a road into the heart of a province accessible hitherto to no wheeled carriage.

Somebody, generally a foreigner—a foreigner who comes to the country from a distance—who knows, according to statistics, that his tenure of office in that province is likely to be limited to three years or less, looks at the country, and he proposes that a road should be made. This is not very much like anything you have in England. He consults the wisest and most experienced of the inhabitants of the country, and he finds them generally support his views as soon as they understand what a road really means, because, let me remind you, there are very many large provinces in India where it is yet necessary to explain to the natives of the province how a road will really act as compared with leaving them to use the ordinary surface of the country during eight months of the year, when that country is very much in the condition that our country is in at this moment, during the exceptionally dry and hot season. You are all probably aware that from one end of India to the other that was, up to thirty-five years ago, the condition of India generally. There were then no better means of travelling over the whole surface of the country than you have over those parts of Windsor forest where there is no road at this present season. You depended entirely on the cessation of rains, and upon their being no insuperable obstacle in the shape of a ravine or a chain of mountains, and you went across the country as you best could. Of course it takes some time to explain the use and value of a made road to a man who has been brought up and lived as his forefathers did for 500 years in such a country; but when it is explained, I have never yet met a native farmer or proprietor or head man, who was not nearly as enthusiastic in the cause of roads and bridges as any young engineer from Addiscombe. And here let me observe in passing, without any disparagement of my own countrymen, that I have generally found the agricultural and commercial classes of India quite as intelligent on the points of this kind as agricultural and commercial classes of our own old-fashioned country. (Hear, hear.) Well, we will call this gentleman who first proposes the road, be he collector or commissioner, the satrap of the district. After a time he gets hold of an engineer, not without much personal trouble and correspondence, and he tells the engineer that he is to survey a road 200 or 300 miles long, and that he is to send in a plan and an estimate of the cost; and in this part of the process certainly there is generally no unnecessary delay or waste of time. Indeed, any Indian engineer who happens to be here present will, I am sure, bear me out that the most patient satrap of a district generally asks for the survey of such a long road as we are talking of, in a mere portion of the time which would be necessary really to frame a complete and accurate design for the best line of road through the country. I need not tell you that time and careful inquiry, and the consideration of a great many questions, are necessary to enable any man to devise a good road through a new country. I see in front of me a gentleman who has I know commenced a very useful and important line of road within a fortnight after it first struck him that the road was wanted; but then he had Lord Dalhousie at his back, and he had the most complete knowledge of his subject, and the most entire love of it, to assist him. But I would ask Colonel Pitt Kennedy whether, during his experience of Indian public works, he has often met with an engineer who was allowed a fair share of time to mature

his plans before he was required to send them in. The reason of the hurry at his stage of the work, the designing, is not far to seek. Satrap and engineer both know that their time in the province is short—that great delay must occur before the final sanction is received—they therefore hurry the part of their preliminary work. If the general outline of the design is sound, there is every temptation to put off the elaboration of details to a future period. The design at last is drawn out, and then commences the agitation to get the plans and estimates approved. You must recollect that it is not one satrap only who has such works to bring forward, but there are a dozen in every province, all knocking at the door of the provincial Pro-Consul, and each of them urging the Pro-Consul to take up his pet project, and to urge it on the Local or Imperial Government for immediate execution. And this being the case, I need hardly tell you that it requires no small amount of personal application and energy to get any particular plan taken up by the head of the government of the province. When the plans and estimates have been considered by the provincial governor, and when they have been approved by him, then comes a difficulty which is a purely modern Indian difficulty, and which is known as the difficulty of getting plans and estimates into the Budget. You must know that though the Government of India is charged with being very extravagant, and with ruining itself with public works, still it has for some years past adopted a very rigid plan of trying to put some bridle on its own desire as regards expenditure on public works, and at the commencement of each season each provincial governor gets an approximate notion from the financial department of the Government of India as to the sum which, supposing all things to go most favourably, can be possibly allowed to that province for public works. I believe, without any exaggeration, I might say that throughout India every governor of a province is besieged by many times more applications to get projects into the Budget than can possibly be entertained, and then commences a process which, to those who are interested in their work, is very interesting, but which often leads to the greatest disappointment. The sum to be distributed is limited, the applicants for it are numerous, and each knows that his chance of getting a share depends on the urgency of his application. Each puts the claims of his project or projects in the strongest possible light, and uses all the arguments he can in its favour. As strong claims come in, those weakly supported are postponed; sometimes all are cut down by a sudden contraction of the whole sum disposable; sometimes there is a scramble for an unexpected sudden addition. The whole system is as unfavourable as can be to a calm consideration of the great works which the country wants and the best means of supplying them. At last we will suppose that the work in which we are specially interested is fairly "budgeted," as it is called—that it is set down as a work authorized by the Government of India, and entitled to have a certain sum spent upon it. Then it would be supposed that this sum was to be spent upon it as speedily as possible, but that is by no means the case. There is a certain sum—a very small proportion probably of what could be profitably spent on the work—set aside to be laid out upon it during the year, and beyond that it is impossible that any energy should push it on faster during the next twelve months. The same process has

to be annually repeated. Sometimes an additional grant for the work is in the Budget of the year, sometimes it is not, and the work drags on in this way till at last it is completed—if completed at all—almost invariably by some other persons than those who originated it and designed it. Now, I would ask any gentleman who has been connected with the administration of large works of public utility in this country, how it is possible under such a system that there should not be an immense waste, and that there should not be immense delay, and that all the evils to which I have referred before should not be found to exist in a very prejudicial degree? If I have made this at all plain to you, I think you will have anticipated me in what is the cardinal evil of our present system of public works in India, an evil which, it must be borne in mind, is not due to any one individual, and which I doubt whether it is in the power of any one individual to correct; but which can only be explained by that very unpopular vague phrase “the fault of the system.” It is in fact a system which makes all statesmanship and good administration connected with the Department of Public Works end in what? In the power of stopping, in the power of cutting down, in the power of impeding under this system. The good administrator connected with the Department of Public Works is not the man who can get the most useful works undertaken, can most speedily remove difficulties, push them to a conclusion, and so get the advantage of them for the country. On the contrary, the best man in every department connected with public works, according to the inevitable judgment of his official superiors, is the man who is most adroit in finding objections, and in stopping works; and this arises, be it observed, not from any wish *a priori* to stop public works, but because the crush and the crowd of public works calling for execution is so great that ability is best shown in preventing too many projects pressing into the narrow opening which is left; and as long as this system continues I think you will agree with me that it is nonsense to talk of any small remedy; that it is nonsense to find fault with this or that individual or with this or that part of the system. There must be something in the system itself radically wrong, or what I have stated to you must be radically unfounded.

There is another cause of the evils which I have attempted to describe, and that is also a cause which is not attributable to any one individual, and which, like the other, I can only attribute to that very unsatisfactory cause—“the system.” But it is one which admits of remedy, as the former cause did, and which admits, I think, of an easy remedy. It is the distance of all control, owing to erroneous centralization, so that no one is trusted in the system of checks which becomes necessary. Now I will briefly explain what I mean by this. To centralization itself it would not be for me to offer any objection. I believe that efficient centralization is the secret of all good work in finance, and in public works, and in administration generally. (Hear, hear.) All I object to, is erroneous and inefficient centralization; and I contend that whether in public works or in finance, what those who are interested in removing the evils of the present system should look to is, not to destroy centralization, but to perfect it—to make it a true, real, efficient centralization, and not a sham centralization. (Hear, hear.) I would only ask

you, in considering how this applies to the question of public works, as we are rather pressed for time, to consider one or two points connected with this question of centralization. In the first place, I would ask you to consider the distances in India, and then to consider the men whom you are asked to trust. The present system, as I have endeavoured to explain to you, is one by which an engineer officer proposes a work, which is afterwards revised by another officer 100 or 200 miles distant, then again by another officer, who is perhaps 400 or 500 miles distant, then again by another officer who is perhaps 1000 or 1100 miles distant, and then in many cases by others who are 7000 or 8000 miles distant.

Now, I would ask you to consider whether among, it may be, the three, or four, or five grades through which this work has to go, you get to anything very essentially different from the agency with which you started? If the work with which you begin is a difficult work, a very superior man is employed to design it, and if he requires special assistance, as is very often the case, he has the best advice possible given to him before it is designed; but after that all those checks and steps through which the work goes are references from one man of a particular qualification to another man of precisely the same qualification, and from him to another man of like qualification, and again from him to others, none of them differing in the nature of their qualification from the man with whom the work originated, with the exception, be it remembered, of one point. There are probably two or three, or it may be, five or ten years' difference in their standing in the army, or in their standing as civil engineers, but, beyond that, there is absolutely no difference in the qualifications of the officers through whose hands in all those different stages the work is obliged to filter. Suppose we follow out the working of such a system in this country. What would be the fate of works in England if a civil engineer of, say ten years' standing, proposed a road from Bristol into Devonshire, and that was revised by another man of twelve years' standing in London; that this was again referred to another man of fifteen years' standing at Paris, and from him to one of twenty years' standing at Constantinople? I would ask you what hope you would have of that work ever being really efficiently centralized? because that is the point. (Hear, hear.) The result of all this is, that throughout the whole of the Indian service, so far as I know, no engineer is trusted in the way in which you men of business in England trust your engineers. There is nothing approaching to the system of trust and confidence which exists between employers and employed in England. Here there is one man who holds the purse-strings, and he is brought into immediate personal communication with the man who designs the work. As long as the man who designs the work is allowed to execute it, he enjoys, I may say, in 99 cases out of 100, the full confidence of his employers. Nothing of the kind exists in India. There is an attempt at check throughout the whole system, a check such as I have described, and a most inefficient check it is; and the only wonder is, that, with all this, the honour of the service remains so high as it is. But that is explained by the very simple fact that it is not the man who is doubted; in no case does the superintending officer ever entertain the slightest doubt of the personal honour of his subordinate—at least the cases in which he

does are extremely rare, rarer, I should say, in India than in this country; but it is a part of the cast-iron system to which they are subjected, that it shall not be taken for granted that any man is able to spend honestly the money required for the work he has in hand in the way in which you allow your engineers in this country to spend your money. You may say that this is not very creditable to the Indian Government, but let me remind you of one point, and it is a point that should be always borne in mind in connection with every question of the kind, that this question of public works, with which you have had to deal in England since the days of your Edwards and your Henrys, has grown up in India within the last thirty-five years. I see many gentlemen here present, who are my seniors in the Indian service, who are hale and hearty men still, and yet I can recollect the time when no mail travelled in any part of India over anything in the shape of a made road, with the exception of one mail-cart, which went seventy-five miles. Now, that was the state of things in India only some thirty-five years ago. I am not sure whether the mail from Calcutta to Barrackpore was carried in those days otherwise than on men's heads. If it was, sixteen miles or so may be added; but with that exception horse-carriage or cart-carriage for the ordinary mails was unknown in India. And this question of the construction of made roads, railways, and most other public works has grown up absolutely within the lifetime of most of the middle-aged men here present. During that time we have had some very important changes in the general policy of England with regard to public works in India, which also I would beg you to bear in mind. For the first ten years of the thirty-five it cannot be said there was any system. It formed then no part of the business of the Government to do what you have got so used to hear talked of in these days—to develop the resources of India—that is a duty which has been impressed upon the Administration of India, certainly within the last thirty-five years, and though all Englishmen in times past used the old-fashioned phrase, that they thought it their duty to govern the country for the best advantage of the country in which they lived, and of the old country from which they came, still all the plans, all the talk, and all the action in the direction of what is called the development of the resources of India, have taken place since the Charter Act of 1833. And for many years after that time the thing was done fitfully, and rather as a matter of taste than as a matter of duty. You, my Lord, will recollect a statesman who was, I believe, a friend of your own—the late Sir Robert Grant. He went out to India after helping to pass the Charter Act of 1833, and was, as I have heard him say, absolutely shocked at the state in which he found the public works of the country; and he, I believe, was one of the first who gave a really efficient and statesmanlike direction to the desire which very soon after grew up, to do our duty by India by giving India such public works as she required. At that time there was no systematic consideration given to the question how capital should be provided for those public works. Then came a period of fifteen years which will be associated in the minds of most gentlemen here present with the era of railways. I am happy to see the gentleman (Mr. G. T. Clarke) who proposed the first railway in India, and the first railway which was opened, among us this day, very

hale and hearty, and still an extremely active man—(hear, hear)—and I think my friend will bear me out, if he has time to give us his experience on the subject, when I say that at the time when he proposed his first railway there was not a thought of a permanent system for the construction of railways or other public works in India, and that was in the year 1843. After that, we followed what was then the fashionable cry with regard to such works and everything connected with them in this country—everything was to be left to “private enterprise.” Lord Dalhousie (who had seen something of what was coming to pass with regard to uncontrolled private enterprise in his experience with regard to railways in this country when he was at the Board of Trade) went out to India, and it was thought rather a despotic action on his part that he and the Court of Directors insisted on associating the Government with private enterprise in the Indian railways, for which he laid out a great scheme. But, with regard to these railways, and all other public works, the cry went on with increasing strength, that they ought not to be undertaken by the Government,—that the Government was not to be in India a paternal Government, doing these things for its subjects, but they were all to be left to private enterprise. I do not know what came over you here in England, or what changed the current of your thoughts, but it is certain that about ten years ago a very great change took place in your views upon the subject, a change which was followed by us in India; it may have been owing to the Crimean War and the lessons which were there learned; it may have been owing to the very great apparent success of a very despotic system of government across the Channel; and it certainly was intensified by the break-down of so many joint-stock enterprises a few years ago; but somehow or another there grew up in this country, and there was reflected in India, a most inordinate admiration for Cæsarism, for doing everything through the Government, and leaving nothing to private enterprise; and for the last few years we have been going on in India developing this tendency at a considerably increasing rate of speed, until at present the Government has not only absorbed all private enterprise, as far as there was any purely private enterprise in the way of great public works in India, but it has come to be regarded almost as an axiom (an axiom which, I trust, it may not be deemed heresy to question), that the Government should do all these things, and that nothing should be trusted to private enterprise; that private enterprise only does things mischievously and extravagantly, and that all things should be done by an enlightened Government. Having passed through those three stages (the ten years of no system, the fifteen years during which you trusted principally to private enterprise, and the ten years at the end of which you have come to say you will trust nothing to private enterprise, and everything ought to be done by an enlightened kind of Cæsarism), we come to this present time.

Now I will very briefly state to you what is the rule which I think should be laid down in this regard for the future, and the rule is one which is not new nor of my own devising. You will find it very eloquently stated by Mr. Sumner Maine, in some very useful discussions which took place on this subject in the Legislative Council of Calcutta some years ago, and it is simply this—that the Government should have

a share and a voice in the construction and management of all works which are of such magnitude as to affect public interests or private rights, by establishing a virtual monopoly. Where no public interests are involved, nor private rights affected, in the way of monopoly, there let the enterprise, however vast, be left to unrestricted and unfettered private enterprise. The rule would be very like that which you lay down in this country where you involve the intervention of the State in the shape of an Act of Parliament, whenever public interests are involved, or private rights of adverse parties affected, or where it is sought to create anything in the shape of a legalized monopoly. In all other cases you leave owners and capitalists unrestricted.

The rule is best illustrated by instances. No great railway, or trunk road, or canal, or scheme of drainage can be carried out without affecting the interests of others than the projectors—of the public in fact—or without creating a virtual monopoly. In all such cases it would be imperatively necessary to invoke the intervention of Government. Harbour-works, gas-works, water-works, and the like, may be mere improvements of private property, or may be intended to produce water or gas for sale, like any other commodity. In that case Government intervention would not be required; but if it were sought to create anything like a virtual monopoly, or to affect the rights of other parties, then Government intervention would be necessary. This brings us to the question how the capital is to be provided. If the public is willing to provide the capital on receiving a guarantee for a certain amount of interest from the Government, I, for one, think it an exceedingly good system, and capable of being easily guarded against abuse, and freed from the objections which have been of late years urged against guarantees. But such a system is not very easy of application where there are no direct pecuniary returns; and for this and other reasons we will postpone its consideration for the present, and consider how capital is to be provided for works to be executed and managed on the exclusive responsibility of Government; such, for instance, as great military works, canals, roads, harbours, and the like. This is, in fact, the question which lies at the root of all our financial difficulties in India. How is the public works' capital for India to be provided? Of course you can continue the present absence of all system; but I doubt whether that would find many advocates. You may propose to do the whole work from the surplus revenue of India. That plan, of course, has more advocates than the other, but I doubt if any man in his senses, who really knows the extent of this work, would dream of doing all that India now requires out of the surplus revenues of India—(hear, hear)—and in the belief that that is an untenable proposition, I will say no more on the subject; then, if you adopt neither of those two courses, you come to borrowing in some shape or another. If you neither let things go on in their present hap-hazard way, nor leave them entirely alone, nor attempt to do them out of your surplus annual income, then in one shape or another you must resort to borrowing; and the question arises, How would you borrow?

Now I cannot help thinking that a similar question has been fully considered, and it has been to my mind very satisfactorily solved in this country. If I go to any of our great cities, where the commercial element

has had perhaps its best development, what do I find? I find very magnificent harbour-works, halls of justice, gaols, spacious, commodious markets, and other works of the like character, and when I inquire how they have been erected, I am told that they are public works, and that the body which represents the Local Government of that place very generally has provided them by borrowing under Acts of Parliament, and under conditions which oblige the tax-payers and rate-payers of that part of the country to pay a particular sum in excess of the ordinary interest on the capital raised, by which the loan is extinguished in a few years. The system seems to be thoroughly well understood, and very extensively acted upon, and, as far as I can see, there is no sort of practical objection found to attach to it, either financially or in any other respect. The work appears to be well done, and it is economically and promptly done, and done in every respect, I should say, in the way in which those who are interested in public works in India could desire their works to be done. Again, if I inquire how a large landed proprietor in England, or in Ireland, improves his estate, what do I find? Many men have an estate of 10,000 acres and more, which requires a very large outlay in draining and other works of the kind, perhaps an outlay almost equal to the fee-simple of half the estate; but what does the owner do? Very often he borrows the money from some private money-lender, but you have a device which has been acted on both in England and in Ireland with the greatest success as far as I know without any disadvantage arising in its administration, by which landowners situated as I described may improve their estates by the application of public funds advanced by the nation. The system is this: Parliament from time to time places in the hands of commissioners or trustees a certain sum which is lent out by those trustees to country gentlemen, who lay out upon their estates such sums as they require, and repay the loans back to the nation within a certain time, generally within the range of an ordinary lifetime. Thus you have two modes of raising funds; one of them very much followed by landed proprietors in England and in Ireland for the improvement of their own estates, and the other followed by some of the greatest commercial centres of England, and in both cases the work is done with public money, or rather, with money raised on public credit, under the sanction of Parliament, and this is all done under conditions which enable the Minister of the day at once to lay his finger upon the person who is responsible for any malversation. I would ask gentlemen who are here present whether it would be possible to misapply any large sum which had been raised to be expended upon a gaol, or upon a courthouse or a market-place, in Manchester, or Bolton, or Liverpool, or whether it would be possible to misapply money which had been advanced for the drainage of a private estate under the systems I have alluded to, without its being certain that the evil-doer would be at once found out and brought to justice? That is a state of things of which you have no parallel in India, but is precisely the state of things at which you would wish to arrive there.

Now, the system which I would ask you to consider is not proposed now for the first time, for it was proposed by me, many years ago, to be followed in India; and I now propose it for consideration, not as a new

system, but as one which has been known and acted on, and acted on beneficially among you in this country. It is simply this: that Parliament should pass an Act appointing a commission or trustees who should have power to raise and apply a large sum of several millions sterling; this sum to be raised by loan in England, the interest to be paid by the Secretary of State for India in Council from the revenues of India, and the money to be applied to public works in India. This would be done by empowering the commissioners to allot sums for specific works on the application of the Local Governments in India, and on their engagement to repay to the trustees such loans with interest by annual instalments. That is the system to which I have alluded as in force in this country, simply putting the Local Governments of India for the corporation—it may be of Bolton or Manchester—or for the owner of an estate in England.

You may ask, in the first place, "Why have a *Commission*; why would not the present Government of India or the Secretary of State in the Council of India do?" the Council of India being, as you know, entrusted with the control, to a certain extent, of the finances of India. I will simply mention one or two reasons, out of many, why neither of these existing authorities should be entrusted with the power of advancing money from these loans to be raised for public works. The main reason is this. You want for such a purpose to establish personal direct responsibility. Hence, what you want is a very small number of trustees, and not a large body that should be able to divide the responsibility. You may, doubtless, find the men you require among the members of the Council of India; but they should be specially selected, and it should not be made a part of their ordinary duty. I do not know how many are usually entrusted with the disposal of sums raised by loans for carrying out similar works in England; but, if I am rightly informed, the men who are made personally responsible are never more than two or three; and therefore I consider that a commission not exceeding a very small number of men should be appointed by Parliament. But why should it be appointed directly by Parliament and not by the Government of India and Secretary of State in Council? For this reason, in order that it should be more immediately responsible to Parliament than the Council of India or any other body connected with ordinary administration can possibly be. You may have most admirable, well-selected men in the Government of India and in the Council of India, and yet they may not be precisely the men whom you would choose as trustees. When you are looking out for a banker or a trustee, you do not look out for the ablest engineer, the most acute man of science, the greatest politician, the most able or the most eloquent statesman, or the bravest of soldiers; you look out for a man possessing those very peculiar, simple, but very necessary qualities which you compendiously describe as constituting "a good man of business," "a man fit to be a trustee." That is the sort of man you look out for, whether for a private trust or a public trust; but your Governor-General may be a man who is entitled to a statue and to a burial in Westminster Abbey—a man who is a great administrator in peace or war,—who will make a great figure in history. That is not the man you need as a trustee. He may be all that, and yet he is precisely the man you would wish to exclude from such a trust; and in order to

avoid having anyone on the trust but those possessing the plain and simple qualifications which you require in such a trust, you should not make it a part of the ordinary duty of the Government or of the Council of India. (Hear, hear.) Then you will perhaps say, Why should all this be done by Act of *Parliament*? There is one sufficient reason among many others that might be given, and that is, that *Parliament* really holds the purse-strings of India. Whatever we may talk about other bodies or authorities, if *Parliament* is determined that there shall be an expenditure in India, that expenditure will be. If *Parliament* is determined that a particular expenditure shall not be, that particular expenditure will not be. The purse-strings, then, are in the hands of *Parliament*, and you only injure India, and you do no service to *Parliament* itself, by putting up any screens that will diminish the responsibility of *Parliament*.

Moreover, *Parliament* is a collection of men of business, and it will do its work on a simple, business-like system. Now, if you look to those entrusted with the ordinary administration of India to devise a plan for raising and applying such loans as I propose, you will have, no doubt, a system full of ability; but whether it will be a very simple system, or whether it will be a very business-like system, is quite another question, and, in my opinion, your only guarantee for having a simple and business-like system is to insist that *Parliament* shall turn its attention to this matter for at least a few hours, and lay down the system to be followed, which, after all, will be no great difficulty, because I really believe that there are now in full operation Acts of *Parliament* in which only a change of a few names is necessary to give you all that is needed for the efficient administration of such loans as I have described. I will not detain you by giving you any reasons why there should be an *annual* report to *Parliament*; that you will, I think, agree with me is essential, because, as you know, short accounts make long friends, and the sooner you bring men to a strict account of what they have done in a matter of trust the better. Then you may ask, Why say that it is only the *Local* Government that need be satisfied with the importance of the work in each case? Why not leave it to the Government of India or some other body? Now, I would ask you to consider what the *Local* Governments of India are. There are, as you are aware, in some form or other, under one name or another, some eight or ten, or, it may be more, *Local* Governments; but the smallest of them is a Government which rules over a much larger population than is contained in one of the minor kingdoms of Europe, which, with all the limitations that you can impose upon it, with all the contractions of its power which have been increasing in number so rapidly during the few last years, still exercises more power over the people under its control, more power of mischief, and at the same time I trust more power of doing good, than almost any of the minor Governments of Europe you could name. And I would ask you, if a Government to which you entrust the lives and the liberties, and the well-being of several millions of men, is not fit to decide on the works which are really necessary for those people, what question connected with those people are they fit to consider or decide? I do not admit for one minute that there is any Government in India, past or present, be it

autocratic or in the form of a Governor in Council, which in the long run has been found practically an inefficient Government, and I believe I speak with the utmost confidence, that there is no item of administration which may be more safely entrusted to the Local Government than that of saying, on their immediate responsibility, what works are really needed for the government of the country. Your whole system hitherto has been to keep them silent, to prevent their saying that things are necessary which it would be very inconvenient to grant; but if you only asked them to say what were the works of the most urgent necessity within their jurisdiction, I believe there is not one Government in India, from the smallest commissionership up to the Governor-General, which would be found to fail in fulfilling all reasonable wishes in this respect.

I propose that the Local Governments should also certify as to the sufficiency of the means of repayment. That is a simple matter. I believe that when sums are lent under the authority of Parliament either to a municipal body or to a private individual in this country, there is a lawyer who acts for the trustees, who looks at the documents which are passed, and who generally says for a few guineas whether it is safe to give the money or not. I believe this process would be found equally simple in India. Each Local Government would tell the trustees what security it proposed to give in payment of the loan. If it had the authority of the Supreme Government to pledge any part of the revenues of India it would pledge them. If it had the authority of the Government of India to impose a new tax, it would simply lay before the lawyer employed by the trustees the Act which enabled the Government to raise the local impost, and if it had any other source of revenue it would state it; but the matter would be one which would be as simply decided as in the case of an advance upon a private estate in England or Ireland, or to a municipality in this country. Then, finally, you may ask, Why should the sum to be placed at the trustees' disposal be a *large* sum? To this I can only reply that anything short of a very large sum will be absolutely found useless. (Hear, hear.) I will not detain you by saying two words more than necessary upon this subject. I would only ask you to consider any of the great facts which are from time to time put before you regarding India. Consider that there are in some cases 1000 miles—there are in many cases 500 miles—through which you may draw a line on the map, inhabited by civilized, industrious agriculturists, and men of commerce, and along the whole of that line you will not be able to find a made road. I would ask you whether it is any small number of millions that will satisfy the wants of such a country as that? But you may say this is a very large proposition. I would ask you whether you really believe it is possible, in a civilized and industrious country, to make roads, to say nothing of other public works, which shall not, in one way or another, immediately repay you?—which shall not repay you, not only by preventing famine—not only by facilitating the transit of your troops—not only by giving you a real hold upon the persons and, what is much more, upon the hearts of the people, but which will not at once cause a rebound in the elasticity of all your resources of public income? (Hear, hear.) It will tell, as every man who has been in India knows, on the Excise—it will tell on the Customs—it will tell, above all,

on the land revenue, because that great stand-by of Indian finance depends, like land revenue everywhere else, upon paucity of internal communication. (Hear, hear.) It is utterly impossible to run a railway, to run a canal, or to run a common road, through an agricultural district, where no road now exists, without enabling the Government to double what directly and indirectly it gets, not from indirect sources of revenue, but from the land itself.

I am afraid I have detained this meeting very much longer than is at all reasonable. I can only plead in extenuation, that I have not half exhausted what I had to say. I trust if I have made any impression upon the public men who are present, more especially those connected with India, beyond the Government and outside the Government, and those who are connected with the industrial classes in this country, that they will ponder the very simple plan I have laid before them—a plan which pretends to no originality—which I contend is precisely the same as that which you have been acting on in the construction of your public works here for some time, with the very greatest and best results; that if there is anything in it they will give it due weight, and if there are any objections striking them, that they will let me hear them now or on some future occasion. There is only one point to which I would beg your attention in conclusion, and that is one to which I very briefly alluded a short time ago in this room, namely, that all of you who have anything to say to the election of Members of Parliament, should endeavour to impress upon your representatives that it is with them, and with no intermediate authority, that the government of India rests. (Hear, hear.) You have devised what is, I believe, one of the best and most successful experiments for aiding Parliament in the discharge of its duty. I will not pretend to enter upon any arguments on that matter, but I would only say for myself, that it is with no wish to depreciate the duties or to lighten them, which devolve upon the Government of India, I would ask you to demand of Parliament that it should look this question in the face and do what it finds to be necessary to do in justice to India. What is required is clearly, as you may judge from the present dead-lock, not any oiling of the present machinery—and I doubt whether it is a substitution of any machinery for that which now exists—but it is the addition of a very simple mechanism to do the work which, if done at all now, is done on no system, which is trusted to hap-hazard, and regarding which Parliament requires nothing, knows nothing, and provides nothing. And I would sum up what I have to say in these few words—what is needed can only be done by borrowed capital; that capital can neither be borrowed nor properly administered by the present machinery connected with the Government of India, and it is the bounden duty of Parliament, as the only ultimate referee in this matter, to provide that machinery, however complex and however expensive it may be; but which I believe to be both extremely simple and extremely free from any chance that it will add one shilling to the expenses of India.

CHAIRMAN.—I am sure the meeting would very much wish that I should convey its thanks to Sir Bartle Frere for the discourse with which he has favoured us, which has been so able, so interesting, so useful, and

so comprehensive, that it must engage the attention of everyone who has listened to it, and who may hereafter reflect on it. I do not know whether it would be the wish of any gentleman here to make any observations on it at present. I see some gentlemen shaking their heads. As far as regards myself, I shall be obliged to quit the chair very shortly, which I shall do with great reluctance, but at the same time I hope you will thoroughly understand that there is not a single word in Sir Bartle Frere's address that I should have wished him to have omitted. I am extremely gratified with the whole of it, and as far as my ability to understand it goes, I shall certainly take it very gravely into my consideration, and as we shall soon, in the House of Lords, when the Duke of Argyll brings forward his Budget, have an opportunity to dilate on this matter, I may, perhaps, if I have sufficiently digested it, be able to make some observations on it. In the meantime, I invite all those who are present to raise their hands in favour of giving a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Bartle Frere.

On the suggestion of Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, Mr. NASMITH moved, and Mr. FITZWILLIAM seconded a motion that the discussion be adjourned, which motion was put and carried unanimously. A vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman.

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Society of Arts for allowing the Association the use of their room.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 6, 1870.

*For the adjourned Discussion on Sir Bartle Frere's Address on
"Indian Public Works."*

In the absence of LORD LYVEDEN,

EDWIN CHADWICK, Esq., C.B., WAS CALLED TO THE CHAIR.

THE following memorandum was placed in the hands of gentlemen present, before the discussion commenced.

Sir Bartle Frere's Propositions for providing the capital required for public works in India, condensed from his Paper read at a Meeting of this Association on the 22nd June, and discussed on the 6th July, 1870.

1. The capital required for public works in India, undertaken by the Government, is not to be restricted to the sum which can be annually spared from current revenue, but is to be provided from loans to be raised in the following manner.

2. Commissioners to be appointed by Parliament, and empowered to raise, by loans in England, under authority and with the consent of the Secretary of State in Council, a sum not exceeding millions. The interest on such loan to be paid by the Secretary of State in Council from the revenues of India, and the money to be applied to the execution of public works in India undertaken by the Government.

3. Commissioners to be empowered to advance the money so raised to the Government of India, or to the Local Governments and Administrations, on the conditions hereinafter mentioned.

4. The Local Governments and Administrations to which advances may be made to be the following:—

The Governments of Madras and Bombay.

Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, North-West Provinces, and Punjab.

The Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.

" " Oude.

" " Central Provinces.

" " Mysore.

The Commissioner of Sind.

5. The Commissioners to certify—

1st. That in the case of each advance they have received copies of the working plans and estimates, or contract specifications, sufficient to indicate clearly the limits of the work to be done, and to satisfy them that there is a reasonable prospect of the work specified being executed with the aid of the sum applied for.

2nd. That they have received an assurance of the loan required for the work being repaid by the authority to which the sum has been advanced, with interest sufficient to cover all expenses, within a period not exceeding years, and that they are satisfied with the security given for such repayment.

6. The Commissioners to make an annual report to Parliament specifying the sums raised, applied, and repaid under these rules, up to the 31st December in each year, with the following particulars:—

(a) The Government or Administration to which money has been advanced.

(b) The names of the works for which the advance was required, and the total sum which each work was estimated to require, and, in each case, the total sum advanced, expended, and repaid, up to the end of the year preceding.

(c) The nature of the security given for punctual repayment.

(d) An enumeration of projects on behalf of which loans have been asked for and refused, with the reasons of refusal in each case.

Sir BARTLE FRERE.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thought it might abbreviate the discussion and bring matters to a point more readily if I wrote down the points to which I considered what I have stated more particularly tended. They have been printed, and I received a copy as I entered the Hall: I dare say other gentlemen have done the same. Perhaps the suggestion may be excused that the closer we keep to a logical discussion of the points that are really at issue the better.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I have received a letter from Sir William Denison expressing his great regret at not being able to attend. He says

further, "I have read Sir Bartle Frere's address and I am quite prepared to support the principle he advocates. As an engineer, I should have said something, had I been present, as to the mode of carrying out the public works system in India, which must necessarily be widely different from our mode of working out such matters in England or our colonies properly so called. On this subject, however, I may have an opportunity of saying a few words at another time." And the Secretary further said Mr. Fitzwilliam, who had seconded the adjournment, had also expressed his very great regret that on account of indisposition and other causes he was not able to attend, but he had sent the following memorandum :—

"In listening with great attention to the important paper recently read by Sir Bartle Frere on Public Works in India, I felt that the subject had never been more ably treated or so clearly put before the public as upon that occasion, the arguments clearly proving that in no part of India are the public works, as now constructed, sufficient for the wants of the country. And what, it may be asked, is the cause of this. Simply from what may be called the working of the Dual system—a system which, especially in the case of railways, has not only been prejudicial to the advancement of such undertakings, but has also added very largely to the cost of their construction. The supervision exercised by military engineers over the civil engineers employed in carrying out practically the construction and working of such undertakings, has been the frequent cause of heart-burnings and discontent between these services, leading frequently to the resignation of highly competent civil engineers, and their retirement from India. Sir Bartle Frere says that when railways were first proposed for India in 1843, everything was left to private enterprise, the Government declining to interfere. This is true, but if I remember right, the public at that time preferred investing their money in English or continental railways, where, as they supposed, they could see what was doing with their money. The more so, as India at that time was, to many of the old ladies and gentlemen who form so important an element in what are called the capitalists of this country, almost a *terra incognita*, where the people were savages and heathens, who would not travel by railways, and consequently their construction and working would be unprofitable. Indeed, I have heard men of considerable Indian experience express the same opinion as regards the natives of that country using railways. In this state of things the promoters of Indian railways, who were, as a rule, men of great ability, with considerable knowledge of India, brought all the influence they could command to bear upon the Indian authorities of that day, so as to induce them to grant a guarantee of 5 per cent. upon all the capital subscribed with the above object, and they were successful. When this was announced to the public, the capitalists, who had previously dreaded Indian investments, rushed into the market to take shares, even at a premium; and such has been the case ever since, to the great profit of those persons who had the control of the allotments. I now come to the question, asked by Sir Bartle Frere, as to the change which has recently taken place as regards the construction of public works in India, that whereas in former years all was left to private enterprise, it is now the fashion to call upon the Government to do everything, and that nothing should be left to private enterprise?

The reply to this is simply that, though the majority of the shareholders in Indian railways cared for little but the 5 per cent. guaranteed to them, there were others who had seen or heard from friends in India that, under the Dual system, the construction of the lines in that country, a considerable proportion of which are only single lines, had cost as much money as would have been sufficient, under ordinary circumstances, to have paid for the construction of a double line throughout India, and all this has been done at the expense of the tax-payers in that country.

"This, I think, will in a great measure account for the change in public opinion, both here and in India, as to who should be for the future entrusted with the construction of public works in that country. The necessity for such change has been so ably put before you by Sir Bartle Frere, that I need not add another word, beyond saying that I fully agree with him. In regard to the capital required by the Government for the construction of public works, I can only repeat what I have said before in this room, that they can borrow any amount they require at less rates than that now paid to guaranteed railways. As regards the construction of such works out of surplus revenue, I agree with Sir Bartle that such a proposition is simply absurd. In fact, looking to the present financial position of India, it would be suicidal. In conclusion, I quite agree in the opinion that all loans raised for public works in India should be managed and controlled by a Commission appointed by Parliament. They should be selected from men of Indian experience. The number need not be large. For I fully hold to the opinion that in the multitude of counsel there is not always wisdom. But whatever plan may be adopted, it is certain that the system now working in connection with the Government of India is incompetent to carry out what has been now suggested."

Mr. D. NASMITH, holding that the discussion should not be confined to Sir Bartle Frere's proposals only, but that Mr. Prichard's paper should be taken jointly with it, said, whatever we may think of the respective merits of those two papers, it appears to me that it is admitted by both that the condition of India is at the present moment eminently unsatisfactory. The means proposed by Sir Bartle Frere are contained, I apprehend, in the paper placed in my hand at the door. I have not had an opportunity of reading it carefully, but have, however, glanced through it sufficiently to know that such is the case. The means, on the other hand, suggested by Mr. Prichard appear to be summarized in a word or two. He says, "I believe no remedy will be devised or carried out till the matter has been taken up by Parliament or by the Crown." The question, therefore, appears to be this, Is Mr. Prichard right, or is Sir Bartle Frere right? They may be both right, but I apprehend Sir Bartle Frere's proposition cannot be entertained if we admit that the proposition of Mr. Prichard ought also to be attended to. Mr. Nasmith then illustrated the subject by the case of a family. He said a boy should not be sent to college when he is only fit to go to a school; nor should he be sent to college when he ought to be actively engaged in the business of life. College is, doubtless, a good thing in itself, but regard must be had to time and circumstances in availing ourselves of it; and proceeded, let us apply this illustration to the case of India; and with these few

remarks I will finish what I have to say, inasmuch as I trust these observations will call the attention of the meeting to the point really in question—Who are the subjects to be dealt with? What is their position? Having alluded to the importance of the interests at stake, their worthiness of public attention, Mr. Nasmith asked, Is the cure that is proposed that which is required? We admit that public works are of an importance which cannot be over-estimated. A country which has a railway from north to south and from east to west, or through which communication can be made in the most rapid and most certain way, is unquestionably a country in a happy condition. But those things have to be constructed. Is the country in a position that will warrant your constructing them under present circumstances? If they have to be constructed at an unusual cost, where is the money to come from? Unless due prudence is exercised, the steps taken to secure a benefit will result in universal discontent, positive injury, and defeat the very end in view. A gentleman who spoke the other day (I think Mr. Maclean) seemed to take the view which I conceive Sir Bartle Frere has taken, that because these things are good under certain conditions, they are necessary, and that they must be done at once and at any cost. Sir Bartle Frere shows you one way in which they are to be done; and Mr. Maclean's pet scheme is an income-tax. I think, with great respect to him, a more preposterous suggestion than an income-tax for a country like India could scarcely have entered the head of any man who knows anything at all about taxation; and I think that Sir Bartle Frere's proposition should be entertained, if at all, after the investigation suggested by Mr. Prichard has been made.

MR. SMOLLETT.—India, in my opinion, is going into a state of insolvency, because there is a most wasteful extravagance, not only in the Public Works Department, but in every other department of the State. Let us contrast India now with what it was a few years ago. In 1856, before the mutinies, the net expenditure in India under Lord Dalhousie, was 36 millions sterling. When in 1856 he left India, he wrote a very able paper, which was published by the Government, declaring that in his judgment, after making a very considerable outlay for public works, 36 millions sterling would meet all the reasonable expenditure in India and in England. Now, Lord Dalhousie was by no means a penurious administrator, he spent a great deal of money upon public works. I was in India under his government, and I know that he organized an enormous and overwhelming establishment for the conduct of public works. At that time we were in possession of Scinde; we had conquered the Punjab, we had confiscated Oudh, and were therefore in possession in 1856 of almost all the territories we now administer. Lord Dalhousie had made no provision, certainly, for the increase of the European army; he affected to believe, or he did believe (I do not know which) that our rule in India was so popular among the natives, that it did not require to be supported by foreign bayonets. He made a most wonderful mistake, and we are now suffering lamentably from the consequences of his gross indiscretion. But at present, in 1870, what is the condition of India? It has greatly improved—we cannot say it has not improved. The income of India, according to a statement I saw in 'The Times' of yesterday, in 1869 was 49,250,000*l.*, and the expenditure was 4,150,000*l.* in excess of that amount.

The estimate for 1870 is, that there will be an income of 50½ millions, and an expenditure exceeding that of 3½ millions. Now, can it be asserted that an expenditure of even 50 millions is needed in 1870, when an expenditure of 36 millions was all that seemed to be required in 1856-7? But we do not want to spend 50 millions only, we want to spend 54 millions. Now that fact alone, in my opinion, is a proof of the vast extravagance of our present Indian administration, an extravagance so great as to require that cauteries should be used in diminishing it. The mutiny, of course, has required a vastly increased expenditure in India. What was called a mutiny, but what I call a revolt of a great part of India against the British rule, entailed the necessity of borrowing 40 millions sterling, and adding it to the National Debt; the interest of that is two millions sterling per annum at 5 per cent. Then, we now pay a million and a half and more annually for the railways. We have guaranteed 5 per cent. to the holders of Indian Railway Stock, and it requires 1,600,000*l.*, I believe, to meet those guarantees, after taking all the surplus profits of the railways. Then we have increased the European army by 20,000 men, making it 65,000, when formerly it was only 45,000. I think that that increase of the European army, met as it was by a very large reduction in the native army, would not involve an expenditure of more than three millions sterling per annum. That altogether will make six or seven millions per annum, which it is absolutely necessary to add to the expenditure of 1856; but the expenditure in 1870 is 14,000,000*l.* more than it was in 1856. I call that a most monstrous expenditure, for public works were not neglected under Lord Dalhousie; a very considerable expenditure was made by that nobleman on public works. A large proportion of the expenditure of India, no doubt, is in the Department of Public Works. Public Works is a term much abused and little understood, but we have in India a very large Government establishment of officers directed by the State, chiefly employed in devising the means of and superintending the necessary outlay for maintaining in ordinary efficiency the irrigation channels on which the land revenue of the country depends. India is a country in which it may be said—at least I have always said so, and I continue to think so—that Government is the proprietor of the land. It, therefore, must maintain establishments to keep up the ordinary means by which one half of its revenue is raised. Another large portion of the outlay upon public works has been devoted recently to the erection of barracks, the construction of forts, the building of lighthouses, the reparation of roads, the building of bridges, and a great many other necessary works. Those are works, in my opinion, essentially necessary for the due government in India, and whatever their cost, it must be included always in the ordinary outlay of the country. No doubt there has been vast waste in those public works. Sir Charles Wingfield, in his place in Parliament last year, declared that during the last seven or eight years we had spent 15 millions sterling in building barracks—an enormous outlay—but he added that the barracks were uninhabitable, and that they were pulling them down and building others, 40 or 50 miles away from those. It would be worth while to send out a commission to India to inquire who is responsible for that vast outlay, and for the purpose of bringing the persons who were guilty of such wilful extravagance to jus-

tice; but to hide those works, to carry them as it were to a suspense account, in my opinion is not the way to deal with them, but that is the great resource for our present Indian financiers. They want to keep out of sight their expenditure, and to carry it to a suspense account. Mr. Massey, who went out without the slightest knowledge of India (I suppose that was the reason why he was sent out) proposed in a Budget, eighteen months ago, to carry to a suspense account the outlay for these very barracks. No doubt it would have been an excellent thing to have borrowed 15 millions and to have made a surplus revenue, but, sir, that is not the way, in my opinion, in which accounts should be kept. This is the way in which railway finance has been managed in this country; railway directors carried to a suspense account the outlay for the improvement of their rolling stock, the building of hotels and stations, and they divided among their shareholders the whole surplus revenue; but the day of reckoning came, and so a day of reckoning will come for India if we omit the building of 15 millions' worth of barracks from our accounts. Sir Bartle Frere proposes, with a view of meeting this wasteful expenditure in India, which I have always denounced, to pass an Act of Parliament to appoint a Board of paid trustees. This appears to me to be a very clumsy, circuitous, and awkward method of doing that which is being done in a different way now. If the revenues of India did not suffice to meet the repayments, if the Government of India were obliged to borrow money in England for that purpose, matters would be precisely where they are now; they would have to impose fresh taxation on the people of India, they would have to put on an income-tax to pay the couple of millions which they would have to refund to the trustees in this country; and what guarantee have we that under this circumlocation system the waste of money out of the Indian revenue which Sir Bartle Frere deplures, would be stopped? We have none whatever. The money is to be raised in England and sent to India, but it must be spent there by the Governments that are now wasting money in the way in which Sir Bartle Frere says they are wasting it. The same agencies will be at work, the same Government servants will be employed, and people sitting in some back office in London will never be able to check that. My conclusion, therefore, is, that if capitalists in England wish to advance money to the Indian Government on the security of public works, they should be content to receive their dividends and capital out of the profits of those works. They are said to be very ample, and they may take 10 per cent., for anything I care, out of the profits of those works.

Mr. JOHN FLEMING.—Mr. Chairman, I think the remarks which the honourable gentleman has just made have been somewhat wide of the present subject. General charges of waste are really of no practical value, but a man who roots out particular instances of waste renders a service to the State. The question, however, before us is not, as represented, that the plan proposed by Sir Bartle Frere is for providing for this wasteful expenditure. I take it that Sir Bartle Frere's object is to prevent that *very waste* which is so very much deprecated. It seems to me that the propositions put before us by Sir Bartle Frere aim at attaining economy. His object seems to be to place upon the Local Governments—upon those who spend the money—the onus of spending it well. It is admitted by

Sir Bartle Frere that there is at present a wasteful expenditure, and his object is to prevent that. He therefore says—Let the Local Government authorities who come forward demanding money to spend be made answerable that the money shall be well spent; and he proposes a plan for so doing. The gentleman who first addressed us likened India to an estate, and he seemed to raise the question, whether India required further expenditure, or whether, if it required further expenditure, it was in a position to pay for it. I think those gentlemen who know India best will not only admit, on the one hand, that India needs a large expenditure for public works, but that it is well able to pay for that expenditure. The present mode of providing for such expenditure out of revenue, however, places the accounts of the country in an apparently false position. India is not insolvent. Though it may go on spending more and more money, that money will come back again in increased revenue. The very fact of our revenues having gone on increasing in every department of the State, is a proof that the money has not been altogether wastefully spent. But to address ourselves to the particular proposition before us, which we should really try to do, instead of going into general declamations. We cannot remedy the past; let us try to remedy the future. The past has gone; let us learn lessons from it. We have before us a proposition to appoint a commission to raise money in this country. What I am saying now I do not say by way of objection, but I put it rather by way of interrogation. It seems to me that there is a certain difficulty involved in that proposal. It seems to me that it would be raising up a power independent of, and in some respects antagonistic to, what I call the Imperial power in India—that is, the Government of India. I do not know how Sir Bartle Frere proposes to get over that difficulty. If the interest on the money raised is to be a charge on the revenues of India, it seems to me necessarily to follow that the Government of India should have something to say as to the borrowing of the money. Sir Bartle Frere meets that, to a certain extent, by saying, "Let each Local Government show the ways and means of meeting that particular expenditure;" but there are certain works which are not in themselves reproductive, and the revenues of each particular Government pass at present into the general revenue of the country. This scheme of Sir Bartle Frere's seems to me to involve a change altogether in the relations between the Local Governments and the Supreme Government. I do not mean that the change would be altogether a bad one, but the change which I think would necessarily follow would be something of this sort, that a certain portion of the revenue of each separate Government would have to go into the Imperial treasury for Imperial purposes, and the remainder of the revenues of each district would have to remain in the local treasury, to be applied to local purposes. Again, I think it would be necessary to give the Local Governments a certain limited power of creating taxes for themselves. I think it is a mistake that we should apply to all India the same class of taxation. We have a variety of nationalities to deal with, and I think there would be actual good in allowing the Local Governments, within certain limits, to deal with the taxing of the territories which they rule. I will content myself with these remarks, because I know that time is limited.

Mr. Wood entirely concurred with what Sir Bartle Frere had said, but would go much farther—consider how public works are done in England. If you provide two things—first of all, a good specification, and secondly, the requisite money—there is no difficulty whatever in carrying out the work. When a work is designed in England, what do you do? You employ an engineer or an architect in whom you have perfect confidence, to prepare a specification of that work. After you have got that a contract is made, and that specification cannot be altered without the consent of the contracting parties; but, it being necessary to provide for alterations, what do you do? You mention a person by name in that specification in whom the contracting parties have implicit confidence, and if any alteration is required it can only be made by the orders of that person; if any dispute arises, that person mentioned by name in the specification takes the place of a British jury or the British Court of Chancery; there is an end of the matter, and the work is carried out. If you proceed on that principle you at once get rid of the three evils mentioned by Sir Bartle Frere—those were, the great insufficiency of the means used, the great fickleness of purpose, and the waste of money and of time with which the system is charged. But then a specification and contract is of no use unless you have the money to pay for it. You must have a provision of ample funds. You may contract to raise a certain sum of money, whatever it is; but it is impossible to estimate what the cost will be. A competent authority can tell you with the greatest exactness the number of cubic yards, the number of bricks, and the number of bridges, and the number of hands it will be necessary to employ in order to carry out any work, and the time it would ordinarily take to do it, if no misadventure occurs; but how is it possible for any person to say what the price of labour will be, what the price of material may be, what sickness, what war, and what other causes may not arise during the two or three years while the work is going on? All those things add enormously to the expense; it is, therefore, necessary to have some means beyond the estimate to apply to for carrying on that work. Then, as to the improvement of land, it was true that large sums had been lent by Government in England for the purpose; but he apprehended that still larger sums had been furnished by land societies and by large corporations. The only advantage in parliamentary intervention was this, that it enabled persons having limited interests in property to borrow money, the repayment of which within a fixed time was secured on those drainage works. Then comes the question, whether the same thing could not be done in India. In every book you read on India you will read of traces of public works of enormous magnitude in the country. Is there no trace in history how these works were made? is it impossible to get those works made by the communities in India? If it is not possible to get them done voluntarily, it is a political problem whether it is not possible to get them done compulsorily, and whether it would not be advisable for the Government to raise money by local taxation. Coming to the question of what were called remunerative works, Mr. Wood quoted the theory put forth by Mr. Sumner Maine, “that the Government should have a share and a voice in the construction and management of all works which are of such magnitude as to affect public interests or private rights

by establishing a virtual monopoly." In Lord Dalhousie's time the theoretical difficulty was taxing the country at large for the benefit of favoured localities through which a railway was to be made. This was practically got over, by Government taking the risk of granting the guarantee in selected cases, where it had "the foresight to see there would be no risk," and it was contented to take as the public "share" the benefit of getting passengers and goods carried at rates limited in amount by a profit of 10 per cent. only to the shareholders of the companies. But the recent propositions of Government proceed on the theory that "the share" of Government is to be as much revenue as Government can obtain from canals, irrigation, and railways. A control by Government through a system of general rules, might work more advantageously than an unnecessary interference with petty details, and Mr. Wood pointed out the sort of control which was now being exercised in this country—*viz.* a system of accounts showing directly every item of expenditure, and new rules devised by Parliament to check evils heretofore existing. He also said there had not been so much waste as has been stated, and that if the work had to be done over again it could not be done at much less. Mr. Wood then referred to the scheme for raising money. He ventured, with great diffidence, to suggest that the great evil of Sir Bartle Frere's proposition was this, that if you want to raise a large sum of money by this scheme, you must not do it by raising such a sum of money as the Secretary of State shall direct, the Secretary of State to pay the interest. What you must do is this—you must set aside annually from the revenues of India a fixed sum, say three millions sterling a year, and then you must leave the Commissioners to deal with that sum as they think fit. The money may be raised by the sale of terminable annuities, or it may be raised by other means. All that the public have to do is this; they go to the Commissioners and say, we have a certain sum of money to lend; the Commissioners will tell them, you have a security on the revenues of India for the payment of that specific sum of money; but then why confine the raising of this sum to England?

Mr. TAYLER rose to order, referring to the rule of the Association that ten minutes only was allowed to each speaker.

Mr. WOOD.—Then I will conclude by saying that the amendment I should propose to those propositions would be this, that this money should be raised by paying to the Commissioners of England, say 2,000,000*l.* annually, out of the revenues of England, and by paying to similar Commissioners in India 1,000,000*l.* a year; and then I should dispense with that 5th Clause, that there is a reasonable prospect of the work specified being executed with the aid of the sum applied for. I would also provide that in all those non-remunerative public works a sum equal to 5 per cent. annually on the cost of them should be paid to the Commissioners in addition to the interest on the primary cost, so that the debt might be wiped off.

Dr. A. BEATTIE said he thought there existed too generally a feeling to look on the present financial condition of India in too desponding a manner. It ought to be remembered that most extensive works had been executed, and very large sums of money expended at railway speed, in a way never thought of before; consequently the competition for labour,

and the demand for material of all sorts, had greatly enhanced the cost. Time was required for the public works executed to become fully remunerative, directly or indirectly; and, with the exception of the very large amount improperly spent on palatial barracks for the European troops, the upper rooms of which were not habitable on account of the heat, he believed that, in due time, a fair return would be received on the sums otherwise expended. Dr. Beattie did not think the plan suggested by Sir B. Frere for obtaining additional capital for public works in India preferable, or indeed so good, as the "Guarantee System," by which the large sums required for the several railways had been readily got. The English public were quite satisfied as to the security of their capital, and the interest was punctually paid. He did not think the appointment of three Members of Parliament as trustees, to control and be responsible for the expenditure of capital required for India, would be at all satisfactory either for expediting business or diminishing cost. Did we not find that, with very few exceptions, Members of Parliament took no interest in Indian affairs, or had any knowledge of Indian requirements? Dr. Beattie believed that if Sir B. Frere's proposition were carried, a dissolution of the Indian Council would speedily follow, and the essential advantage of having gentlemen with large Indian experience aiding in the Government of the Empire would be lost.

Mr. MACLEAN.—It seems to me that Sir Bartle Frere's paper is divided into two parts. In the first place he proposes certain improvements in the way of executing public works, and in the next place he proposes certain improvements in the way of getting money. In regard to the first, I think there are very few who will not agree with him that it would be an excellent thing if men charged with carrying out public works in India were left a great deal more to themselves, and were not so much checked and controlled by innumerable higher authorities. It might also be said that it would be a very good thing in the way of executing public works if you could widen the entrance into the corps of officers charged with carrying them out. No doubt it would be difficult to find a body of men of greater ability than the Royal Engineers, but we all know, especially in these times, when the division of labour is carried so far, that the highest ability may be wasted unless it is kept working in one fixed and definite groove. The great fault in the administration of public works in India is, that you may find a man one day charged with surveying a railway, the next making a dock, the next day he may be Master of the Mint, and the next day Accountant-General. It is impossible that works can be carried on without great delay and waste unless the system is totally altered. Then, passing to the more important part of Sir Bartle Frere's paper, he puts before us a plan by which more money may be got for carrying out public works in India. That plan amounts really to this, that more money is to be got somehow or other—whether you borrow it or get it out of revenue it comes to the same thing. We all know the ordinary objection, that borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry. It is not certainly a good thing in itself. So long as you can get on with the means at your disposal, without borrowing, it is far better that you should do so; but, at the same time, borrowing on the part of the landlord of the estate, as the

Government of India is, is a very legitimate and proper operation so long as you keep within the means you have at your disposal. The first thing, then, that ought to be done by anybody who proposes to raise money in this way is to ascertain very definitely what those means are. Here, I think, Sir Bartle Frere's scheme is, to some extent, faulty. I think the analogy he draws between such towns as Manchester and Bolton in England and the estate of India does not hold good. You must remember that the people of Manchester and other towns in England know perfectly well what their own resources are, how far they can go, and where they should fix the limit to taxing themselves. They are sure not to burden themselves with a heavy debt which they have no means of paying; but in India the case is entirely different. The people have no power of taxing themselves; and, as Mr. Fleming noticed in his speech, Sir Bartle Frere leaves it doubtful whether the money is to be raised to pay off the loans by the Local Government Commissioners or by the Government of India. Sir Bartle Frere seems to say that the authority of the Supreme Government is still to be maintained in India, that the Local Government is only to pledge any part of the revenue of India if it has the authority of the Supreme Government, and that it is only to impose a new tax if it has that authority. I suppose, therefore, it would not be left to the caprice of the Local Government Commissioners to impose any amount of taxation that they might think necessary, if they had the ambition to create grand and splendid public works, and to gain themselves a name in that way. We all know that the fault of the Local Governments at this time is, not that they do too little, but that they wish to do too much. They are all ambitious of making every city of the country a sort of Paris. I assume that the Local Governments will still be restrained, according to Sir Bartle Frere's scheme, by the Supreme Government—that a check will be kept upon them to prevent them spending too much money on these public works. Then, what ought the Government of India to do in that case? It seems to me very generally looked over that the land revenue is charged with distinct duties towards the land—that the Government is bound, by the condition of receiving that revenue, to set apart every year a distinct sum for agricultural improvements of all kinds, just as any landlord does out of the rents which he receives from his estates in any part of the world. Now, I believe the duty of the Government of India (as I think was hinted at by the gentleman who spoke before me, though perhaps not so definitely as I am going to put it) is this, to ascertain exactly what means out of land revenue we are prepared to devote to public works every year. Let that sum be definitely fixed and set apart, and then it does not matter whether the money is spent in one way or the other; and, whether we borrow on it or not, we know what our limits are; we know that there will be a certain revenue every year to meet it.

MR. CHADWICK.—I venture to interpose at this time, because I believe that some reference to some facts within my own knowledge may bring the question a little nearer to the point which Sir Bartle Frere intends to have discussed. It is to be assumed that the works to be considered are really economical works, that they are productive works. Now, if we are to keep India at all, we must keep it by our good works, and of

those works it may be said, the first are those that remedy the deficiencies of water, the works of storage, collection, and distribution of water. Now, if those works are properly carried out, it certainly will be a matter of great economy. Then I think it is another great duty of the Government of India to remove the causes of the devastating epidemics—that is a paying thing if properly done. I think if you do that you will add to the duration of life, or prevent the waste of life, and the waste of force, if you do it economically. Another description of works are those which are necessary for the purpose of removing materials. Supposing that works are going on, you must have roads for the removal of materials as well as for ordinary purposes of protection, and also for the purposes of dominion. All those must be assumed to be reproductive works; the question is, how to secure economy? Of the proposals which Sir Bartle Frere has put down, one is specially of attention, undivided attention. It has been my duty in England to have had to do with two descriptions of works—drainage works and health works—and I know that either of them taxes the best attention that can be given for that purpose, and that the idea of referring any works of that kind, either locally or centrally, to persons of divided attention, to a council who have not paid special attention to them, is the way not to do it rather than the way to do it. But the great administrative question which Sir Bartle Frere puts forth is this—diminishing the stages of appeal, that is, directness of attention, and unity of responsibility. He refers to some examples in England which he thinks illustrates this question, and with which I had something to do thirty or forty years ago. The state of drainage was terrible in the agricultural districts; the only way of getting settled estates drained was by application to the Court of Chancery, which authorized an expenditure by the person having a life interest, whose duty it was to take care in organizing the expenditure to see that the work was of a quality and of a benefit to endure to the successor. I wrote at that time a paper for Sir Robert Peel's Government, and they instituted a department to whom was committed the duty of seeing to drainage works, and seeing that they were of a quality to endure and to justify the loans of money that were obtained. I must submit that was in intention, as it has been in result, an economical arrangement, because it stopped a great deal of the blundering on the part of private owners of estates who had no special knowledge of drainage, and it prevented a great deal of wasteful outlay on their parts. Being in a position of a Central Board, that Enclosure Commission were acquainted with all the drainage works that were going on, and were able to say at once to a proprietor, through their agent, "That work you are proposing has been tried somewhere else, it is wasteful, and therefore you must amend it, if we give you the money to do it;" and by reason of that assurance that they had the benefit of that experience, large proprietors went and borrowed money for the sake of having the control of the department, and the assurance that they would have an experience that was a protective experience. I think that is an example showing what is capable of being done on a large scale. In the same way the first public Board of Works was a Board charged with similar duties—to suggest works where the locality did not suggest them, and where the locality did

suggest them, to see that they were of a character not to be wasteful. The mere circumstance of undivided attention, and undivided responsibility, enabled that Board to stop an enormous deal of local waste. I think, in fact, we were obliged to interfere very largely with that which is a very dangerous element, which has been introduced into public and private works, namely, the enormous bribe to a man's judgment of five per cent. on the amount of expenditure; that has corrupted very largely our public works in England—the department not having any interest in that direction, but their only interest being to see the works cheaply done. I venture to say the effect was simply that we were enabled to drain three houses and three towns at the expense at which one had been drained; and I quite feel, that if at Calcutta proper experience had been consulted, if they had had proper consultations with men of European experience, they would have done the main drainage at about half the price. It is alleged that the 15,000,000*l.* spent on the barracks are an expenditure in waste. Now the Sanitary Commissioners deny that they are responsible for the barracks built there. They allege that the barracks have been built on the local responsibility, that is, on the responsibility of local engineers. Supposing it to be true that they have not the effect, I say, then, that it is a waste; and I should say that it is a waste from the want of consultation—from the want of special attention in the locality, and still more from the want of special attention and undivided responsibility in the superior department here; because there is no doubt at all that sanitary works, properly conducted, are an enormous economy. In Algeria the French army have reduced their death-rate, which was as high as in the Indian army, from sixty in the thousand down to twelve. We in the Indian army have only got it down to about twenty. But they found that not only the site of the barracks, but the adjacent district, must be drained! And they have shown an example, and it is a very important example, that that may be done with a productive profit. With respect to the circumlocutionary system of waiting for years for the approval of plans, I do not see that you require more time for the approval of them (beyond the time of transit, some six weeks or two months in going to and from India) than was required for the approval of works done here in England, in which case a plan was got out within a fortnight, a report was made to the inhabitants of the town on what they wanted, within say another fortnight, and, I think, within another fortnight, or within two months at the most, a complete plan was prepared, at least, surveys of course had to be got out, but plans sufficient to set them going, sufficient to raise the money, that showed the possibility that it might be done within some two or three months. And I venture to say that some 6,000,000*l.* worth of works, which were approved within my own time, would, if they had been done in the usual way, by private enterprise, have cost 16,000,000*l.* Therefore, I do say, on the whole, Sir Bartle Frere's paper is a most important paper, and if the administrative principle of economy which it enunciates is carried out, it will stop that enormous waste of time which now goes on, doing in years what, I believe, under good management, might be done in months. One gentleman has alluded to one point about the extravagant outlay involved on our army in India; that is a point of

economy and master-economy for the retention of India. If England did not hold India with a quarter of a million of force, what would it have been with the separate states? That quarter of a million of force for India saves three millions of war force, that would for ever almost stop such improvements as India may now make under this dominion. These, it seems to me, are practical points, that I venture to obtrude with the view of adding to the discussion.

Mr. W. TAYLER, after pointing out in the first place how desirable it was that each gentleman should not occupy more than ten minutes, and in the second place congratulating the Association on a gentleman of the position of Sir Bartle Frere bringing such a subject before them, and expressing his great gratification at the same, said: I hope I shall not be taken as saying anything at all uncivil or inappropriate when I say that I think many eloquent speakers who have preceded me have apparently mistaken the particular question which we are here met to discuss. They have entered into very interesting discursive criticisms on different questions connected some with India and some with England; but, if I understand the question before us, it is this, that at the present time there is a great financial crisis in India; that that crisis has been brought about by financial blundering in the first instance, and in the second by profligate expenditure on this particular institution which we call Public Works; and, looking at the paper read by Mr. Prichard some weeks ago in connection with that read by Sir Bartle Frere, it appears to me that the two papers embrace more or less the same subject. I myself cannot look at public works, which is the great outlet of expenditure of the money of India, as in any way whatever separate from the great question of financial administration. I never can and never would consent to look at the Public Works Department as separate from the whole financial administration of India. Sir Bartle Frere admits that there is great waste in the administration, waste of money, waste of power, waste of energy, and waste of life, which he most truly and appositely says is of infinitely more worth than the waste of money. Here, then, we have one characteristic waste. What is the next? Delay: such delay that a work commenced to-day is seldom completed till several years afterwards. What is the third? Fickleness and change. Sir Bartle Frere drew a most graphic and accurate description of the peculiar incidents of Indian life—little stability, little permanence, little principle, in any one of the departments of India. We have, then, waste, delay, and fickleness, which Sir Bartle Frere attributes most justly to this simple fact, that no one single person connected with this vast expenditure is personally or individually interested in it. It may be very humiliating, particularly to those who talk in the present day of the nobility of man, and who say that every great man partakes of the divine nature; but at the same time it is painfully true that self-interest is the motive which rules the world, that a man trusted with a shilling to expend without personal responsibility will very likely waste tenpence, and perhaps pocket the twopence. This, then, brings me to the remedy which Sir Bartle Frere has proposed, and that appears to me to be a question which we have all more or less evaded, and to which we have not devoted proper consideration. He proposes, for the purpose of

obviating and getting rid of that irresponsibility which is at the root of the delay, the change, the fickleness, and the waste, that there should be a body of trustees organized, who might borrow money, and distribute it for expenditure in India. As far as that remedy goes, I do not think any single thing could be better, if we despair of any more comprehensive or larger system of reform. But I confess there appears to me to be two great difficulties in the way. The first is that which, I think, was mentioned by Mr. Smollett,—supposing the trustees appointed, and the money to be raised, where does it go? It goes to this identical department, in which there is waste, delay, fickleness of purpose, to be expended by them. Then I do not understand from Sir Bartle Frere whether he contemplated that these trustees should remain in England, or that they should go to India. If they are to remain in England, their supervision will be far too distant to be of any effect; if they are to go out to India, I believe that the leaven of the old department would leaven any number of trustees that were appointed. I refuse to accept this one abuse in one department as the thing to which those interested in the welfare of India ought to look. I look to it as one small spot of disease in the whole body, that disease being inefficiency of administration; and I do say that every man who has the welfare of India at heart, and every tax-payer, has the right to demand that, if, as Sir Bartle Frere says, the Parliament of England holds the purse-strings, the Parliament of England should on all points of administration satisfy itself what expenditure is required, and why, how, and to what extent it is made. Holding, as I do, this view, instead of offering my most cordial approval, as I otherwise should, to the proposal made by Sir Bartle Frere, I venture to propose to the Association the following resolution.

MR. TAYLER read the resolution, to the effect that the Council of the East India Association be requested to present a petition to Parliament praying that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the causes of the present critical position of public affairs in India.

MR. TAYLER then said: I propose the resolution with this object. It seems to me that we should not be content with a mere partial reform of any one single department, that we should not be content with suggesting such a reform while there is such supreme and general ignorance on the subject of Indian finance, not only in the administration of India, but in the British Parliament itself. If it is true that we must accept that truth that the purse-strings are in the hands of Parliament, my money is in that purse, and I, as a tax-payer and a subject of the British Crown, am entitled to ask that those who have the power to open the purse, should ascertain for what the purse is open. On these grounds I propose this resolution.

MR. MAITLAND.—I intended to have made one or two observations on Sir Bartle Frere's paper, but one gentleman or another has deprived me of the opportunity of doing so. I think we all owe our thanks to Sir Bartle Frere for the exceedingly able and interesting view he has given us of this most important subject. From the position he has occupied, and from the position he occupies now, no man is better able than Sir Bartle Frere to enter upon this subject. One part of Sir Bartle Frere's proposition seems to be this—that Commissioners are to be appointed,

that money is to be raised here under the authority of Acts of Parliament, just in the same way as it is for drainage and other purposes, that that money is to be lent to the Local Government, I may say, to a certain extent, in contradistinction to the Imperial Government, but to the Local Governments, probably with the sanction of the Imperial Government, and that those Governments are to repay the principal and interest in a certain number of years. It is to be borne in mind that that is very different indeed from the principle upon which one most important set of works, and perhaps the most important of all the public works in India—I mean railways—are being constructed at present, because we know that already nearly 100,000,000*l.* have been raised and spent on Guaranteed Railways, and all that the people of India have to do with reference to those railways is to pay the fares when they want to travel by them; but if the people of India, in addition to what they pay in fares, are to pay taxes, to pay not only the interest, if any balance of interest is required, but also to pay off in a few years the principal money, it would be a very considerable difference indeed; and I am very much afraid that an obligation of that kind would impede the progress of public works which are so eminently wanted in India, and I think there would be a danger of throwing upon the present generation too great a burthen, because, supposing you spend 5,000,000*l.* or 10,000,000*l.* in making railways, the cost of which is to be repaid in twenty years, the meaning of that is, that the men of the next twenty years are not only to pay the interest but to repay the cost of the railway, handing down to posterity a most valuable and productive work. That, I think is a point which should be carefully considered. That is the only matter which preceding speakers have left me, but I should like, before I sit down, to refer to two points which have been referred to in the course of this discussion. One gentleman said that he thought that it did not matter whether the money for productive works came out of loans or came out of revenue; to my mind it makes a very great difference indeed. I agree with what Mr. Laing said in his letter to 'The Times' the other day, that if you look too much to revenue for defraying the cost of these public works, you will have your public works very much delayed. I am of opinion that reproductive public works are an eminent advantage, and that they should be carried out either by guaranteed companies, as at present, with the guarantee of the Government of India, or in the way the Government of India has lately contemplated—doing the work themselves—or, in the best way of all, by aid such as that which has been given lately by some of the native princes of India, Holkar, and others. I should like also to say that I differ from the gentleman on my right entirely when he spoke of the Government of India having spent all their money, and not having spent any money in public works, which were likely, as I understood him, to be of advantage or to be reproductive. Looking at the large amount of money invested by the Government of India in railways, not in the cost of the railways themselves—that comes out of the pockets of the shareholders—but in the guaranteed interest; looking at the fact that the East Indian Railway, the oldest and largest railway in India, at this moment is paying more than 5 per cent by its last return, and giving very good promise of paying more; looking to the great increase which

we see year by year in the receipts of most of these railways—it cannot be justly said that the Government of India have spent all their money in non-productive works. I think they have spent this money in a most wise way, which will leave a benefit to all posterity.

The CHAIRMAN then asked whether any gentleman was going to second the proposition.

Mr. PRICHARD, in seconding the resolution, said: The benefit of the resolution, I conceive, is this, that it brings our rather wide and desultory discussion into a narrow channel. I have no particular objection to make to the scheme of Sir Bartle Frere, except this, that I think it is premature for us to discuss here how we shall spend the money in public works, and how it shall be advanced, and so on, till we see how the money can be got. I think, until some definite steps have been taken to institute an inquiry into the system of administration of the Government of India, it would be utterly impossible for the Government of India or anyone to go into the English market for a loan, because, as long as the finances of India are in the condition they are represented to be, I do not think the Government of India will command that confidence which is necessary to enable them to get the money. [In support of his position, Mr. Prichard quoted the remarks of Lord Mayo and Colonel Strachey which he had read in his paper on "Indian Finance," and concluded by seconding the resolution proposed by Mr. Tayler.]

Mr. Wood said that a resolution like the one proposed ought not to be moved without previous notice to the members.

Sir BARTLE FRERE.—As the point to which I propose to speak is simply how to provide capital for your public works in India, I will not attempt to follow some of the gentlemen who have spoken, into the very interesting topics upon which they have dilated. With regard to the income-tax and many other points, I might have a good deal to say, but the point with which we started is simply, when you have determined to make public works, and you find you have not the money needed to execute them, where is the money to come from? The closer we keep to that simple question the more useful the discussion will be. There were several points in what was observed by Mr. Fleming and Mr. Maclean, and by other gentlemen, which are very important to the consideration of this question, and, with your leave, I will reply to them. The first was, that my plan involves the creation, as it were, an *imperium in imperio*, which is to be separate from the Government of India, and will, to some extent, be independent of it. Now, I would observe, that what I propose is not a plan to reform the Government of India, nor to alter the system of taxation in India, but simply, in the supply of funds for public works, to get rid of much useless machinery, and, as you say in harnessing horses, "to bring the horses nearer to their work." Now I will take as an instance, merely because I do not pretend to go into the matter with reference to that particular work, those works to which Mr. Smollett alluded, the Orissa irrigation works. Now, what was the position of those works? You had works out in India which shareholders here in England had undertaken to execute with English capital; you had directors here in England, and you had the executive engineers out in India; you had, moreover, a Government distant several hundred miles

from the place where the works were to be carried out, and from all who could influence the action of the Government, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two commissioners or magistrates, who were neither shareholders, directors, nor engineers, and who had not, probably, a word to say, except as the representatives of the local public. I would ask any man of business, how is it possible that works so carried on should come to an economical and useful end? How can you expect that where the branches of administration are so scattered about the world, it is possible really to do good work?

MR. SMOLLETT.—Then why purchase them?

SIR BARTLE FRERE.—I do not pretend to explain why they were purchased, but being purchased, I would ask whether it is likely that they can ever be efficiently completed and kept up by the present haphazard system of supplying funds for public works? The capital required will come one year from surplus income, the next it might be borrowed, but it will always be impossible for the engineers to tell beforehand how much money they are to get during the year, or who has the power to give them more, or to curtail their expenditure; for these powers are divided, no one knows exactly in what proportions, between the Commissioners of the province, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State. Any one of these four authorities, if favourable to the Orissa irrigation scheme, may urge on the works, and help to spend more money on them in any year. But any one of the four may also be unfavourable to the scheme, or doubtful about its success, and is able to curtail or delay the expenditure, and so the work will drag on—in one year favoured, in another frowned on. Now, I would ask you, could anything be less favourable to an efficient prosecution of the works than such a system? But how will it be under the plan I recommend? When once it is settled that the work is to be completed, and that it will cost so many thousand pounds to complete it, that sum will be set aside by the Commissioners or trustees appointed under the Act of Parliament, and the Lieutenant-Governor will have no further trouble than to draw for that money, and see that it is properly spent; there will be every inducement to finish the work, and to obtain the benefit expected from it, whereas at present there is no inducement to complete the works, and many temptations to delay or abandon them in favour of some new project. The characteristic of the system I recommend is, that it brings the whole of the work to be done as nearly as possible within the reach of those who have to do it. The circles of provinces into which I propose that India should be divided for this purpose are, of course, very much smaller than the whole of India. I have suggested, merely in the way of suggestion, that you should have ten of them: if you like, you may make them twenty. But in determining the extent of each area, the point to be looked to is, that the people to do the work, and the people who are interested in the work, and the people who have to direct the work, are all, as far as possible, within reach of each other. Then, it was asked, how is this system to be connected with the general control of the Government of India? how is it to be prevented from becoming independent of the Government of India? To this I answer, that the Government of India

is at present attempting very much more than any Government in the world can undertake. It attempts to know and direct all that can only be known and directed by men on the spot; and I believe that, in thus attempting to control too much, the Government of India loses its power of controlling anything efficiently. I will take an illustration, and a very good illustration, which was given us by a gentleman who has since left the meeting, that of an estate. Suppose the estate is in Ireland, belonging to one of you men of business here in London. You cannot always be going over there to look after your estate. What do you do? You send a man there, and you take care, as far as possible, to select a good man, and to leave him as much discretion as possible. You do not pretend to check him about every small expenditure. You do not consider that control. You choose the best man you can get, and you consider from time to time, every ten years it may be, what is the result your agent in Ireland has produced, and if you find things are going wrong, you do not say to him, "Send me more reports, send me more returns, and let me check your proceedings more closely." You are busy in your office in London: you have not time to look after these things. You say, "If you cannot look after these things properly, and make my estate pay, I must find some one who can—some one on the spot to whom I can trust my money, and to whom I can trust the working of my estate." So far from disavowing the Government of India from efficient control over the public works of India, I believe the system which I have suggested would greatly intensify that power of control. At present the power of control and responsibility are so divided and scattered between the men who designed the work twenty years ago, the men who have been carrying it out and changing it every four or five years since, and the men who have finally come in at the end, that when anything goes wrong you do not know who is to blame. And that is the evil which the Government of India has to complain of. Having been myself a member of that Government of India, I feel assured that it would be much easier to lay your finger upon the criminal and to punish him, as Mr. Smollett would wish to punish him, under the system I recommend, than it is at present, when it is in most cases notoriously impossible to find anyone who can be made really and effectually responsible. Another point which was noticed was the risk of extravagant expenditure. It was said that each Government would be committing the Government of India, or committing itself and its successors to lay out indefinite amounts: but that objection, I think, will disappear if gentlemen will consider that at this present moment the Government of India knows, and everybody in India knows, that, putting public works out of the question, there will be some surplus of income over expenditure. There will be two or three millions that can be spared every year (if the country goes on improving as it has improved) for public works of some kind. The question is, how to apply such surplus revenue to the best advantage? At present everybody is trying to get for the moment, and for his own particular province or work, the largest possible share of this surplus, and he cannot tell, nobody can tell in India at present, whether he will be able next year to go on with the work, or whether the work may not be delayed or suspended. This

uncertainty is one of the capital evils which should be corrected. But if you say to those men, "You, the Governor, or the Lieutenant-Governor, or the Commissioner of a province can have one-tenth or one-twentieth part—say, for example, 100,000*l.* a year—to spend out of this sum which we have as surplus every year. How will you have it? Will you take it as 100,000*l.* to be paid now, trusting to the existing chapter of accidents to get a similar sum next year, and in each succeeding year; or will you have it capitalized, and the capital funded and held by trustees in London, who will set it aside in the Treasury for you to spend on certain definite works, and you and your successors shall have it to spend on that particular work as fast as they can spend it economically. I do not think there can be any doubt as to which he would choose. Then there was a very pertinent remark made, and one in which I very much concurred, as to the danger of leaving the Local Governments to impose any local taxes they liked. There is nothing, I think, which should be so jealously watched by everybody connected with India, as the power of imposing new taxes; but you have seen them in all time past imposed, and you will see them in all time to come imposed, and they are imposed for particular purposes. Where such a tax exists, the only way in which the system I suggest would differ from that now in force would be this, that instead of those taxes going into the common Treasury in India, and not being specifically marked for the specific purpose, the Government of India and the Local Government will say to the people who hold the money in England, there is a particular tax, imposed for a particular purpose, and the proceeds of that tax, which you can verify by these returns, are to go in payment of the particular loan raised to execute that particular work. This, I think, would be a more business-like arrangement than that which we have at present. Then, with reference to what was said by Mr. Wood with regard to remunerative works, *viz.* that instead of leaving the money to be raised at the discretion of the Secretary of State in India, it would be better to set aside a particular sum—say two millions a year—for a particular purpose, I would only say that I think he has misunderstood one part of my plan. I never would wish to meddle with any sort of enterprise which can be undertaken by private capitalists without troubling the Government. I would not wish to interfere with them nor to look for any share for Government in the remuneration, whatever it may be, that is to be got from works so executed. If there is anything to be got by applying private enterprise to the work, let those who have the capital and those who have the enterprise get the whole of the profit. All I say is, that when such capitalists require you to allow them to establish a monopoly, such as railways have in this country, and to interfere with private rights, then the Government should take a share in the responsibility, and having a share in the responsibility, I think the best way to ensure that responsibility being a real one is that they should also share the profits. Then you tax-payers will look to the matter.

Mr. Wood.—Excuse my explaining. When I said that two millions should be handed over to the Loan Commissioners each year in England, and one million to Loan Commissioners in India, I meant that there should be a fixed permanent charge on the revenues of India of three millions a year, to be applied in the way you suggest in that paper.

Sir BARTLE FRERE.—Then, Dr. Beattie said that he preferred the guarantee system, and in that I should be inclined to agree with him. If you can eliminate, as I think you may eliminate, the objections to it, I should be very glad to see the guarantee system continued; I do not think, on the whole, it has failed. I think it has given you better railways, and cheaper railways, than you have in this country. I merely mention this, because I do not wish any part of this plan to conflict with the extension of the guarantee system. Then he said that Parliament would take no interest in the matter, and that we were to look to somebody else. If Parliament takes no interest in Indian matters, perhaps it is the fault of us old Indians that we cannot make these matters interesting to Parliament. I do not think that Mr. Smollett had ever to complain of an apathetic audience in Parliament. My impression is that, however men might differ from him, he never found any difficulty in getting the House of Commons to listen to him. But if Parliament will not listen, who will? Parliament is the supreme authority, and Parliament holds the purse-strings; and if you put the matter before Parliament in a way that Parliament would understand, they would look into it. Most Parliamentary men understand a Blue-book when they get it, and can study it in their own country seats. And I believe if the rendering of such an account as I have suggested should be given annually to Parliament were rigidly insisted on, you would bring back a very complete responsibility to the Governments in India, and if they did not do their duty, there would be plenty of men in Parliament who would take up the matter, and find a House to back them.

I quite agree with Mr. Maclean that it would be very desirable to widen the entrance into the Public Works Department. I think we could not do better than look in all cases to the best schools of engineers; and generally we find all the world comes to England for them. Then I also agree with what he said with regard to the very great desirableness of setting aside a fixed part of the land revenue for the improvement of the land. That is a system I have always thought a very excellent one, and one which I trust may some day be carried out. One objection he raised to the plan was, that there would be practically no check upon the local expenditure. Now, as to that, I would observe that the system I propose is simply this, that instead of, as at present, the Local Government not knowing who their bankers are, what their resources are, or anything but this fact, that by a certain amount of writing and importunity they can get a certain amount of money granted to them, they would know who their bankers are, what their resources are, and what they have to repay before they get another loan. They would be very much in the state of men who have a clear, intelligible account with their bankers, instead of men who do not know how their account at their bank stands. I have only, in conclusion, to say one word with reference to what fell from a friend of mine, who said that what I had said here was an admission by the Council of India. Now on that point I asked you, when I began to speak, to remember that I was speaking simply on my own account.

Mr. TAYLER.—I particularly said so.

Sir BARTLE FRERE.—I am glad to be corrected if I misunderstood you. I took up the case, as I stated, not on the authority of anything I knew

officially, but on what everybody might read in the public newspapers, as publicly stated by the Governor-General and by the members of his Council, and published by them for the purpose of being known by the public in their 'Government Gazette,' and nothing I have suggested can be taken as more than a suggestion of a private individual. I will not trouble you with any further remarks, more especially with regard to the resolution that was moved, because I am not a member of the Association; but I may remark that it does not seem to me to be very clearly connected with the matter we have in hand—connected, I mean, in a way that would make it useful for the Association to make this discussion their ground for addressing the Secretary of State, and therefore, in accordance with a very common and well-known phrase, perhaps some gentleman belonging to the Association will move the previous question of Public Works.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI suggested that, as he proposed to read a paper on the 27th, previous notice might be then given for the proposed resolution, so that the members might have an opportunity on that occasion of discussing the resolution.

Mr. TAYLER accepted the Secretary's suggestion.

Mr. GORDON was about to move a resolution in accordance with the propositions of Sir Bartle Frere, which was also postponed.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Bartle Frere.

Mr. TAYLER having seconded the motion, the same was carried unanimously.

Mr. MACLEAN moved, and Mr. TAYLER seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Society of Arts for allowing the Association the use of their room.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 27, 1870.

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN, VICE-PRESIDENT, K.C.B., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following paper by Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI "*On the Wants and Means of India*," which had been previously circulated among the members, was taken as read:—

GENTLEMEN,—After the able paper of Mr. Prichard, and the calm, earnest, and thoughtful address with which we have been so kindly favoured by Sir Bartle Frere, I intended to plead some justification for troubling you to meet a fourth time upon the subject of finance. I think, however, that now I need not offer any apology, as the occasion of this meeting will give us the opportunity of knowing the views of our Chairman, of whose long experience and ability you are already well aware. In order that he may have sufficient time for his address, I circulate this paper beforehand, so that all the time saved in its reading will be turned to much

better account by him. I propose the following question: Is India at present in a condition to produce enough to supply all its wants?

I shall first see what its wants are.

1st. Sufficient food, clothing, and shelter for the whole population, to keep it in a healthy condition.

2nd. Sufficient to provide for all its social wants, arising from various social duties and positions.

3rd. A sufficient saving by each individual, and of the wealth of the nation generally every year, to meet any unforeseen contingency of natural calamity.

4th. Means for improvements or new public works.

5th. Means to pay for the high price of foreign rule, which causes a great and continuous drain in consequence of the amount withdrawn from India to the extent of 10,000,000*l.* annually.*

The first four wants are common to all nations; but the fifth want is peculiar to India. It is one of the principal elements of disturbance which causes our financial troubles. The whole question of the existence of a foreign rule depends upon this peculiar circumstance. No foreign rule can maintain itself unless it manages to enable the country to produce not only sufficient for the ordinary wants of a civilized nation, but also for the price of the foreign rule itself. If the foreign rule fails to produce this result, its existence is naturally felt as a crushing burden to the nation, and either starvation, decimation, and poverty, or rebellion against the foreign rule is the inevitable consequence. If therefore our British rulers desire to perpetuate their rule, and I sincerely trust they may be able to do so for a long time to come, with benefit both to England and India, they must look this question in the face. Let them distinctly ask themselves whether India is at this moment producing enough for all its ordinary wants and the 10,000,000*l.* or so more that must be remitted to England every year for the price of the English rule. It is no use blaming the Finance Minister or the Viceroy if they are required to supply all these wants while India is not producing enough for the purpose, for they cannot produce something out of nothing.

One would think that India, on account of this one circumstance of having to remit some 10,000,000*l.* clean out of the country, was heavily weighted enough in its race for prosperity. But in addition to this, it has 100,000,000*l.* of national debt. If the whole interest of this debt were being retained in India it would not be a matter of so much consequence economically, but out of the total registered debt of India some 15,000,000*l.* are held in this country, besides the loans raised here of about 30,000,000*l.* This makes an annual interest of about 2,000,000*l.* to be remitted to this country. Again, of the registered debt of India, which is about

* "Home charges" (exclusive of railways) are nearly 8,000,000*l.*, and out of about 9,000,000*l.* paid in India to English employes of all classes, I take only 4,000,000*l.* as remitted to England as savings, for education of children, for support of families, for English goods for their consumption, English manufactured stores purchased by Government in India, &c., making a total of 12,000,000*l.*, including interest paid in England on public debt of about 2,000,000*l.*, leaving 10,000,000*l.* as assumed by me. (I have treated this subject at some length in my paper "On England's Duties to India," *East India Association Journal*, vol. i., No. 1.)

60,000,000*l.*, nearly 30,000,000*l.* are held by Europeans, so that a portion of the interest on that amount is also transferred to this country. There are besides 600,000*l.*, for interest on East India Company's stock. Thus, then, there is another item of about 3,000,000*l.*, besides the 10,000,000*l.* sterling for the price of the English rule, which India has to produce every year over and above its ordinary wants. Moreover, I shall take the total item at 12,000,000*l.* to be on the safe side, or even 10,000,000*l.* Again, during the past twenty years while the railways have been building, the present generation has been put to the strain of providing some 30,000,000*l.* in the shape of guaranteed interest for railways. Of this about 14,000,000*l.* have been recovered from railway income. But what we have to bear in mind is that the burden of providing these 30,000,000*l.* was first thrown upon the present generation when it could least afford to do so, for the benefit of the future.

But there is not an end to all yet. The present generation has been compelled to spend within the last twelve years in what are called "original ordinary public works," somewhere above 30,000,000*l.*, independent of repairs amounting to about 9,000,000*l.*, and all this heavy outlay at the sacrifice of the present generation for the benefit of the future, or as if all these public works were only to last for the year when they are built!

Such is the strain to which the present generation has been put, and now I ask, Can any one prove that our English rulers have, while putting on such heavy burdens, enabled India to produce enough to meet these wants? or has India been to some extent starved to meet these requirements? If so, is it an act of justice to the present generation to crush them so heavily for the benefit of the future, instead of arranging matters in such a way that the present and the future should be made to contribute in the proportion of their capabilities and their benefits?

The next question is, What does India produce? I do not presume to be able to answer this question completely. My chief object in this paper is to set the friends of India here to discuss this vital question. If anybody can satisfactorily show that India is producing sufficient for its wants, none shall be more glad than myself. I shall be glad because I have as much desire to see the British connection with all its moral benefits continue for a *very* long time, as that India should not be starving and in distress. Now let us see what the economical condition of India is.

I am obliged under the pressure of the current work of our Association to prepare my paper at much disadvantage, and am therefore not able to place all such figures before you as I might otherwise have done. I am compelled to content myself at present with those ready at hand.

In the United Kingdom the imports of the ten years 1858 to 1867 are (including bullion, &c.) 2,640,000,000*l.*, and exports 2,110,000,000*l.* These imports include all remittances, such as interest on or repayment of loans to foreign countries and India, and say, a good deal above 100,000,000*l.* of political remittances from India. On the other hand, we have to deduct from exports about 80,000,000*l.* of railway loans and other public loans during the period raised for India, as also any loans

remitted to foreign countries. I omit taking minor items into account. Upon the whole, I think it will be admitted that the non-commercial exports must be greater than the non-commercial imports. In other words, the actual excess of the commercial imports over commercial exports must be a good deal more than the difference of the figures I have given above, *i. e.* 2,640,000,000*l.* minus 2,110,000,000*l.*, equal to about 530,000,000*l.*, giving something like 25 per cent. profit on the amount of exports. In order to be quite within limit, I suppose no one will object if we put down the commercial profits of any nation to be 15 per cent. or even 10 per cent. Such is the economical condition of the United Kingdom. I may just remark here, whether it is not unjust or mistaken to make any comparison between the position of the finance ministers of England and India. The former has a highly prosperous country, in which nearly the whole revenue of 70,000,000*l.* returns back to the taxpayers themselves, and which is further aided by the political remittance of some 10,000,000*l.* a-year from India, while the latter has a poor country, of which the whole revenue of 50,000,000*l.* does not return to the taxpayers, but some 10,000,000*l.* of it go clean out of the country.

Let us further see how the Colonies are faring—for instance, Australia and Canada. The imports of Australia, including bullion, &c., during the same ten years (1858–67) are 309,000,000*l.*, and exports (including bullion, &c.) 268,000,000*l.*, leaving excess of imports over exports of about 41,000,000*l.* The imports of Canada (including bullion, &c.) are 148,000,000*l.*, and exports 120,000,000*l.*, leaving excess of imports 28,000,000*l.*

This shows how the Colonies are prospering; while under the same British rule, as I shall show hereafter, India is “very poor.”

Let us take the United States before examining Indian figures. The total imports for the years 1868 and 1869 are 381,000,000 dollars and 463,000,000 dollars, while the corresponding exports are only 341,000,000 dollars and 365,000,000 dollars.

Now with regard to India, I again take the ten years 1858–67. Before I give the figures for these years it must be borne in mind that, as I have shown in my paper “On England’s Duties to India,” England has down to the year 1858 derived from India during the connection of the two countries as the price of English rule, at the lowest computation, without adding anything for interest or booties or bribes of former times, more than 200,000,000*l.* This amount on the one hand has fructified in the hands of the energetic and enterprising people of this country,—I cannot venture to say how many fold,—and on the other hand diminished so far the productive power of India. This drain has to be made up by some wise, statesmanlike policy of our rulers. Leaving this, however, for the present alone, and taking India as it is, we find that even with the help of opium and the productive benefits of the railways, as well as irrigation and other works, increased land under cultivation, &c., &c., in short, with everything you may name as having contributed to increase production, the total exports (including treasure) for the years 1858–67 are 456,000,000*l.*, and the imports (including treasure) are only 419,000,000*l.*! But even this amount of imports (short as it is of ex-

ports by some 37,000,000*l.*, or about 4,000,000*l.* a-year) includes about 72,000,000*l.* of railway loan and other public-debt loans raised during these ten years, and the whole profits of the cotton trade during the American war. Were it not for this railway loan, &c., &c., which to some extent modified the effect of the political remittances, in what a sad condition would India have been now!

India's exports, say, are about 50,000,000*l.* a-year at present. Now can this sum earn enough of profit to pay 10,000,000*l.* a-year of the political remittance, and leave something to be added to its capital? As it is, the opium revenue which is paid by China makes up some 7,000,000*l.* for the political drain, and the rest must be withdrawn from the production of every year, reducing the productive capital so much.

In addition to this, India has to suffer another economical disadvantage, which in Mr. J. S. Mill's words is this:—

"A country which makes regular payments to foreign countries, besides losing what it pays, loses also something more by the less advantageous terms on which it is forced to exchange its productions for foreign commodities."*

It cannot be therefore wonderful, under such circumstances, that Lord Lawrence should have recorded his deliberate opinion in his minute of the 26th March, 1864, that "India is, on the whole, a very poor country. The mass of the people enjoy only a scanty subsistence. They are impatient of taxation, except where it is of that peculiar nature to which they have long been accustomed. The tendency of new modes of taxation is to irritate and even to oppress. We ought to avoid, so far as may be practicable, such fruitful causes of discontent." In the year 1864, when Bombay went mad with the cotton prosperity, and revelled in fictitious share-wealth—when the imports of India were the highest, say 50,000,000*l.* (though even then less than exports by 16,000,000*l.*), the highest official in India, the Viceroy himself, declares that "India is, on the whole, a very poor country, and the mass of the people enjoy only a scanty subsistence." And Mr. Grant Duff, the highest Indian official sitting in the House of Commons, so late as 10th May last (after all the progress made by the help of such railways and other public works as have been already constructed), asks the House, in reply to Mr. Lawson's motion about opium, whether it would be tolerable to "grind an *already poor population* to the very dust?" Can it be then a matter of any surprise that the very first touch of famines should so easily carry away hundreds of thousands as they have done during the past twelve years? I appeal to the British nation whether such poverty should be the result of their rule in India, or whether this is to be their mission in that country. I say it as much in the interest of Great Britain as in that of India, that if the British people and Parliament do not pay their most serious attention to India, and repair the impoverishing effect of a foreign rule by the importation of large foreign capital, I am afraid they will have an Indian difficulty in time, far more serious and disastrous to the natives than any they had ever to deal with. But, moreover, we must also remember that the opium revenue may at any time slip through our fingers, and unless great efforts are made to increase the quantity and improve the quality of cotton, I am afraid

* Mill's 'Political Economy,' vol. ii., p. 178, 3rd ed.

that trade will also fail us when most needed, for America is making great exertions to regain its lost ground. It has already produced 8,000,000 bales, is likely to give $3\frac{1}{2}$ next year, and hopes to produce 5,000,000 before five years are over. How great is the necessity that our British rulers should take every care!

Let us see whether we can apply another test regarding the poverty of India.

The whole produce of India is from its land. The gross land-tax is put down for 1870-71 a little above 21,000,000*l.* Now I suppose I shall be within the mark if I say that Government takes for this land-tax on an average one-eighth of the gross produce, if not more. This gives for the gross production of the country, say about 168,000,000*l.*; add to this, gross opium revenue about 7,000,000*l.*; gross salt revenue, 6,000,000*l.*; gross forest, 600,000*l.* The total thus of the raw produce of the country amounts to under 182,000,000*l.* To be on the safe side, let us say 200,000,000*l.* to include the produce of half a million tons of coal, of alienation lands, or anything else there may be. Now the population of the whole of British India is nearly 150,000,000, giving therefore less than 27*s.* a head for the annual support of the whole people. But unequally distributed as this produce must be, *viz.* 10,000,000*l.* remitted to this country, the rich and middle classes keeping a larger proportion for their share, and provision for a large administrative and military expenditure, what a "*scanty subsistence*" indeed must remain for the "*very poor*" mass! I am sorry I have not time at present to work out this test of the total production of India fully; I take it at present very roughly.

Some may say that I had not taken excise revenue into account. It or other manufacturing industry does not affect the estimate of raw produce. The manufacture of spirits and drugs from which this excise is derived is for 1870-71 about 2,250,000*l.*, and if I make this to represent 10,000,000*l.* of value added to the production of the country, I shall be above the mark. As to other manufacturing industries of the country, we know that the exports of manufactured goods do not make up 2,000,000*l.*, and the inland manufacturing industry is limited and confined to a low stage. If therefore I raise the total production from 200,000,000*l.* to 300,000,000*l.*, I shall be, I think, making a high estimate. This makes 40*s.* a head for the gross production of India. Add 75,000,000*l.* more if you like, and make the gross production 50*s.* a head; and what is that after all! The people of the United Kingdom pay above 48*s.* a head for *revenue* only. While the imports of the United Kingdom are above 9*l.* a head, those of India are not 9*s.* a head.

If I am wrong and if somebody will show that India does produce equal to her peculiar wants, none shall be more glad than myself. If Lord Lawrence and Mr. Grant Duff are right, then the question must be carefully considered how the remedy is to be provided. If India does not produce what it needs, the evident reply is, Make India produce more. If Mr. Grant Duff's desire, expressed in the same speech I have alluded to, of making "*the already poor*" India "*one of the most prosperous portions of the earth's surface,*" the only remedy is—increased production. England is bound to do this for the consolidation of its power in India, as well as to fulfil its beneficent mission of making India what Mr. Duff

desires. I think Sir Bartle Frere's proposition is the most suitable remedy; that *large* public works are absolutely necessary, that the necessary capital must be supplied by this country, and that in order that this capital be used without waste and judiciously, Parliament must inquire from time to time how it is employed. Moreover, as long as the Supreme Legislature of India is not composed of a sufficient number of independent and representative members to examine every item of the Budget every year, as is done here by the House of Commons, the control of Parliament and investigation, not only for the application of such funds, but for the whole general administration of India from time to time, is absolutely necessary. I do not mean the slightest reflection upon the officials of Government, but it is only human nature that when one has the fear of being called to account, he will take greater care in his work.

Mr. Mill says, in his 'Political Economy,'* "In countries where the principle of accumulation is as weak as in the various nations of Asia, where people will neither save, nor work to obtain the means of saving, unless under the inducement of enormously high profits, nor even then, if it is necessary to wait a considerable time for them, where either productions remain scanty, or drudgery great, because there is neither capital forthcoming nor forethought sufficient for the adoption of the contrivances by which natural agents are made to do the work of human labour; the desideratum for such a country, economically considered, is an increase of industry, and of the effective desire of accumulation. The means are, first, a better government, more complete security of property, moderate taxes, and freedom from arbitrary exaction under the name of taxes; a more permanent and more advantageous tenure of land, securing to the cultivator as far as possible the undivided benefits of the industry, skill, and economy he may exert. Secondly, improvement of the public intelligence, the decay of usages or superstition which interfere with the effective employment of industry, and the growth of mental activity, making the people alive to new objects of desire. Thirdly, the introduction of foreign arts, which raise the returns derivable from additional capital to a rate corresponding to the low strength of the desire of accumulation and the importation of foreign capital, which renders the increase of production no longer exclusively dependent upon the thrift or providence of the inhabitants themselves, while it places before them a stimulating example, and by instilling new ideas and breaking the chains of habit, if not by improving the actual condition of the population, tends to create in them new wants, increased ambition, and greater thought for the future. These considerations apply more or less to all the Asiatic populations, and to the less civilized and industrious parts of Europe, as Russia, Hungary, Spain, and Ireland."

Now India has not only all these requirements, but also those of a foreign rule, which renders her case still more urgent for suitable remedies.

Again, Mr. Mill has shown that production depends upon natural agents, labour and capital.

Now let us see how matters stand in India.

* Vol. i., p. 230, 3rd ed.

Natural agents we have in any quantity in the waste land, in the capability of much greater production in the lands already under cultivation, with any quantity of water if properly utilized, not to say anything of its vast mineral and other undeveloped resources. The utilization of the waste land is a great necessity, but how can it be utilized or improved, cultivation introduced, and all the facilities of communication supplied without labour and capital, and without Government paying the best attention to the matter. Labour we have enough if famines are not allowed to carry away hundreds of thousands, and emigration checked by the supply of work at home. More than a quarter of a million of able-bodied men have emigrated during the years 1858-67. The natives of India are not very fond of emigration if they can find work at home. At all events this is a fact, that during the three years 1862, 63, and 64 of the cotton prosperity of the Bombay Presidency, not one man emigrated from that part, but a commencement has again set in. But land and labour are both useless unless we have sufficient capital; Mr. Mill distinctly proves that industry is limited by capital, that law and government cannot create industry without creating capital. Capital, then, is the great and imperative want of India, as much for the existence of the foreign rule as of the people themselves. Next we may consider the requisites described in the long quotation given above:—1st. "Better government, more complete security of property" (these we have). As to "moderate taxes,"—when the mass of people enjoy only "scanty subsistence," what taxes can be moderate? On the subject of "proper tenure of land," &c., &c., I shall not speak at present, as the great doctors of land tenure disagree, and it is too important and wide a subject to be treated off-hand. 2nd. "Improvement of public intelligence," &c., &c. This is increasing, but if Government showed confidence in the great importance of this element, they would and ought to do far more than what they have done. 3rd. "The importation of foreign arts," &c., &c., "the importation of foreign capital," &c. This last is the most vital point. If sufficient foreign capital is brought into the country, and carefully and judiciously laid out as suggested by Sir Bartle Frere, all the present difficulties and discontent will vanish in time. But that by any tinkering or legerdemain we can create something out of nothing is simply impossible. The Calcutta correspondent of the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' of 18th inst., quotes Mr. Hunter (the author of 'Rural Bengal' and the editor of the 'Imperial Gazetteer,' now being compiled) as saying in his yet unpublished statement about the necessity of the Gazetteer, "No country ever stood in greater need of imported capital than India in its transition stage." The railways and other public works, though few, are the hope of future good, and far more is necessary in the same direction.

Hitherto I have spoken on the supposition as if the whole present administrative and military expenditure were reasonable and necessary.

But our Chairman had said in his Budget speech of April, 1863, "I agree with those who are of opinion that with proper economy 12,000,000*l.* may be taken as the standard of the expense to be incurred in India for the military force of all arms, even supposing it to be maintained at its present establishment. . . . The great interests of our nation in India require that the estimate of the Indian army should at

least undergo the sifting to which the War Office estimate is subjected before it is laid before Parliament."

And now in December, 1869, as Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee has pointed out to us, His Grace the Duke of Argyll says, "The necessity of effecting every practicable reduction of expenditure was fully apparent to me when my financial despatch of 2nd January last, No. 62, was written. In that despatch I called your attention to the military charges, and stated the grounds on which I consider that those charges should be reduced to at least the scale of 1863-64, and that it might be possible to bring the whole military charges in India, including stores, a million and a half below the present amount." Mr. Grant Duff also says, "Its (army's) weakest part was its enormous cost" (Speech, 3rd August, 1869).

The Hon. Mr. Strachey, in his speech on the 28th April last, in the Supreme Legislative Council, traces the causes of the present financial difficulty to the circumstance, "that although the growth of the revenues has been very great, the growth of expenditure has been still more rapid. . . . I think it clear that the increase has gone on at a far greater rate than was either right or necessary;" and he gives in proof the reductions made within six or seven months of the discovery of the financial difficulties. He further says, "Our financial system requires radical and fundamental changes."

His Excellency the Viceroy, in his speech of the same day, says, "If I am asked whether I think the main principles of future budgets should be the same as the present, I would frankly confess that I do not think so, and agree with Mr. Strachey that there is great room for improvement."

About the waste of every sort in the public works department we have heard enough, especially in Sir B. Frere's address.

There is another point of view from which the question of State expenditure may be seen. In the year 1856 the total expenditure was less than 32,000,000*l.* For the year 1870-1 the estimate is some 49,000,000*l.* I leave out the provision for "ordinary" original works from revenue, for there is nearly universal condemnation of that plan.* The increase of expenditure is therefore some 17,000,000*l.* Now the question is this: In order that India should be able to find 17,000,000*l.* a-year of more revenue, how many times 17,000,000*l.* must its production have increased to make such increase of State expenditure justifiable?

Can any one show that there has been even so much as four times 17,000,000*l.* of more production than that of 1856, so as to allow Government to take 25 per cent. of it for the use of the State? Moreover, what

* The Right Hon. Mr. Massey in his Financial Statement of 9th April, 1868, says in reference to works like barracks, trunk roads, &c.:—"But if the question lay between new taxation and providing for these works wholly or partially by loan, we put it to the Secretary of State whether it would not be the preferable course to borrow, rather than strain the resources of the country by additional taxation for the mere purpose of constructing great works, of which posterity would reap the benefit."

Mr. Laing's opinion we already know from his letter to 'The Times.' And also the opinion of 'The Times' itself in the several able and forcible articles that have lately appeared in it. In India the opinion has been general during the recent discussions, that barracks, roads, and such "ordinary" works, must be constructed by terminable loans. Sir B. Frere's opinion on this subject, as you are already aware, is decisive against depending upon revenue.

a hardship it is that of this addition of 17,000,000*l.* more than 8,000,000*l.* are made up by salt revenue!

During the period of this increase of 17,000,000*l.* of expenditure what a loss there has been of life and property, and therefore of the power of production, by the mutiny and by famines; and what a mercy it is that railways, irrigation works, and the windfall of cotton profits have to some extent counteracted their evil effects and made up to some extent the political drain. But will it be seriously contended that the progress of production has been such as to justify an annual increase of 17,000,000*l.* of State expenditure in 1871 over that of 1856?

I hope, therefore, that I have shown that the only salvation for India is large irrigation works, railways, and roads, and other public works of necessity, and parliamentary inquiry from time to time into the administration. Till the commercial exports are sufficiently large to pay from their profit the price of the foreign rule,—or in other words, till the amounts of the commercial exports and imports will be equal, leaving the profits on the exports to be retained by England for the price of its rule,—India cannot be said to be producing enough for its wants; and it will be only when the commercial imports begin to exceed commercial exports that it will be making any addition to its wealth by the instrumentality of the British rule.

There is one important way to contribute to India's wants, in which England, as a good manager, can give to India the benefit of its credit and moral power without taxing the English public a shilling. If England guaranteed the public debt, a saving will be made in the interest which India has now to pay on it. I propose, however, that this saving be not allowed to remain in the pockets of the Indian taxpayers, but be used in paying off the debt itself. The consequence will be that the whole debt may be paid off in a limited period, without England being required to contribute a single shilling from its own revenue. I cannot on this occasion treat of the moral duty of England to give this help, or enter into the subject at any length.

In Sir B. Frere's speech on Mr. Prichard's paper, he first tells us that elastic as the Indian revenue is, its requirements are still greater, and then he wants us to find out new sources of revenue. I venture to submit, with every deference, that what the anxiety of the Finance Minister or any Indian statesman should be, is not so much to discover new sources of revenue as new sources of production or prosperity. There is no royal road to prosperity or finance. Blood cannot be got out of stone. When prosperity is fairly secured revenue will take care of itself, and the Finance Minister, as in this country, will have to be embarrassed, not with deficits, but surpluses.

Sir Bartle does not see much objection to the present guaranteeing system. I agree with Mr. Fitzwilliam that it is objectionable in principle and not very effective in practice. I do not think the railway builders have much right to throw stones at the so much condemned public works. I am very sorry this question of guaranteed railways *versus* State railways was not fairly fought out at the Society of Arts upon Mr. Andrew's paper. I am morally certain that there has been great waste in the construction of the guaranteed railways; but it is enough for

us to know that such is the opinion of Mr. Juland Danvers, who ought to know. By all means let there be private enterprise, but it must be real and not sham enterprise. Mr. Sumner Maine's proposal, mentioned to us by Sir Bartle, of the association of Government and private enterprise in works in which Government control is necessary, so that each takes its risks and profits according to its share, is a fair proposal. This plan is very well adapted to supply the element of "self-interest," the want of which Sir Bartle so clearly showed to have a great deal to do with the evil of waste. We shall then also have the full benefit of the knowledge and experience of business men as directors on behalf of the private shareholders, for if anything went wrong the shareholders will soon call them to account.

Now, with regard to the thoughtful scheme of Sir Bartle Frere,* I

* Propositions for providing the capital required for public works in India:—

1. The capital required for public works in India, undertaken by the Government, is not to be restricted to the sum which can be annually spared from current revenue, but is to be provided from loans to be raised in the following manner.

2. Commissioners to be appointed by Parliament, and empowered to raise by loans in England, under authority and with the consent of the Secretary of State in Council, a sum not exceeding millions. The interest on such loan to be paid by the Secretary of State in Council from the revenues of India, *which in the case of reproductive works shall be paid after any portion is completed and in a working state, and in proportion to that portion*, and the money to be applied to the execution of public works in India undertaken by the Government.

3. Commissioners to be empowered to advance the money so raised to the Government of India, or to the local governments and administrations, on the conditions hereinafter mentioned.

4. The local governments and administrations to which advances may be made to be the following:—

The Governments of Madras.	
" " Bombay.	
Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.	
" " North-West Provinces.	
" " Punjab.	
The Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.	
" " Oude.	
" " Central Provinces.	
" " Mysore.	
The Commissioner of Sind.	

5. The Commissioners to certify:—

1st. That in the case of each advance, they have received copies of the working plans and estimates, or contract specifications, sufficient to indicate clearly the limits of the work to be done, and to satisfy them that there is a reasonable prospect of the work specified being executed with the aid of the sum applied for.

2nd. That they have received an assurance of the loan required for the work being repaid by the authority to which the sum has been advanced, with interest sufficient to cover all expenses, within a period not exceeding years, *but not less than forty years for "ordinary" works, and not less than eighty years for "extraordinary" works*, and that they are satisfied with the security given for such repayment.

6. The Commissioners to make an annual report to Parliament, specifying the sums raised, applied, and repaid under these rules, up to the 31st December in each year, with the following particulars:—

- The Government or Administration to which money has been advanced.
- The names of the works for which the advance was required, and the total sum which each work was estimated to require, and, in each case,

give it as a note, with only two alterations from myself, which are in *italics*.

For the alteration in No. 2 I shall give my reason in the words of the despatch of the Indian Government, of 9th March, 1865, on irrigation: "Practically the charge of interest on the money sunk until the work is in a condition to pay, is just as much a part of the first cost as the direct outlay on the construction. There is no reason whatever for regarding such an interest charge as a burden on the revenues, and it may with perfect propriety be paid from the loan. The only essential point is to be assured that all the works undertaken shall, in the end, at least bring back to the State the interest on the capital expended on them, and with a proper system of management we do not doubt that this may be always accomplished."

As for my second alteration, I rather think that in the case of the reproductive works, the repayment of capital should be provided for from the income only of the works and not from revenue. However, taking the scheme as it is, the principle of my alteration is, that if on the one hand you should not burden posterity, it is also necessary that you should not be unjust to the present generation, especially because the benefit of all these works will be enjoyed more by the future than the present. I don't think, therefore, that I am asking anything unreasonable to distribute the burden over less than two generations in the one case and four in the other. When, last October, I said something to the same effect at our meeting on the occasion of Mr. Hyde Clarke's paper, I was little prepared to find that Nemesis was pursuing the Indian Government so rapidly for their injustice to the present generation. Sir Bartle's propositions appear very large to some persons, but they forget the large size and population, and therefore the large requirements of India. In the United Kingdom, with only 30,000,000 of population, 500,000,000*l.* are invested in railways, not to say anything of other works. I express this much of difference of opinion from Sir Bartle Frere, with every deference. Mr. Maclean says the income-tax as a war-tax is useless in India, and Government must depend upon its credit. He is right in the case of a rebellion; but in that case, if Government will not be able to collect the income-tax, it will not be able to collect any tax. In the case of a foreign invasion, however, if the English rulers have done their duty by the people, they, in their turn, will submit to any reasonable burden when necessary; and if the public debt is guaranteed as I have proposed, the credit upon which he depends most will be much improved. On the subject of the income-tax I shall not say more, as I hope we shall have the benefit of our Chairman's views, who, as you are aware, once sacrificed himself on this very account.

We have had now much discussion both here and in India. We have seen how very various are opinions on the subject of the present condition of India and its administration, and we see now more clearly than ever that Parliament should step in and make a searching inquiry into

the total sum advanced, expended, and repaid up to the end of the year preceding.

(c) The nature of the security given for punctual repayment.

(d) An enumeration of projects on behalf of which loans have been asked for and refused, with the reasons of refusal in each case.

the whole matter, for Parliament after all is the fountain head, and Parliament I hope will not shrink from doing its duty to a nation of 200,000,000.

As Mr. W. Tayler's proposal completely embraces the scope of this paper, as well as of former ones, the discussion would be best begun by Mr. Tayler moving his resolution after the Chairman's address is finished.

We have Sir Bartle Frere's weighty opinion, that Parliament should be asked to institute inquiry into the conduct of the Administration. Our Chairman has expressed to me a similar opinion, and we have Mr. Fawcett expressing his belief that "there never was a time when the finances of India more urgently required the keen and scrutinizing investigations of the House of Commons."

This inquiry I think will do as much service to the Indian Government itself as to the people of India, if not more.

21st July, 1870.

The Chairman, Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN, then delivered the following Address:—

"On the Finances of India."

My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—As I believe all who are here present have come expecting to hear from me a long address on an important subject, I will briefly state the grounds on which I claim to be heard on that subject. The first twelve years of my active life were passed in the administrative service in India; the first six in the Delhi territory, Rajputana, and other parts of India, and the last six in the Secretariat at Calcutta. Then, after nineteen years' service in the British Treasury, I was appointed Governor of Madras, where I served for fourteen months, and, after a brief interval, I was appointed Finance Minister in India, and submitted to the Council three annual Budgets, so that I have had practical experience of both sides of this great Indian financial question. A really serious crisis in Indian finance appears now to have arrived, and it has seemed to me for some time that it was my duty to submit to the public the result of my experience and thought on the subject, for what it was worth; and I was the more induced to do so because I was very much struck with the tone of the petition of the native inhabitants of Bombay. Every line of it breathes loyalty to the British Government. There is not, either in the petition or in the proceedings of the large public meeting at which it was agreed upon, the slightest trace of any disposition to evade a full measure of taxation; but they come before Parliament in the most dutiful and constitutional manner, and are at least as well entitled to a respectful hearing as any English constituency would be, or any other class of our fellow-subjects. Having passed the first sweet years of early manhood in India, India was my first love, and it is likely to be the last object of my advanced years (hear, hear), and I have even endeavoured to hand on my interest in it to another generation, by taking my son with me to India, and thoroughly interesting him in Indian affairs. (Hear, hear.) My address will be comprehensive in the sense of touching all the principal points, but it cannot, of course, be exhaustive on every point.

My friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji commences his paper with a reference to the Home charges. In accordance with a common, but, as it appears to me, erroneous opinion, he says of them that they are "one of the principal elements of disturbance which cause our financial troubles." He calls them in different parts of his paper "tribute," "drain," "political remittance;" and he alludes to the "impoverishing effect of foreign rule." I cannot agree with him. What are these Home charges? First of all, stores. India, in coming to England, the great manufacturing country, comes to the cheapest and best market for stores, and she gets full value in return for what she pays, so that there is no loss there.

Then interest on debt. What does that mean? India borrows in the cheapest market. This old, rich, money-making country is notoriously the best market for the supply of capital. Not only India, but America, Italy, Spain, and many other foreign countries, come to England for capital—and many more would if they could—America perhaps comes oftener than any; but America has no idea that she impoverishes herself by borrowing money in England. It is always advantageous for a country where capital is dear to borrow from one where it is cheap.

Another large item is pensions. Now, so far as the service for which those pensions are given was good service, that also is an item in which India has had value for the money it pays. Who would assert that Lord Metcalfe's and Mountstuart Elphinstone's pensions, down to the pensions of the humblest civil and military officers who have worked hard in the service of India, have not been well earned?

The Home charges may be larger than they ought to be, but there is nothing intrinsically objectionable in their nature. No doubt there are certain evil tendencies of foreign rule, which it is our duty to repress to the extent of our power, some of which will crop up in the course of my address; but the fact of the existence of the Home charges is not in itself a proof of those evil tendencies.

But we have not far to go for substantial causes of anxiety. The thirteen years which have elapsed since the mutiny have been singularly free both from foreign war and domestic disturbance. There was the Ambeyla affair, and the Bhutan affair, but they were storms in a puddle by comparison with such an empire as India; and as to Ambeyla, it was entirely our own doing: we thrust ourselves into the mountains among the warlike tribes, and we only got what we might have expected. It might be said that the Cuttack famine was a more serious matter, but Cuttack was a neglected corner of our administration, and that also was an exceptional and incidental circumstance. Never before has there been such a halcyon period in India. The Temple of Janus was never before so long shut. The revenue has increased from 33,000,000*l.* in 1856 to 50,000,000*l.* in 1870, being an increase of 17,000,000*l.* in fourteen years, or at the rate of nearly a million and a quarter a year. This is an increase of more than 50 per cent. on the previous revenue. We used to talk of the unelastic character of the Indian revenue, but now Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji boasts of its "immense elasticity"—which almost surpasses that of England and America—and he justly boasts of it. Yet these fourteen years have been a period of constant financial anxiety. Mr. Wilson died, and Mr. Laing and myself were shattered against this heavy task. Speak-

ing of the last four years, Lord Mayo says, "It has been repeatedly stated—but a great truth can hardly be stated too often—that from the year 1866 to the present time we have been plunged in a chronic state of deficit. We have spent on ordinary expenditure in those years upwards of six and a half millions more than we ought to have done." The last deficit which has been finally declared—that for 1868-69—is the largest of all, amounting to 2,774,030*l.*, excluding extraordinary public works; and to 4,144,643*l.*, including them.

The gravity of this state of things has been greatly increased by two circumstances:—1st. Having imposed a heavy income tax to make good the deficit, we have played our last card—we have brought forward our last reserve, and this although, judging from all previous history, we cannot expect that such an unprecedented period of peace will continue much longer. 2nd. The opium revenue is at last showing unmistakable signs of failure, owing to the increase of the cultivation in China. After having in vain contended against the importation of opium, the Chinese Government seems to have determined that China shall at least have its fair share of the profit arising from the cultivation and sale.

But, although this chronic increasing state of deficit appears, at first sight, not to be referable to any ordinary financial causes—to be a bolt out of the blue—yet the phenomenon is really capable of a very simple explanation. If the revenue has largely increased, the expenditure has increased in still greater proportion. We have not kept within our means; we have "outrun the constable." Like persons who fall into embarrassment in private life, we have not made the annual adjustment of our income and expenditure a *sine quâ non*, but have given the precedence to other objects.

The East India Company were remarkable for their thrift. It used to be said that, while their trade was carried on in a spirit of territorial magnificence, the mercantile spirit had penetrated every part of their territorial management. They had no roads, but they always aimed at a clean balance-sheet. The Queen's Government, on the other hand, has entered upon its charge with something of the excess of zeal of a person who has come into office with a strong impression that a great arrear of improvement has to be brought up. It has been earnestly desirous to do justice to its great task. The claims of administration have been regarded as paramount. Whenever a clear case of administrative improvement has been shown, whether it was the increased comfort of the troops, barracks, roads, irrigation, or sanitary arrangements, the Government seemed under the necessity of doing it at once, without any distinct reference to financial considerations, and without reflecting how impossible it is to do everything at once, and to bring backward nations, by a single violent effort, up to the standard of the most advanced. (Hear, hear.) The salaries of the native servants of the Government have been very properly increased; but no corresponding decrease has been made in the number of the European officers. In my opinion the rates of salary are not too high at present in India. (Hear, hear.) I will give an instance. Of late years, in pursuance of the righteous policy of bringing forward the natives in the administration of their own country, a large number of native deputy-collectors and magistrates have been appointed. These are all a net

addition to the European officers. In Bengal, where the collection of the revenue, thanks to the permanent settlement, is mere routine, and where it comes in quite as a matter of course, they still keep up the old number of Pucka European collectors. Of course natives ought to be put in the place of those collectors. That was settled as long ago as the time of Akbar and Todar Mul, for the natives, and especially the Hindus, have always been admitted to have a special aptitude for every kind of duty connected with the assessment and collection of the revenue. It reminds me of an invalid friend of mine who was recommended soup and jelly for his diet. What he did was to take all the substantial meals he had been eating before, and the soup and jelly into the bargain.

But there has been no vulgar jobbing. With all this, our administrators considered themselves economical, because they only yielded to acknowledged claims of administration. The spirit of the new régime has been high-minded, open-handed, munificent. It has been so in other things besides salaries. It was an established principle of the Indian Government under former Governor-Generals, that the European officers of the Government should not be allowed to leave their duties in the plains in the hot weather and congregate at Simla and other sanatoria. I was surprised to find, when I went out to India last, that that wholesome principle had disappeared. There is an immense gathering of civil and military officers from all parts of India at the sanatoria during nearly half the year, leaving their offices in the charge of junior officers. Then there used to be a strong feeling against acting appointments. It was considered that an acting officer could not be so experienced as one who held the permanent appointment, and could not have the same interest in the district. That feeling seems to have disappeared altogether. Then there has been great liberality in the matter of leave of absence. I am not finding fault with it; I am only mentioning it as an illustration of the general open-handedness of the present Government. Something has been allowed by the Queen's Government even to sentiment, as we shall hereafter see.

I will confine myself to three examples of this prevailing disregard of financial considerations. 1st, the Army. Although the great native military powers which formerly balanced our own—Runjeet Sing, Gwalior, Oude, and Hyderabad—have been extinguished or disarmed, and all the remaining native states have been conciliated and attached to our interests; though our great Bengal sepoy army, which required a large European and native force to look after it, has disappeared, and we have drawn the teeth of the native states, by depriving them of their guns; though our army now reigns supreme and unrivalled, and one regiment is able to do the work of ten by the formation of railways; and, lastly and chiefly, although the people of India have entered upon a course of educational and industrial improvement which is quite incompatible with their former revolutionary aspirations, the military expenditure, according to the Budget estimate, is 15,745,341*l*. It therefore absorbs nearly a third of the gross revenue. This is more than the ordinary military expenditure of the great military monarchies of Europe; and, above all, it is more than the military expenditure by which England maintains the security, not only of these islands, but also of the whole of the British Colonies, including

Canada, exceeding, if not in population, at any rate in extent of territory and in the formidable character of the powers by whom they might be assailed, the whole of British India. The net charge for the British army this year is 11,762,200*l.*, while the estimated net expense of the Indian army is 15,009,116*l.*, or 3,983,141*l.* more.

As to the causes of this large expenditure on the Indian army, when the Queen assumed the direct administration of India, it followed, of course, that the Indian and the English armies should be amalgamated, but the amalgamation was carried out in a manner regardless of expense.

First of all, we have the scandal of the large number of highly-paid officers employed on merely nominal duties in India.

Next, it used to be an invariable rule of administration to fix an "establishment" according to the wants of the service, and to promote only to vacancies in that establishment, so that nobody could say precisely when he would be promoted, which necessarily led to numerous early retirements, especially on the part of those who had no taste for hard work; but now an entirely new principle has been introduced, which I do not remember to have heard of before, by which promotion is given altogether according to length of service, without reference to any fixed establishment, and therefore without any limit as to the number of recipients, so that when an officer has served a certain number of years in a particular rank he must, as a matter of course, be promoted to a higher rank, whether there is a vacancy or not. The consequence of this is that the qualification for the highest rank and the highest rate of pension is simply absolute length of service, without regard either to the public wants or to the relative claims of other officers; and everybody is certain to arrive at the highest rank, and to be entitled to the highest rate of pension, if he holds on during the prescribed term of years. Everybody, therefore, has formed his plan of life to remain to the last. The tune is, "We are all growing old together." There will soon be an army of field officers with very few subalterns, and such a retiring list, all at the highest rate of pension, as the world has never seen.

This, of course, is no mere opinion of mine. In the discussion on the income tax in the Council of the Governor-General in April last, Sir William Mansfield, the Commander-in-Chief, said, "There is one more point to which I would invite the attention of the Council, that being the growth of non-effective establishments. I need not advert to the statement of General Hannington and Colonel Broome beyond uttering the remark that, while those distinguished authorities differ in detail, they are agreed in presenting a picture of future liability which is positively alarming. In short, we are threatened with the serious danger of all our economies in India in the combative force being eventually greatly more than swallowed up in the growth of the non-effective expenditure. Under such circumstances a further greater danger might be forced on by public outcry, involving perilous reductions, to meet non-effective charges." These statements will be found in the Parliamentary Paper "East India Staff Corps, No. 140, of 1869." The Controller-General of Military Expenditure sums up as follows:—"Military history presents no instance of an army so constituted, or of one so

costly. But unsatisfactory as is the present financial condition of the Indian army, the future prospect is far worse."

But this is not all. For several years nothing has been heard of but the complaints of Indian officers; and, as regularly as a concession has been made, it has only produced a fresh crop of claims. When something was allowed to A, it was considered necessary to put B and C on the same footing; and so the standard of claim was continually rising, till at last it was found that the whole body of Indian officers had been promoted out of all proportion to the Queen's officers, and it became necessary to consider their claims also.

Lord Mayo pointed to a much larger reduction of military expenditure than has actually been made, which he said was dependent on the result of a reference to the Home Government. This reference involved, first of all, the question of the artillery. Now the case of the artillery was simply this; that, taking the entire amalgamated corps of artillery in England, India, and the Colonies, there were a great many more than were wanted, and the difficulty of relieving India of the surplus artillery was that the Home military authorities did not know how to dispose of them, and there was a natural reluctance to swell the War Office estimate with the expense of an additional force which was not required. The artillery is the strongest case of all, because there is now no native artillery that can be brought against us. Runjeet Sing began with a single gun, and accumulated all the guns he could. Whenever he took a fort he dragged the guns after him, till he got a train of artillery superior to any that his neighbours possessed, and he always referred to this as the basis of his power. The natives know perfectly well that we are in the same position with reference to the whole of India that Runjeet Sing was with reference to the Punjab, that we have the whole of the artillery. So that our having such a surplus force of artillery is not for India but for English interests.

The reference to the Home Government involved also the question of the reduction of native troops. The Bengal native army has been reduced quite as much as it ought to be; but there is a large surplus in Bombay and Madras, particularly in Madras. The famous old Coast Army was once our great stand-by in India. It was the lever by which we conquered India; but more than 100 years have elapsed, and the state of things has entirely changed. There is now no part of Her Majesty's dominions which is so entirely peaceable, where the habits of life of the people are so remote from any idea of war or disturbance, as the Madras Presidency. When I went there I naturally asked after the old Polygars I had read of when I was a boy; but I found that they had become the most peaceable, quiet people in the world, and I saw only one example of the spears fixed at the end of long bamboos with which they formerly defeated our cavalry. That was in the suite of a petty Rajah, merely for purposes of state. A single well-equipped division at Bangalore, and an European regiment in garrison at Madras, would, with the help of the railways, and of the very efficient local constabulary which has been established in the south of India, safely hold the whole of what is commonly called the Peninsula of India, and everything in addition to that is sheer waste. It is not good for anybody—not even for the sepoys themselves—that they

should lead useless idle lives. It must have been observed that of late years the Madras native regiments of the line have never been selected for any of our foreign expeditions. The truth is that they have fallen into the unwarlike habits of the rest of the population; and, being burdened with their wives and children and even more distant relations, they form large domestic societies. That was the other question referred home. The large reduction of the Madras army, originally proposed by Sir Patrick Grant and myself, and now a second time urged by Lord Mayo, seems to have been considered with reference neither to the relative economy, nor to the relative efficiency of the regiments, but to the interests of the officers. It was considered necessary, I believe, that the whole of the English officers serving in India should be dealt with alike, and to this everything else was postponed.

These are the reasons why the expenditure on the army has not been reduced within the limits recommended by Lord Mayo; and it must be admitted that they are examples of the expensive spirit of foreign rule. If we had been dealing, not with natives of India, but with our own countrymen, the result would have been very different. If the check of jealous constituents had not been wanting, if Parliament had been disposing of its own money and not of the money of the people of India, nothing of this could have taken place. The pressure brought to bear upon Parliament was in the interest, not of the Indian taxpayers, but of the English officers who expected to profit by the additional grants.

The next instance is public works. This is the most complete instance of all of the reaction from the old state of things under the East India Company, when even common roads were wanting. Lord Mayo reminded the Council that "these great sums of eight millions in 1869-70, and 7½ millions in 1870-71, by no means represent the whole of the expenditure on works of public utility for which the Government is responsible; in India we shall pay in 1869-70 1,570,000*l.* in interest and net charges on account of railways. The railway companies under Government guarantee will spend in the same year upwards of 4,000,000*l.* in construction, so that in reality the gross expenditure on works of public utility in India during the past year and the necessary expenses in interest on loans will amount to nearly 14,000,000*l.*! Similarly in 1870-71 the total expenditure will be upwards of 14,288,000*l.*" . . . "To put it in another way," his Excellency continues, "the net expenditure on public works, deducting recoveries for this year, amounts to 13,800,000*l.*, which, compared with the net available revenue, gives a sum equal to 47 per cent. This percentage will be increased during the present year; so that in reality we expect to spend, within the ensuing year, on works of public utility in India, a sum nearly equal to half of our entire available revenue; and I believe that this is an effort in the direction of public improvement that has hardly ever been attempted by any other nation in the world." By "available revenue" Lord Mayo means "the revenue after deducting all imperative charges, such as cost of collection, charges, payment of interest, pensions, and payments under treaty."

Upon this one is disposed to exclaim, in the words which the proverbial philosophy of all nations furnishes, "*μᾶλλον ἄγαν*," "*ne quid nimis*," "*festina lente*," "more haste than good speed." Public works are excel-

lent things, but there are other things equally good or better—financial integrity and safety, for instance. When the choice is between more or less of public works, and bankruptcy or grinding war-taxes, we may well pause and consider. In this, as in other things, prudence and discretion are necessary.

This is not the first time we have seen the consequence of attempting to do the work of a quarter of a century in five years. During and immediately after the Irish famine, the argument in everybody's mouth was, "The undeveloped resources of Ireland are more than sufficient to maintain the whole 8,000,000 of the Irish population;" and, in a certain sense, no doubt, they were; that is to say, if we could have made one leap to the end of the next century. If, by the application of Prospero's magic wand, those latent resources could have been at once developed, no doubt they would have been sufficient to support the population; but they could not be developed all at once, and our Government took warning in time, and the great works of arterial drainage and other undertakings which had been set on foot, on the forcing principle, were brought to a sudden close. Another instance was the Railway Crisis of 1847-8. Then the prevailing argument was that all that was wanting to make England a splendid country, to develop the resources of England far beyond what they then were, was plenty of railways. But that also was an undue anticipation of the future. We exhausted our existing resources in a premature, unnatural effort. Other industries were interfered with. Everything went up in price; and then came the crisis and the crash.

In India the necessary result of this overhaste, this mushroom growth of the last thirty-five years—for it is only within that period that there has been any system of public works in India—has been, as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji says, "waste of every sort,"—tumble-down barracks, churches, bridges. I am speaking of what I have seen, besides referring to the knowledge of others. Our magnificent European barracks have turned out mere suntraps in the parts of India where the bulk of our force is stationed. The normal Indian house, adapted to the climate, is the bungalow. A two-storied stone or brick building in the hot weather catches the sun and becomes quite uninhabitable. This is another instance of what may be expected when magnificent designs are executed off-hand without regard to time or expense. Mr. Massey spoke in his financial statement for 1867-8 of "the new barracks which are to be constructed at almost every military station in India at a cost, on the whole, of nearly 11½ millions, to be spread over five years. These extraordinary works commenced in 1865, and at the close of the present financial year upwards of 1,800,000*l.* on account of these works will have been defrayed out of the ordinary revenue. The estimate for 1867-8, after making all proper abatements, is nearly two millions. In the following year we shall have to provide 2,800,000*l.*; and in 1869-70 2,700,000*l.* will be required to complete these great works." Sir Richard Temple remarked in his financial statement for 1869-70, "By reason of so large a proportion of our means being appropriated to military buildings, the expenditure on some other kinds of public works, especially roads, has unavoidably lagged and halted. Recently we have not spent quite so much as we once were spending on our internal communications."

Irrigation works executed in a spirit of thrift and moderation are highly profitable—the smaller ones especially—dams between hills, and so forth—but I can foresee nothing but waste and bad work in the magnificent programme put forward by the present Finance Minister in the name of the Government of India. “Indeed we are launching out on a sea of improvement. The next ten years may see another 40 or 50 millions for reproductive improvements added to the existing 100 millions of our national obligations.” The Godaveri works, which were once so popular, ought to be a warning to us. We have given to the Cuttack Irrigation Company upwards of a million sterling. We have given 1,830,000*l.* to the Elphinstone Land Company. We have paid out of pocket, without any expectation of return, 500,000*l.* for the railway to Canning Town, for the purpose of establishing a second port within 40 miles of Calcutta. Never in the history of any country was there such a thing as two effective flourishing ports within 40 miles of each other; yet for this illusory project the people of India have been mulcted 500,000*l.* for repaying the cost of a totally unprofitable railway, besides the net annual losses on the working of that railway, and other large advances to the Port Canning Company for the general purposes of their late intended settlement. If an account were called for of the whole of the payments which have been made in various ways in aid of this company, people would be astonished at the amount. There was “an increase of 381,882*l.* in Marine” in 1869–70, arising from loans to the Port Canning and Calcutta Port funds, which it was “prudent to treat as irrecoverable;” and in the same year we find “ $\frac{1}{2}$ million to be raised in India to recoup our cash balances for sums lent to the municipalities of Calcutta and other places,” and “if we shall have to advance any additional sums to municipalities during the year, such amount will have to be raised by loan.”

The recent great extension of the loan system has introduced shorter and more wholesale ways of getting rid of the public money even than the Department of Public Works; and this backdoor is the more dangerous because there is almost always some private interest at the bottom of every “advance,” and because payments bearing this name (they really are too often *grants disguised as loans*) are not included in the annual Budget. They are lost in the *omnium gatherum* of the cash account which is alluded to by Sir Richard Temple as follows:—“Thus for the coming year 1869–70, the national balance-sheet of British India, including all the transactions of its exchequer, shows 80 millions on each side of the account; truly a high figure demonstrative of the calibre of our power in the East! And now with the mention of this spirit-stirring fact I shall conclude my exposition.” Sir Richard says, “The purchase of the property of the Elphinstone Land Company will not form any charge to the State.” What the meaning of this requires explanation, for he afterwards goes on to say, “This year we are to borrow $5\frac{3}{4}$ millions, but then we are to pay off old debt of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, which leaves 1,830,000*l.* for the Elphinstone property at Bombay, and nearly 2 millions new loan in England.” If the meaning is that the 1,830,000*l.* was not included as a charge in the Budget of the year in which the payment was made, that is intelligible, but, in my

opinion, very objectionable. On whose authority, and for whose benefit, was this great sum of public money, which nearly amounts to the estimated proceeds of the new income-tax, and will probably exceed what will be actually realized, paid to a private company?

The plan of putting forward so many public works at once, causes great pressure on the labour market, and competition with industrial undertakings. The supply of labour, even in India, is limited, especially in districts like Wynaad and Assam, in which tea and coffee cultivation is carried on. Even at Bombay, the demands of the Public Works Department seriously aggravated the high price of labour for all classes of undertakings, public and private.

Works cannot be conducted on this scale without an enormous system of centralization. At the bottom of every undertaking ought to be a practical engineer and a business-like employer, spending his own money or the money of his constituents, and having an immediate, direct, primary interest in the work; but in India this has been overlaid with official checks, piled one upon the other, until all idea of individual responsibility is lost, and the result is delay and confusion, and the absence of all real control. The amount to be distributed in each year, after all, is limited; and, as all the different governments and administrations, and the subordinate officers acting under them, are encouraged to put forward their respective plans, the result is a general scramble, and a degree of uncertainty, resulting from the necessity of cutting down the estimates, which is destructive of any real efficiency. The really valuable Public Work officer now, Sir Bartle Frere remarked in a recent address to this Association, is not the man who can put forward public works, but the man who can cut them down, and keep the system under some sort of control. The Indian Public Works Department is a monster of official centralization, far exceeding the worst that has been said of the English War Department. It is mere accumulation, without consolidation, and has outgrown all control. It reminds one of the picture at the commencement of Hobbes's *Leviathan*, of the State absorbing everything; and now the construction of the railways, which was the most successful example of private enterprise in India, and promised, if properly encouraged and controlled, firmly to establish the principle, has been engulfed, and it is proposed to stereotype the bureaucratic character of the system by founding an Indian Public Works College in England. The spirit of the Engineer Department under the East India Company was eminently economical. Quite as much stress was then laid upon doing things economically as upon doing them well. When Lord Auckland returned from India, he selected Colonel Irvine of the Bengal Engineers for the office of Director of Works at the Admiralty. Colonel Irvine had not been in office many months before he came to me at the Treasury, and said with real distress, "I cannot get on here; they care no more about spending a crore of rupees, than we do a lac." He died within three days. I do not say that that was the cause of his death, but no doubt the harassment arising from that state of things had something to do with it.

The only other item of expenditure to which I will refer is, "Allowances and assignments under treaties and engagements, 1,787,090."

This, however, is by no means the whole. For instance, Mr. Massey "with the greatest reluctance" included in his Budget for 1867-8 150,000*l.* for the payment of Prince Azeem Jah's debts, and an additional annual allowance of 15,000*l.* to be distributed among his relations and dependents. Mr. Massey had just spoken of an increased grant for education, science, and art, as "a subject of congratulation rather than otherwise," but he adds, "I do not know that I can say so much for this increase." *Under all circumstances and at whatever cost national faith must be maintained*; but if all the profligate expenditure extracted from the hard earnings of the Ryots, and the large sums paid for "agency" in England—reminding one of the worst times of the Roman Empire—had been generally known, the high-sounding titles of recent claimants of this description would have been less regarded. This is double government of the worst kind, because one of the two is entirely sham and obstructive, if not in a chronic state of secret hostility, as was the case at Delhi. It is not for the real advantage of people of any class to be exempted from the common lot of labour which God has imposed on his creatures. Happily the Delhi den of deepest demoralization has been broken up, but a great deal remains of the same kind. We are a monarchical and aristocratical, as well as a democratic people, but we ought not to indulge our amiable weaknesses at the expense of our Indian fellow-subjects. This is the magnificence of the "Grand Seigneur" of the old school operating to the damage of Indian finance and of the best interests of India. (Hear, hear.)

Having dealt with the disease, I now approach the remedies. One great cause of the bad state of Indian finance was the imperfect nature of the accounts. The accounts were never made up in time to see what our position was, and they were never audited in time to act as a check; I exerted myself to remedy this state of things, and Lord Halifax placed at my disposal two highly-qualified officers for the purpose. Sir Richard Temple says in his financial statement for 1869-70:—"I must acknowledge, after trial and proof, the remarkable improvements introduced into our system of audit and account by the Commission from England, consisting of Messrs. Foster and Whiffin, appointed at the instance and acting under the supervision of my predecessor, Sir Charles Trevelyan." I fear, however, that the admirable system of account introduced by Messrs. Foster and Whiffin has not been acted up to as it ought to have been. Indian finance is still a series of surprises. (Hear, hear.) I will not enter further into that, but will go to the root of the matter.

While each Presidency administered its own finances, there was a strong motive to economy, but, now that the finances have been collected into a common centre, the only object the Local Administrations have is, to get the largest possible share of the common fund. The pressure upon the Financial Department from the Local Governments at the time of the preparation of the estimates is overwhelming. They all have a pull at it. It is much the same as if the Poor Law Administration of the United Kingdom was supported out of a common fund. We are beginning to see something of the effect of this in the Metropolis. What would it be if it extended to the whole country?

The legislative check has never been much relied on in Indian finance, but still every important financial change goes through the form of legislation, and it was provided, as long ago as Lord Macaulay's time, among the earliest reforms of Indian jurisprudence, that, as a first step to self-government, a statement of the objects and reasons of every proposed law should be published in the 'Official Gazette' three months beforehand; and, after the Legislative Council was established, it was arranged that there should be a special committee to go into all the details of each law; but the last income-tax was announced on the 2nd, and passed into law on the 5th April last, and the first official announcement of its introduction into the Council was made at Bombay sixteen days after the Act was passed.

Unfortunately, the administrative check is no better. There is no real sifting of the estimates either in the Executive Council or the Financial Department. The wholesome influence exercised here by the criticism of the estimates, and, still more, by the fear of it, is almost entirely wanting in India. The centralization is far too vast for anything of the sort. (Hear, hear.) The continent of India is not a single country, but an aggregate of countries. It is about as large as Europe without Russia; and the principal European States are represented by the eight Local Governments and Chief Commissionerships, administering in direct communication with the Supreme Government. It is impossible that the Indian, any more than the European continent, can be governed in detail from any single centre. The *drive* in the Financial Department at Calcutta, at the time of making up the annual Budget, exceeds everything of which I have had experience, except the work during the Irish famine. That was equal to it, but it was not heavier. The putting together and rearranging the estimates, in order to bring out the financial results, fully occupies the office, and there is no leisure for detailed scrutiny, even if the requisite detailed information existed at Calcutta, which it does not. Some of the most important of the Local Estimates were also habitually not sent in till after the Budget was made up.

We have for some years been nibbling at the question of decentralization. It will be seen from my three financial statements that year after year particular funds were handed over to the Local Governments, to be administered by them at their discretion as Local Funds, and that particular branches of service, such as district roads and municipal police, were transferred to their charge. An annual Local Fund Budget was also arranged by me. Since that there has been a vast amount of inconclusive discussion, showing that the true solution has not yet been discovered. But the evils of over-centralization have now become so apparent that it is time that the subject should be dealt with in real earnest, with a view to its early practical settlement. It is high time that we should take the bull by the horns. The real administration of India is vested in the Local Governments. For all practical administrative purposes, they are the major, and the Supreme Government is the minor quantity. Instead of attempting to define what the Local Governments should do, the process ought to be reversed. The functions of the Supreme Government should be defined, and everything not included in that definition should be left to the Local Governments.

The Supreme Government would have under its management the army, diplomacy, debt, legislation, and the post-office and telegraphs, although as regards the post-office there are two sides to the question.

With respect to the army, now that the pacification of India has been accomplished by the destruction or disarmament of the native military powers, and the main lines of railroad have been completed, and a powerful constabulary has been established under the direction of the Local Governments, there will be no difficulty in the Supreme Government, which already manages the great bulk of the army, managing the whole. The economy of this, besides the other reasons for the arrangement, is too obvious to mention.

Diplomacy would remain precisely as at present.

As the whole of India is liable for the debt, it ought to be managed under the direct responsibility of the Central Government.

Under the head of "Legislation," the function of the Supreme Government would be to maintain the unity and harmony of the empire; to check eccentric action arising from limited experience or interested motives; and to make the experience of the whole available for the benefit of every part.

The Supreme Government would also, of course, retain its general power of acting in emergencies as the case might require, and of directing the entire resources of the empire upon any particular point.

The Supreme Government must have the power of drawing upon the Local Administrations (in certain fixed proportions to be settled from time to time) for:—1st. The cost of the public services, the administration of which would be specially entrusted to the Supreme Government; and 2nd. For supplying the deficiencies of new administrations which are still in an elementary state; but, as the real difficulty of account between the different Local Administrations arises from the distribution of the army, and there is no administration which does not pay its civil expenses, the power of drawing under this head would be seldom or never exercised. The principle of apportionment would be, that the cost of civil administration would be a first charge upon the revenue, and that the surplus of the different Local Administrations would be drawn upon *pro rata* for the expense of the army and the other services under the immediate direction of the Supreme Government.

The Supreme Government and the Local Governments would each make up an annual Budget of its own, which would be fully discussed in their respective Councils. An essay might be written to describe how that full discussion in the respective Councils would lead to the practical development of the intelligence, public spirit, and power of self-government of the natives, and how it would act in the most effectual manner in enabling us to fulfil our great mission of teaching India how to manage its affairs, public and private. The whole of these Budgets, local and supreme, might be consolidated by the Supreme Government, and submitted to the Home Government with such remarks as they might think proper to make, but the responsibility of the Supreme Government would be only for its own expenditure. The rest would be merely reported, just as the annual Local Funds Budgets now are or ought to be.

This is the true principle of Indian government, and all our principal

difficulties would be solved by the adoption of it. The finances would be localized in the quarters where the details are best understood, and where the strongest possible motives exist to secure their proper administration. Those who are immediately and directly concerned best know, both what they want, and how provision can be most conveniently made for their wants. If there is wasteful or excessive expenditure, it will be their own fault, for they will have the remedy in their own hands. If the necessary funds are raised by a bad unpopular tax, they will only have to choose a better. The wearer knows where the shoe pinches. And, to return to Public Works, we have at last disinterred Sir Bartle Frere's Civil Engineer and man of business employer from under the mountain of useless, mischievous, expensive officialism. We have got at "the authority entrusted with spending the money who has some very considerable direct interest in economy." We have arrived at real, direct, personal action and responsibility. We have got rid of the scramble and the uncertainty, and have vindicated the principle of individuality against that of a vast unmanageable aggregate.

Great progress has been made of late years in India in developing the municipal system in towns, and the time has come for extending it to the rural districts on the footing on which it exists in all parts of the United Kingdom, and in a still more perfect form in some other European countries. This will furnish a solid basis for the localization of the income and expenditure. The works and services which are of more general interest will be managed on the direct responsibility of the Local Governments. The more purely local works and services will be executed and paid for by the municipalities. So far as the necessary funds cannot be provided out of the ordinary taxes or by the balances in the treasuries, they should be raised by terminable annuities. I agree with Sir Bartle Frere that the official distinction which has been drawn of late years between productive and unproductive public works is a mere doctrinaire fancy. All public works are productive in some sense or other, else they ought not to be undertaken. The principle of spreading over a number of years the charge for works which are intended for the benefit of all future generations, which are of a durable kind, and will therefore really be for the benefit of future generations, is perfectly sound; but the selection of the works to which this principle is to be applied should depend, not on one kind of productiveness, but on a general comparison of all kinds of productiveness. Direct money revenue is one kind of productiveness, but there are other things of far more consequence. A common road, for instance, does infinitely more good than a work which merely yields three or four per cent., because it helps every kind of production.

This is the system of government which has answered so well of late years in the Colonies; and everybody who has had experience of the two will admit that the bodies of officers, European and Native, who administer the Local Governments of India, are at least as well qualified to be entrusted with self-government as the rulers of the British Colonies.

Under the scheme of government which I suggest no addition could be made to the public debt except under the authority of the Supreme Government; and any works which affected public interests or private

rights, by establishing a virtual monopoly, must be the subject of legislation, which would not be valid without the sanction of the Governor-General.

Then I come to taxation. We have been doing nothing but devising new taxes for India since the great mutiny. This has been the favourite intellectual exercise of our political economists, as well as of many who have no pretensions to be political economists. But, in the enjoyment of this recreation, we have made two capital mistakes. 1st. We have allowed taxation to absorb our attention to such an extent that we have too much neglected expenditure, which, after all, is the principal thing, for taxation ought to have no existence except so far as it is required to meet expenditure; and 2ndly, we have not considered, as we ought to have done, what kind of taxation is most acceptable to the people of India. (Hear, hear).

The circumstances which ordinarily distinguish indirect from direct taxation are sufficiently obvious. Indirect taxation brings the whole of the population under contribution at the time and in the manner most convenient to them, with a minimum of interference with their personal comfort and habits. For the most part, they pay the tax in the price of the article, without knowing that they do so. Indirect taxation is still so much in vogue in England, that we raise about four-sevenths of our revenue from consumable articles, which by habit have become necessities. Taxes of this class are represented in India only by the salt tax and the excise upon spirits and drugs, amounting together to about one-sixth of the revenue; but if the feeling of the people be consulted, this is the most popular part of our fiscal system. The native alternative for the income tax is always some form or other of indirect taxation. When they are left to themselves in their new municipalities, they always raise the necessary funds by an octroi or town duty.

The objection ordinarily made to indirect taxation is that India is a very poor country, and that the mass of the people have only a scanty subsistence. Whether India be poor or rich, nobody can deny that it has enormous powers of production, and that great progress has been made since the beginning of the century in developing those powers, and diffusing the increased produce among the inhabitants of the land.

The old native system, called *Sayer* in the north and *Muhtarafa* in the south of India, was, as these names imply, a system of universal taxation, of which many ridiculous and immoral instances might be given. For this Lord Cornwallis substituted in the north of India the transit duties, by which the number of articles chargeable was limited, but the rates were increased, and the whole country was divided by custom-house posts like the squares of a chessboard. These were abolished by Lord William Bentinck; for though the actual order was given by his successor Lord Auckland, yet Lord William Bentinck instituted the proceedings which led to the abolition. A perusal of the Report upon the Transit and Town Duties, which I drew up by his order in 1835, after making detailed local inquiries, would show the present generation that solid progress has been made in removing the worst abuses of Indian administration. The Report was twice printed, and there is a notice of it in McCulloch's '*Literature of Political Economy*,' in which he remarks

that "there is not another instance to be found in the history of taxation of a tax so fruitful of mischievous results, and so barren of revenue." In the south of India the Muhtarafa survived till the imposition of the income-tax.

The native system of land revenue is the rudest form of what we call tithes. It leads to all kinds of waste and extortion, and checks and discourages every sort of improvement. For that was substituted the principle of a fixed assessment. Then, within my time, beginning with Lord William Bentinck—for he was the original mover of this and of almost every other good undertaking that has been put forward in India in the last thirty years—there was a general reduction of the assessment of the land revenue; and, as it was done according to a regulated wholesale system, it overlapped the time when the great necessity for it existed. The great necessity for it was when the prices of agricultural produce were low; but in the meantime those extraordinary circumstances occurred which led to a great increase in the price of agricultural produce, so that now the cultivators are, I was going to say, in clover; they profit both by the rise of prices and by the reduction of the assessment; and they have been further benefited by the railways, roads, irrigation, and other public works.

Next, the vast increase of the mercantile demand for the produce of India. The Crimean war shut the Russian ports for the exportation of hemp; and Indian hemp and jute have been found so much cheaper and better than Russian fibres, that they have acquired a permanent hold on the European market. In the same way, in the great American Civil War, the cotton supply was stopped, and India was largely drawn on for cotton. In fact, whatever the want of the day may be, India seems able to supply it, such are the wonderfully prolific powers of the soil, the sun, and the water (for I must not, in the presence of my friend Sir Arthur Cotton, leave out the water) with which God has blessed India.

The material result is, that the total value of the exports and imports of India has risen from 24 millions in 1841, to 106 millions in 1868-9; and the moral and political result is even more important. The increase of wages, originally remarked upon by Mr. Wilson, has since gone much further. Wages have risen in the marts of trade from two annas a day, which was the old rate, to eight annas a day. But the most remarkable improvement is in the agricultural population of peasant proprietors and their families and dependents, who form the great bulk of the inhabitants of India. They have become emancipated from the village money-lenders, to whom they had been enthralled time out of mind. They have been elevated to a state of physical ease and abundance, so that the time has now obviously come for commencing their education and moral improvement on a comprehensive, systematic plan. There was no use in attempting it while they were ground down to the earth, and were struggling for daily subsistence. They are now so well off, that innumerable stories are current about the fancy bullocks in which they indulge, and the marriage portions they give to their daughters; and Oriental imagination has even marked the change by the characteristic mythical ploughing with a silver ploughshare. The agriculturists are the only class to whom the great rise of prices has been pure gain. The merchants have had immense

losses from the panic and collapse of trade; the Government has lost by high salaries and prices what it gained by high prices; but the peasants have kept their share, and their share was the largest. The result is that the "poor ryot," with his "scanty subsistence," is a thing of the past.

The only really productive taxes are indirect taxes, which are paid by the bulk of the people,* and the agricultural population of India are now well able to pay them. The principal indirect tax is the duty on salt, which has a bad name, arising from a fallacy. It is popularly assumed that, because it is a tax on salt, therefore there must be a diminution in the quantity of salt which each person consumes. Salt is, however, the last thing that a native of India of any class economizes in. He would economize in anything sooner than in his salt. It does not seem to be generally known that the annual incidence of the highest existing rate of duty upon salt (that in Bengal proper) is less than one shilling. The profits of agriculture and the wages of labour have so increased of late, that this bears an inappreciable proportion to the income even of the most ordinary labourer. Several circumstances have also combined to mitigate the operation of the salt tax. The first of these is the abolition of the Bengal salt monopoly, and the substitution of free trade in salt for Government manufacture, which was finally accomplished in February, 1863; and a description of the measures taken for that purpose, and for gradually disposing of the great accumulated stock of salt, will be found in my financial statements—for 1863-4, pp. 25-8; for 1864-5, pp. 24-5; and for 1865-6, pp. 26-7. The great increase in the export trade—India is full of anomalies and strange contingencies—has led to a corresponding increase in the importation of salt from Cheshire, for the returns made in manufactured goods are quite insufficient to occupy the outward freight, and the Liverpool ships are filled up, at very low rates, with salt from Cheshire of the best possible quality. In fact it is brought as ballast, or at very little more than the cost of ballast. Then the railways have had an immense influence in cheapening salt. In the Madras Presidency, the opening of the railways into the interior gave an extraordinary lift to the salt trade. My opinion is, and anyone who really knows India will agree with me, that the railways and the great facility which has been given to the importation of salt from Cheshire, have cheapened salt more than any increase of duty of late years has enhanced it.

Then there is the excise duty on spirits and drugs. This ought to be screwed up to the highest possible point which will not encourage smuggling. That is the principle on which all the Anglo-Indian Governments profess to act, and they have only to go on, and really to carry it into effect.

Then come Stamps. I cannot accede to the opinion that the stamps upon legal proceedings ought to be maintained because they discourage litigation. How can this be reconciled with the opposite true maxim, that justice ought to be made accessible to everybody, however poor? It is a painful necessity of the present state of Indian finance, that we have to levy taxes on law proceedings; and as soon as the administration is

* The Indian land revenue is not a tax, but a reserved portion of the rent, which never was private property.

placed on a proper footing, this is one of the first taxes that ought to be taken off.

Then come Customs. In 1860, Mr. Wilson stated in his Budget speech, "Upon the whole the customs in the present year are expected to yield 3,430,000*l.*, as compared with 2,073,000*l.* the year preceding" (thus an increase was provided for of a good deal more than a million a year), while Sir Richard Temple takes only 2,416,500*l.* for customs in his Budget estimate for 1870-71. So it is Mr. Wilson's three millions and a half to Sir Richard Temple's 2,400,000*l.* So that, although the trade of India has increased in these ten years from 60,000,000*l.* to 106,000,000*l.*, the customs yield 1,013,500*l.* less! If customs duties are a legitimate source of revenue, so small an amount as 2,400,000*l.* for the whole of India is simply ridiculous.

Here again the influence of foreign rule is to be traced. As India provides in the fullest manner for all her expenses, she ought to have the same privilege which is accorded to the British Colonies, of levying the amount in the manner most convenient to herself. We bear with Canada and Australia when, with a more or less covert view to protection, they impose duties which are decidedly injurious to British trade; while, on the other hand, we do not permit India to levy even ordinary moderate revenue duties. We ought not to have one law for the weak and another for the strong; or rather we ought not, either in justice or policy, to take advantage of the circumstance of our having, at present, entire control over a country of great latent strength—a country which has a great future before it—to do to India what we should not venture to do to Canada or Australia, or even to the Cape or New Zealand. But, justly considered, the interests of India and Manchester are the same. (Hear, hear.) The great staples of the import trade have acquired such a firm hold upon India, and have so entirely displaced the corresponding native manufactures, that they could not be seriously affected by demanding a moderate revenue duty. The export duties require a separate consideration.

The circumstances of the trade of India are peculiar. Her valuable agricultural staples are in unlimited demand in other parts of the world; but there is only a limited demand in India for the produce and manufactures of other countries, and the balance is paid in the precious metals, of which there is no native supply. This state of things led the East India Company to impose a low duty of 5 per cent. upon imports, and a still lower of $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 per cent. upon exports, except indigo, opium, and spirits, which were liable to higher rates.

Another circumstance of great importance now rules this part of the subject. The real limit to the production of the staples of the export trade of India is, not the capacity of the country to produce them, but the limited amount of labour and capital applicable to their production; so that, when the demand for any particular staple is much pressed, it checks the production of other articles, the price of which is consequently enhanced. When the price of cotton rose to a great height during the American war, it led to such an increase of the cultivation at the expense of other articles, that the price of every other exportable produce rose in the market, and it was commonly remarked that no profit was to be made

from any return cargo except cotton. For the same reason grain, the food of the people, rose greatly in price—so much so, that, with the additional advantage of quicker returns, it became to a great extent more profitable to cultivate grain than cotton. At this present time the artificial extension of industrial crops, under the strong pressure habitually applied to our Indian Administration by Manchester, is bringing about an artificial famine, which, if it once sets in, cannot be relieved from abroad. So vast a population, scattered over the recesses of a great continent, cannot be fed from abroad. The point at which we have arrived, therefore, is, that India is in a far more independent position than she formerly was as regards the staples of her export trade. The demand for them is greater than the supply; so that, even if one or more of them fell off, as saltpetre has done, the void would quickly be filled by at least an equal development of other articles. The existing stock of capital and labour is insufficient to meet the demands upon it; and until this is largely increased in proportion to the demand, there will always be more than sufficient employment for it, whatever fluctuations may take place between different articles of export.

By increasing the duty on saltpetre Mr. Wilson showed that he had no objection to an export duty on principle; but the duty proposed by him was much too high, and the result was not satisfactory. If he had left it at the old rate of 3 per cent., at which it was so long maintained by the East India Company, there would have been no new production of manufactured saltpetre. The additional anna on the export of grain recommended by me in 1865 and disallowed by the Home Government, was afterwards reimposed at Mr. Massey's recommendation, and rightly so. Since the American Civil War, Carolina rice—that fine, large rice of our youth—has disappeared from European consumption, and Pegu rice has taken its place. Whatever fluctuations there may be in the price, nothing but Siam, and Pegu, and Bengal rice now appears in the market. In his financial statement for 1867-8 Mr. Massey said:—"In the year 1859 the duty was raised from half an anna to two annas per maund, yet so far was this increase of duty from checking the export trade, that the exportations of rice increased in the following year from 5 millions to 8 millions of maunds, and went on increasing for several succeeding years. It was only during the last year and the present year, when prices rose so high as to make the home market more remunerative than the foreign, that the export trade declined. The only question which we have considered has been whether a moderate increase of the duty for the benefit of the revenue would interfere with the export trade, and for the reasons which I have mentioned we have come to the conclusion that no such consequence would ensue. We propose, therefore, to raise the export duty to three annas per maund, which would add about 160,000*l.* to the revenue derived from that source."

Indigo has long paid 4 per cent., and opium pays a very high but varying rate of export duty. There ought to be no export duty in any case in which the position of an Indian staple in foreign markets would be likely to be affected by a slight additional charge, but this by no means applies to several of the principal articles of export. Jute and

oil seeds are so firmly established in the European market that they would certainly bear a moderate duty. Sir Richard Temple remarks that while other staples had for the time gone back, owing to the temporary depression of trade, "one important item of export, namely jute (fibres), has kept its place as well as ever." It is difficult to go into a house where you do not see Indian jute matting. Is it possible that this widespread manufacture could be replaced by another article, even if a higher duty than 2 or 3 per cent. were imposed upon it? The annual exports of tea have now risen to $11\frac{1}{2}$, and of coffee to 48 millions of pounds. As the cultivation is carried on in wild frontier and mountainous districts, the public expenditure is more than usually heavy, both for making roads for the conveyance of the produce to the coast and of supplies into the interior, and for providing the machinery of a civilized administration for a thinly-scattered population. In 1856 the Ceylon planters, who have a voice in the management of their own affairs, agreed to an export duty of 1s. per cwt. on coffee, in aid of the construction of the railway between Columbo and Candy. In 1865 the Assam Tea-planters proposed to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to pay an excise of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the whole of the tea manufactured by them, provided good roads were made; and in 1866 the Coffee-planters of Wynaad suggested to Lord Napier that an export duty or toll on coffee passing down the ghauts, should be substituted for the tax on cultivated land. Export duties ought under any circumstances to be low, and they ought not to be levied at all where there is any doubt as to their result. My object has not been to enter into details, but to point out this as one of the sources of future revenue which ought to be considered with the rest.

Although Her Majesty's Government objected in 1865 to an export duty of 3 per cent. being levied on Indian coffee for the benefit of the Indian exchequer, a duty of 45 per cent. is levied on this same coffee in England for the benefit of the English exchequer. This is neither just nor generous. The duty should at least be halved between the two exchequers; and the more so, because great part of the coffee exported from India is sent direct to France and other foreign countries, and the Indian treasury therefore misses any benefit from it. The same considerations apply to the tea exported from Northern India.

I often used to discuss this subject with the late Mr. McCulloch; and when I was appointed to the charge of the Financial Department in India, I requested him to give me his opinion in writing, which he did in the following letter:—

STATIONERY OFFICE, 27th January, 1859.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,

I know of no book in which you will find a summary statement of the objections to duties on exports. And in truth there is no general objection to them, for in their case everything depends on circumstances; and though, in general, duties on exports are objectionable, there are many cases in which they are about the best that can be imposed.

In all cases in which substitutes for exported articles may easily be found, or in which the exporting country has no very peculiar advantages of production, duties on exports would be highly objectionable, and would, in fact, endanger the whole of the foreign trade of the country which had recourse to them. But when a country has

any very decided natural or acquired advantages of production on her side, then I think that moderate duties on exports may be advantageously resorted to. They would not endanger the branches of industry which they affect, and they would be paid by the foreigner. On this ground it has always appeared to me that the abolition of the duty on coal, when exported from this country, was a great error; and I further believe that it was a scandalous job, and that the public were sacrificed to promote these private interests.

If China were subjected to a vigorous and efficient government like Russia or France, then I think her rulers would act wisely in imposing a duty, say of 2*d.* or 3*d.* or 6*d.* per Lib., on all tea exported. This duty would entirely fall on the English and Americans; and though it might give some little stimulus to the substitution of coffee and other articles for tea, that would not countervail the advantages China would derive from the revenue she would raise on tea.

The duty on opium exported from India has been highly advantageous. Latterly it has produced to the Company 5,000,000*l.* a year, and instead of being injurious to the Chinese it has been advantageous to them. No doubt it has acted as a bounty on the culture of opium in China, but its prohibition would have given it a still greater stimulus.

This, therefore, you will see is not a question of principle, but of circumstances. Duties on exports should not be rashly imposed. But neither, on the other hand, should they be uniformly rejected. Cases are every now and then occurring in which their imposition would be highly expedient.

Believe me,

Most truly yours,

J. R. McCULLOCH.

The Chinese Government levies an export duty of about 12 per cent. on tea, and we take 33 per cent. more in England. Rice pays, on exportation from China, 6½ per cent., and raw silk only 2½ per cent. Olive oil and sulphur each pay 5*d.* per cwt. to the Italian Government on exportation, and currants 8½*d.* per 1000 lbs. to the Greek Government.

Sir Robert Peel included a duty of 2*s.* a ton on coal in his revised tariff of 1842, but adverse interests prevailed. It was repealed in 1845, and a clause in the late commercial treaty with France, which has since been extended to similar treaties with other countries, stipulates that no duty is to be levied on coal exported to France for ten years from that date. This was a sore point with Mr. McCulloch. "It seems sufficiently clear," he wrote previously to the abolition of the duty, "that English coal, though by no means indispensable, is of very considerable advantage to the foreigner, and, such being the case, there can be no doubt that we have done wisely in levying the moderate duty on its exportation imposed by the Tariff Act of 1842." After the abolition of the duty he wrote:—"We have always regarded the repeal in 1845 of the duty on coal, when exported, as a most unwise proceeding. We are well convinced that its retention would not have materially affected the exportation of coal, at the same time that it would have yielded a considerable amount of revenue which would have been wholly paid by the foreigner. But British coal is of incomparably more importance to the foreigner now than it was in 1845; and we think that the imposition of a duty of 5*s.* a ton would be a highly expedient measure. It will be no holiday task to show how a revenue of upwards of 2,400,000*l.* a year may be raised with less inconvenience."

Direct taxation in India means the income-tax. This is an extremely potent, but very coarse instrument of taxation. Under an appearance of equality, it is the most unequal tax of all, because it cannot prevent unlimited discretion from being exercised in making the returns, thus

favouring the dishonest, and damaging the conscientious man. That is so even in England. Mr. Gladstone, speaking of the "great objections" to it, said, "One is a moral objection, for I believe it does more than any other tax to demoralize and corrupt the people. Another objection is, that so long as you consent, without a special purpose, to levy the income-tax as part of the ordinary and permanent revenue of the country, it will be vain to talk of economy and effective reduction of expenditure." Mr. Laing remarked in his Budget speech for 1861-2, "I think it is a fatal objection to a tax, that it conduces to extensive demoralization by a premium to fraud, and that its inevitable tendency is to embark the Government in a constant warfare with a large section of its subjects, a warfare carried on by vexatious, petty interferences and inquisition on the one hand, and by evasion and chicanery on the other;" and Sir H. Durand, endorsing the opinion of the Maharajah of Jeypore, describes the tax as "Odious to the country, unsuited to the people, and very poor in its return." (Hear, hear.) That is native opinion endorsed by European opinion. If the tax is bad in England, it is far worse in India. The moral objections especially are intensified tenfold there. In England the standard of morality is high. In India it is low. In England men stand up against extortion. In India they are proverbially submissive to authority. In England there is fraud. In India there is more fraud, and a vast amount of extortion besides.

India is a poor country in this sense, that, with enormous productive powers, there is a serious deficiency of capital. The great want of the country is cheap capital. The prevailing rates of interest among private persons are exorbitant, and business can therefore only be carried on at high rates of profit. Wealthy people are few, and the town populations are small, compared with the rural communities. If, therefore, the taxable minimum of income is fixed high, little is got. (That is the case with the present income-tax. Sir Richard Temple says, "only 150,000 persons will be assessed out of 150,000,000, or one in a thousand.") If low, then the Government is brought into the irritating, antagonistic relation with the people described by Mr. Laing; and general fraud, extortion, and resistance to the tax become the order of the day. It is a mistake to suppose that the rich few pay no more than the poor many. The rich pay the taxes on consumable articles in proportion to their families and dependents, who are very numerous in Indian families in easy circumstances. They pay nearly the whole of the stamp duties; and they contribute, in proportion to their real property or consumption, to the municipal taxes, upon which so large a share of the public expenditure is to be thrown. For all these reasons I contend that, in the present state of India, the case is much stronger for indirect, than for direct taxation.

The merely political view is equally strong. Administering, as we do, a foreign Government, which can never have a strong hold upon the affections of the people, or an intimate acquaintance with their circumstances, which is best for us? an easy-going, self-acting system to which the people have long been accustomed, or one which is totally unsuited to their character and habits, and is singularly odious to them? Politically it matters less now, but wait till another crisis comes, and see how it will be then. The income-tax was imposed for five years in

1860 to meet a great war exigency. It expired in 1865, and the first financial result was a surplus in 1865-6 of 2,766,068*l.*, after which the series of deficits commenced, which culminated in that for last year.

My practical proposal is that the whole of the indirect taxation should be carefully revised and readjusted, so as to make it as productive as possible without injuring trade or agriculture, but I do not urge that the income-tax should be entirely abolished. An important consideration is adverted to by Sir R. Temple in his financial statement for 1870-71. He says:—"But if the rate is to be thus raised, then the principle of rough assessment by classes, in the schedule which regulates the existing tax, can no longer be adhered to. A system which may have worked sufficiently well while the rate of duty was low (that is, 1 per cent.) will no longer work satisfactorily when the rate becomes higher. When people come to be assessed to 6 pies in the rupee income-tax, they will assuredly demand a more precise mode of assessment than that which now prevails. The taxpayer will require that the assessment be made upon some fair estimate of his particular income, and will not be content to be assessed upon an average derived from the maximum and minimum incomes of a class. Now, if anything like an assessment on estimated income of each individual taxpayer is to be attempted, returns of income must be called for from the taxpayers. Or even if with the lower classes of income the collector may be able to dispense with the returns, he must clearly have the power of calling for such returns in all cases of more considerable income, and with the higher classes of income he should be obliged to call for such returns. The new Bill then which I have to lay on the table provides for the assimilation of the procedure to the more regular methods of assessing income-tax, care having been taken to render it as simple and easy as possible, consistently with the important object in view."

In his financial statement for the previous year he thus explained the advantages of a low rate of assessment and a simple mode of collection. "The advantage of keeping up the principle of rough assessment in the schedule, is the avoidance of individual assessment, of any inquisitorial process which such assessment may involve, and of the demand for returns of income. The advantage of adhering to the 1 per cent. rate will be this, that those who pay the certificate tax will continue to pay much in the same way as heretofore without any sensible change, and the avoidance of change is well known to be an important point in dealing with the natives of India. The advantage of observing the 500 rupees (50*l.*) minimum limit of income will be this, that the measure will be confined to the upper and middle classes, and will not affect the mass of the people. In that respect the new income-tax will be preferred to the old, which went down so far as 200 Rs. (20*l.*) of annual income.* It is calculated that not more than 150,000 persons will be assessed to this income-tax out of 150 millions of population, so that the tax will hardly touch more than one in a thousand. In short, our hope is that, by eschewing change in respect to those who now pay a direct tax; by

* It was so as originally passed at Mr. Wilson's recommendation; but, at his successor Mr. Laing's suggestion, assessments on incomes under 500 rupees a year ceased from the termination of the second year of the income-tax.

refraining from demand for returns ; by removing the measure from any contact with the poorer and more ignorant classes, we shall keep it comparatively free from much of the unpopularity which attached to the income-tax of 1860, and thus, as it were, rob the measure of its sting."

After having been reduced to its former rate of 1 per cent., and restored to its former state of popular simplicity, the income-tax should be hung up as a weapon of great power, to be taken down in time of emergency, when it may be fixed at as high a rate as the public exigency may require, or the state of public feeling may allow. There is, however, one indispensable condition of an income-tax, whether high or low—that it should be levied from persons of every class who come within the prescribed limits of income, whether traders, landowners, fundholders, or public servants.

Hannah More used to say that she liked the lean of people's fat meat. We have one fine streak of lean in the thrift of the old Company ; another is the periodical revision which their affairs underwent by Parliament. It is not good for any set of men to exercise power over their fellow-creatures without effectual control. Every twenty years the Company had to appear before Parliament as a suppliant for the renewal of their Charter, and their affairs then underwent a searching scrutiny, and new conditions were imposed before their petition was granted. In 1813, India was thrown open to British merchants and missionaries, and the foundation was laid of the present extensive system of public instruction by the assignment of a lac of rupees for that purpose. In 1833 the China monopoly was abolished, India was thrown open to British settlers, and the foundation was laid of that reformed system of Indian jurisprudence which is powerfully reacting upon our English institutions. In 1858 the Queen's Government itself assumed the direct administration of India, and the independent control which it had previously exercised over the administration thereby became impossible. The only control which could, after that, be exercised, was self-control. The auditor and the accountant had become one.

It was feared at the time that Parliament would exercise undue interference with the affairs of India, especially in reference to patronage ; and, to guard against this, the Council of India was appointed with a permanent tenure of office. But, as it has turned out, Parliament has had quite enough to do to manage the affairs of this country and its Colonies, and its relations with foreign countries, without interfering with the complicated details of the internal administration of our Indian Empire. The result has, therefore, been that the Government of India has been left without much either of control or support from Parliament. So far as Parliament has exercised any influence in the matter, it has facilitated and increased the interested pressure upon the India Office, for, until the conscience of Parliament is roused by a formal public proceeding, powerful interests are always more or less able to use it as an organ for their designs. Departmental rule has not proved strong enough to protect the public interests of India against great class-interests, such as the army, trade and manufactures, and native princes with their power of making interest, sentimental and material. The Indian Department has even evaded some more than ordinarily grave administrative questions

—the gold currency, for instance. There has been nothing but peddling and tampering with that question, and I have no hope of India having the immense blessing of a gold currency until Parliament takes the matter in hand.

Reform never first comes from within. That is a general rule of human nature. Habit, routine, love of one's own work, disinclination to admit that it may be wrong, and other motives prevent it. If, for instance, you go through the three professions of the Church, the Law, and the Army, it has always been so. I can remember the storm which raged outside the Church, the result of which was that the Church reformed itself. The lawyers would never have reformed the Law, but Bentham and others made an immense outcry, and then the lawyers reformed the Law; and now the Army is undergoing the same process. Owing to the necessities of military discipline, the difficulties there are greater than usual; but, after the full discussion which has taken place, if scope were given to our military officers to reform the Army, it would be reformed in a very short time. As regards India, it is time that Parliament should resume the function of auditor and judge, and take stock, review, and verify its work of thirteen years ago. The conjuncture is favourable. The great organic questions—the Reform Bill, the Irish Church, the Irish Land Bill, and Education—have been settled, and there is nothing to prevent Parliament from giving a large share of its attention to India.

Another reason for this review is the growing distrust with which the great increase of the home charges—from 3½ millions in 1856–7 to nearly 12 millions last year—is regarded. This is, no doubt, easily capable of explanation, but it is very desirable that it should be explained; for those who are not acquainted with the details of Indian finance merely see that, however large the increase of the Indian expenses has been, the increase of the home expenditure is still greater. A great incidental advantage of these reviews is that they recall public attention to the vast interests at stake in connection with our Indian Empire, and to the responsible duties imposed upon us in reference to them. The revision of 1853 created an entirely new feeling about India, and gave the first impulse to a long series of beneficial measures. As between different modes of investigation, I am in favour of Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament. There is no instrument for extracting the truth like a well-constituted Parliamentary Committee. I have often myself undergone the ordeal of what is called a hostile Committee, that is, a Committee determined to extract the truth; and the variety of experience, the thought, the sagacity, the careful preparedness of such a Committee is extraordinary. A Committee of both Houses is the proper thing (not a Royal Commission), conducting their inquiry in public. (Hear, hear.) The Select Committee of the House of Lords did excellent service in 1853, under the guidance of Lord Lansdowne, Lord Ellenborough, and Lord Monteagle. It may be said that a review of Indian administration is now proposed after thirteen years only, whereas under the East India Company such inquiries took place at intervals of twenty years; but we must remember that under the old Company it was jog-trot routine, and there was not the same occasion for inquiry then. Changes of great

gravity and importance have been made in the last thirteen years, far greater than were made in forty years under the régime of the old Company. Finance, no doubt, is the strongest ground for such an inquiry, for in finance there has been a complete break down; but generally it is time that we should know what has been the result of this momentous change. (Applause.)

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I have received a letter from Lord Wharncliffe, expressing his regret at not being able to be present. My friend Mr. Hyde Clarke also has sent a letter containing some remarks on my paper, in which, while giving his adhesion to the main principles, he complains of some portions as having a possible seditious and mischievous tendency. I should not interfere with the course of the discussion at this point, but as our Chairman also has misunderstood me, perhaps it may save much unnecessary discussion if I am allowed two minutes to clear up the misunderstanding. First of all, I say no native from one end of India to the other could be found more loyal than I am to the British rule (hear, hear); because it is my sincere conviction, which I have expressed often, that the salvation of India, its future prosperity, its civilization, and its political elevation, all depend on the continuance of the British rule. (Hear, hear.) It is because I wish that the British rule should be long continued in India, and that it is good that the rulers should know native feeling and opinions, that I come forward and speak my mind freely and boldly. If I am mistaken, if the facts which I bring forward are incorrect, nobody would be more glad than myself to find them so, because nobody loves the British rule more than I do. All the remarks made by the Chairman as to pensions, "home charges," &c., &c., at the beginning of his very able and important address, I endorse to the very letter,—they are all perfectly true. I no more deny the necessity of the home charges than the Chairman, except so far as he himself complains against unnecessary excesses. But my paper means something *quite different*. The misunderstanding which I want to set right is simply this. Here is a foreign power ruling over India producing certain social, moral, political, and economical effects. I want to draw the attention of the English nation to the economical effects of its rule. I certainly should never be so absurd as to ask English gentlemen to go out and serve India and take nothing for it; but when a country comes under a foreign rule, certain economical results *must* follow, one of which is, that a drain must necessarily take place from the country ruled to the country ruling. Now the question is, whether the economical injury of this drain (no matter how legitimate this drain may be as far as the recipients are concerned) in the case of India is made up or not by the management of British rule. If it is, it is very necessary that the natives should see that, and the sooner this question is fairly settled the better for England as well as for India. The natives should not be allowed to brood over this in silence. The question must be set at rest by facts and figures, and not by mere general assertions. Thousands of vague assertions that India is prosperous will not make it so if it is not so. We must *prove* this. I do not wish to take up more of your time just now to reply to several other remarks of the Chairman. I shall do this at the proper time. It is enough for me, and I am glad for the present to find that the

Chairman has in fact come to the very same conclusion to which I point, viz. that one of the greatest wants of India is foreign cheap capital. If that could be provided, then the effect of the drain caused by the foreign rule would be repaired. I do not say a word against the British rule, I consider it India's great good fortune. I wish from the bottom of my heart that it should last a very long time, both for the benefit of England and of India.

MR. TAYLER.—Sir, In rising to propose the resolution which I hold in my hand, and which has, I believe, been circulated among all the members of this Association, I think it highly desirable that I should offer a few remarks with regard to the circumstances which have led to the suggestion of this proposal, and also upon the subject itself with which this proposal is connected. This appears to be the more desirable, because at the close of the last meeting, when Sir Bartle Frere favoured us with a very able and interesting paper upon which a discussion took place, when I rose to make this proposal he seemed to think that it had no connection with the immediate subject of his address, which was the question of public works; and the same opinion was also expressed by a member of the Association (Mr. Wood), though in rather stronger terms, I believe under some misapprehension of the object of the proposal, that gentleman expressing his opinion that we should be offering an insult both to the Government and to Parliament if we brought forward such a proposal, which was that we should ask for a Royal Commission instead of a Select Committee, which is what is now proposed to be asked for. We have had, during the last weeks, several interesting discussions on the subject of Indian finance generally, more particularly the question of public works, to which you have so ably alluded. On the 15th of June Mr. Prichard's most able and graphic paper was read—a paper which may be called a photograph of all the vices and defects of the administrative system. Possibly it may be said to have been drawn in a somewhat hostile spirit, and some of its figures may be said to be slightly exaggerated, but no one can read it without feeling that it is true in its broad and essential facts. Shortly after that we had Sir Bartle Frere's paper, a most able and interesting paper in itself, but which touched only on the special question of public works, and which brought forward a proposal admirable in itself, but which appeared to me wanting in practical application for the better administration of that particular department which he described in no very flattering terms. Then we have had Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper circulated among us, as to which I will say—and I think I am but echoing the opinions of all the members of this Association in saying so—that I can see nothing either seditious or mischievous in it. It seems to me to be a sound, practical, and sensible exposition of what he sincerely believes to be the difficulties and embarrassments of India, arising out of the fact that India is under a foreign Government, and that there is a drain from year to year upon its resources. It appears to me that all his observations amount to this, that they are quite legitimate, and are only what we would have wished an independent native gentleman to lay before us. Next we have had your own exhaustive and able disquisition on the whole subject of finance, a subject on which you, being an old and

experienced financier, speak with very great weight in the presence of an Association like this. The Association have also had before them at different times collateral questions, all connected more or less with finance. We have had that great and interminable question which still remains undecided, the question of water against iron, canals against railroads, a question which is intimately connected not only with public works but with financial administration generally. It is with reference to this body of discussion that I now venture to bring forward the resolution I have in my hand, and which I ventured to say, even at the time I first proposed it, was not irrelevant to the matter at issue, nor was it such as could be construed into an insult either to the Government or to Parliament. If it was relevant then, it is still more so now, coming as it does after Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper and your own very able address. Having very briefly stated, to prevent misunderstanding, a few of the antecedents of this discussion, I will now venture to offer some remarks upon the subject itself, and to point out the real and substantial ground on which I venture to make this proposition. Sir, on many occasions in days gone by great distrust and dissatisfaction have been at times expressed and placed on record in regard to the action of the Indian administration, but if my memory serves me right, that distrust and dissatisfaction on former occasions were principally confined to certain parts and sections of the community. At one time it was the educated native Bengalese, at another time it was the members of the uncovenanted service, at another time it was the officers of the Indian army; and lastly, and chiefly, it was that aggressive animal the Anglo-Saxon interloper; but on all those occasions the complaint was more or less sectarian. In the present instance, I regret to say that this distrust, this complaint, and this dissatisfaction are universal. The feeling pervades all classes of the community; it is found among gentlemen like yourself, it is found among gentlemen holding office, and it is re-echoed throughout the country by every native of every province and district, and by the whole non-official community, for in every part of India large public meetings have been held, expressing dissatisfaction with the present state of things, and placing upon record their desire to lay their grievances before the Parliament of Great Britain. On this account it appears to me that the present is a singular and unprecedented crisis, and a crisis in which I myself certainly hope very little amelioration from within; for I most heartily agree with the sentiment you have so ably expressed, that no reform, no regeneration, has ever yet proceeded from within; it has been by pressure from without, acting on the consciences and fears of administrators and executive bodies that reform has ever been produced. When we look to what has lately passed; when we see members of the Council passing, by their votes, measures which in their consciences they condemn; when we see the surplus of to-day converted a few days afterwards into a deficit, which from information received within a few days may possibly turn out not to be a deficit at all; when we see that on not one single question of Indian administration is there any unanimity of opinion, we must all feel that a crisis has arrived in which some powerful and effective interference is necessary. It is on these grounds especially that, as a member of this Association, I

thought it right to come forward with this resolution,—because, though I do not think it is the province of this Association generally to place itself in the attitude of a reforming body on every question that may be discussed before it, its province being rather that of a debating society, to collect information and to lay it before the authorities in England, yet on this occasion we are acting not on our own part only, but we are re-echoing the public opinion of the whole of India, and representing those great interests who are entitled to be heard. I believe, also, except to the most irreconcilable obstructive, the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to conduct a searching investigation into all the great questions which now require solution would be looked at as a blessing and a relief.

CHAIRMAN.—Would you prefer a Committee of the House of Commons to Committees of both Houses?

MR. TAYLER.—No. I would wish, with the permission of the members of the Association, to enlarge the terms of my resolution so as to include both Houses.

CHAIRMAN.—The Lords' Committee of 1853, under the superintendence of the late Lord Lansdowne, and of which Lord Ellenborough and Lord Monteagle were members, was extremely effective.

MR. TAYLER.—I should be most happy, if it meets with general approbation, to extend the words of the resolution to a Committee of both Houses. Such a Committee sitting in England, and I suppose obtaining, as it would be able to obtain, evidence from the most competent and able witnesses on every point of administration, would be able to deal effectively and wisely with every one of those great questions now requiring solution, and upon the right and proper solution of which the stability of the British empire and the future welfare of India depend. It would deal first of all with the great question which perhaps lies at the root of everything, viz. the expediency of a permanent reduction of expenditure, civil and military; it would be able to inquire and point out where that reduction should begin, in which parts of the administration it could be carried out, and to what extent it could go. It would be able to deal with the other *vezata quæstio* connected with the public works, whether there is or not any broad and statesmanlike distinction to be drawn between productive and non-productive works; whether there are any works the burden of which ought to fall on the present generation, and whether there are other works whereof the burden ought to be shared by future generations. That is a most important question which is at present in *nubibus*—a question on which hardly any two people agree. You have expressed a view in accordance with that expressed by Sir Bartle Frere—many others have expressed a diametrically opposite opinion. My view is that there is a line to be drawn, which is this: every work is useful in some shape or other; but there is a distinction between those which yield a money return, and others from which there is no tangible benefit that can be calculated. Then another great question is, whether you can accomplish the same objects by spending 20,000,000*l.* on canals that you can by spending 100,000,000*l.* on railways. Those and other questions connected directly or indirectly with the financial administration of India, would be searchingly inquired into

and reported upon by Committees of both Houses, and statesmanlike principles would be laid down for the future, by which our statesmen and financiers would be able to regulate their proceedings; there would be a distinct line drawn on the subject, whether direct or indirect taxation is the right thing for India, and the great scandal would no doubt in future be avoided, of the imposition of a war tax in the midst of profound peace on articles of daily consumption, and to the oppression of the poor; and last, though not least, we may hope if such a Committee sits, it will take into consideration the question whether the Budget is to be, as it has hitherto been, postponed to the end of a hot and weary Session, when members are wearied with their toil and exhausted with the heat, yearning for relaxation, and dreaming only of the grouse on the moors. We may fairly expect that the result of the labours of these Committees will be to remove all the confusion, the doubts, the embarrassments, and complaints which now exist. I will only add, to prevent the possibility of misconception, that it is not with any wish to embarrass the Government or the authorities that I propose this resolution—on the contrary, it is my wish, as I believe it is the hearty wish and desire of every member of this Association, to aid as far as they can aid, as the mouse aided the lion to escape from its net, the administrative authorities both here and in India, in devising a remedy for the present state of things. And I entertain the hope that the appointment of such Committees and the results which may be looked for from them, will aid the Government, satisfy the people, and turn distress and complaint into peace and prosperity. (Hear, hear.) I will conclude by moving the resolution:—

“That with a view to meet the present critical position of public affairs in India, to allay the alarm and dissatisfaction produced by the recent enhancement of taxation, and to place the financial administration of the country on a sound and satisfactory footing, the Council of the East India Association be requested to prepare and present an humble Memorial to Parliament, praying that Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament be appointed to make a searching inquiry into the general administration of Her Majesty’s Indian territories, more especially in relation to the conduct of the Financial Department, since the transfer of the sovereignty from the late Hon. the East India Company to the Crown, and to report the result of their investigation, with their observations thereon.”

Mr. WOOD.—I wish to make one or two observations, merely in explanation of what occurred at the previous Meeting. I had not on that occasion read the valuable paper of Mr. Prichard on this question, and it struck me as being a very ambitious proceeding for a few gentlemen present in this room to ask the Queen to appoint a Royal Commission. I subsequently suggested to the Council of this Society that they should lay down some rules for the regulation of our business, knowing as I did that the Society of Arts and the Institute of Civil Engineers never pass resolutions after these public discussions without previous notice. Now to the form that this resolution has now taken, I do not think the same objections which I raised to the former resolution apply. I should be the last person to say that Select Committees of both Houses of Parlia-

ment would not be very useful. But I am tempted to say a few more words in reference to an observation which fell from Sir Bartle Frere, as to the best way of a Society of this kind giving weight as a body to their deliberations. Sir Bartle Frere gave us a very broad hint, almost in these words, that if we desire to add weight to our recommendations as a body, especially as regards our influence with the rulers of India, we should suggest a particular remedy for a particular evil. Now the discussions which have taken place here, have ended in a particular evil being pointed out and a particular remedy being suggested. I will not detain the meeting further than by reminding them of what the evil was, and what the remedy was which was suggested. The particular evil was the uneconomical application as regards public works of the 7,000,000*l.* or 8,000,000*l.* annually raised by taxation for that purpose. The particular remedy suggested by me was this, continue to raise 7,000,000*l.* or 8,000,000*l.* annually by taxation, but capitalize a portion, say 3,000,000*l.*, apply that capital at once to making public works, both ordinary and extraordinary, productive and non-productive, and apply the remaining 5,000,000*l.* of the 8,000,000*l.* to the purpose of remunerative works. First, to pay interest on the sum capitalized; secondly, in the maintenance of those works; and thirdly, in the reproduction of capital for further expenditure on public works. And it seemed to me at our last meeting that the proper course for us to take was, that our Council should be asked to put itself in communication with the India Office in the first instance, with a view of carrying into effect the recommendations made by gentlemen of such eminence as those who have favoured this Society by reading their papers, and that our attention should not be diverted from the specific subjects before us, by going into general subjects of politics, and by being asked to pass a resolution to apply to Parliament for a general reform for the whole administration of India.

Mr. PRICHARD seconded the resolution proposed by Mr. Tayler, stating that he concurred in all that he had said.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—I would suggest whether perhaps it would not be better to adjourn the discussion of this subject, for this reason among others, that it is almost impossible to enter into the recommendations and views expressed in the able paper which you have read till we have seen it printed. It is impossible almost to preserve in one's memory all the suggestions made therein. As to this proposal to petition Parliament for the appointment of Committees of both Houses on Indian affairs, I certainly think that Select Committees of both Houses would be most valuable. I may say that the Reports of the Select Committees that have sat at different times—in 1858, in 1832, in 1822, and in 1812—are a most valuable repertory and storehouse of information on all Indian subjects that is to be found anywhere. I have devoted a good deal of time and attention to the study of land tenure in India, and if there is any one source from which my information has been mainly derived it is the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1812, and the voluminous appendices attached to it. I quite concur in the resolution that has been moved to petition Parliament to appoint Select Committees of both Houses, but I would ask the mover of this resolution whether he thinks the wording sufficiently comprehensive to

include an inquiry not only into the administration in India, but also into the working of the Home Government established by the Act of 1858. I think it is very desirable that that point should be thoroughly considered. I think it very important to inquire how the Council has worked, how the financial check which is entrusted to the Council has been exercised, and whether any change is called for or not. One has seen in Parliament occasionally motions calling in question the constitution of the Council, or the qualifications of some of its members. Therefore I think that is a question which might properly be brought before the Select Committees. Another reason why I would suggest that the discussion should be adjourned is this—there were in this room about half-an-hour ago six or seven Members of Parliament, all of whom are gone. Now, if Select Committees are to be moved for, it is of very great importance to secure the co-operation of as many Members of Parliament as can be obtained, because, of course, an individual Member has no chance of getting what he asks for. I put a notice on the notice paper of the House of Commons last year to move for a Committee this year, but I very soon found at the commencement of this Session that there was not the slightest chance of my getting it; at that time there was not a sufficient case made, or enough interest felt in the affairs of India, to have got the requisite amount of support on the part of Members of the House, and particularly with such a busy Session, there being many heavy Bills before the House, and therefore I abandoned it. Mr. Kinnaird had a motion for the appointment of a Select Committee on Irrigation, and he was told by the Government that they could not give it to him, and he abandoned it. This conjuncture is more favourable, because the financial embarrassments of India have attracted a great deal of attention—great dissatisfaction has been aroused in that country, and I think justly. That dissatisfaction and disapproval of the financial measures adopted by the Government of India is shared by most people conversant with India at home. I anticipate if a motion of this kind for Select Committees of both Houses were brought forward very considerable support would be obtained to it, and it would probably be successful; but one thing is obvious, this motion could not be made this year; probably the House of Commons will not sit ten or twelve days longer; Parliament will adjourn the moment the necessary business of the Session is got through; one-half of the Members have left London, and nothing will be brought forward but the most necessary business. We might adjourn the discussion either till next week or till November. If we adjourned to November other Members of Parliament would probably be present, and we should in the meantime have ample time to collect information about the finances, and to prepare tables and statements showing the growth of expenditure at home and abroad in the last ten years.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI suggested that the resolution should be now put to the meeting, leaving it to the Council, as the motion could not be carried into effect till next Session, to call a meeting for further discussion.

Mr. TAYLER stated that he had no objection to the postponement of further discussion till November; on the contrary, he thought it very desirable.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD moved, "That while the Association entirely concurs in the resolution to the effect that it is highly desirable that a Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament should be appointed to make a searching inquiry into the general administration of Her Majesty's Indian territories at home and abroad, still, looking at the late period of the Session, and the necessity for further discussion, especially after the comprehensive and able address from the Chair, this meeting do adjourn till November next."

Mr. FITZWILLIAM seconded the motion.

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE.—I beg to make a few observations. I think from what has fallen at this meeting there appears to be no objection at all to the step that it is proposed to take, viz. to present a petition to Parliament to appoint Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament to inquire into the working of the changes that have been originated since the transfer of the Indian territories from the government of the East India Company to the Crown. Those changes have, as has been already stated, been most important, and it is high time to inquire and thoroughly to sift the nature and character of those changes. It seems to be the general opinion that that could be best done by Select Committees of both Houses; but I think we should come to a resolution now to take this course whilst this subject of enhanced taxation and financial difficulties is fresh in the minds of Members of Parliament and in the mind of the Government. With regard to any other information that might throw light on such an inquiry or show the necessity for it, of course as the Committees cannot commence their sittings till next Session, there would be plenty of time to collect such information. Before next Session commences, the Society may probably have the advantage of hearing many other papers read, some of them perhaps embodying the information that has been pointed at by Sir Charles Wingfield. At all events, it is high time that some such step as that proposed by the resolution should be taken, and I humbly submit, therefore, that the present is the time when the motion which has been proposed should be adopted and carried.

Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN.—I think it is of importance that this motion should be adopted immediately, that the petition should be presented to Parliament this Session, and that Sir Charles Wingfield, or some other Member of well-known reputation and well versed in Indian affairs, should give notice that early next Session he will move for the Committee to which allusion is made in the resolution. I think it important that no time should be lost.

CHAIRMAN.—Do you propose that the petition should be presented at once, and that a motion should be made at once in Parliament for the appointment of such a Committee?

Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN.—The thing I consider of importance is, that notice should be given this Session, that early next Session Sir Charles Wingfield or some other Member will move for this Committee.

Mr. PRICE thought it most important that the Association should arrive at a definite conclusion to-day, and that it was most desirable that some Member of Parliament should this Session give notice in the House of an intention to apply for a Select Committee next Session.

MR. EASTWICK.—I wish to say that I differ with great regret from my honourable friend Sir Charles Wingfield. I certainly think it would be much better to pass this resolution now, because I think if it were passed it would tend very greatly to allay the discontent which is prevailing in India at present. I will not at this late hour go into the question of whether there are legitimate causes for the complaint. But at all events there are complaints, and I think therefore it is very desirable that something should be held out to the people of India to satisfy that spirit of discontent, and if we separate without doing anything, and postpone the matter till the autumn, I do not think it will be very well received in India.

MR. DENT thought it would be very desirable that the meeting should pass the resolution, and beg the Council to place it in the hands of Sir Charles Wingfield or Mr. Eastwick, requesting them to give notice that Parliament will be asked at the commencement of next Session to appoint a Select Committee to take this subject into consideration.

MR. DABABHAI NAOROJI suggested that the resolution should be adopted to-day, and that Sir Charles Wingfield would give notice in Parliament this Session, to move for Select Committees in the next.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD explained that he did not mean that the resolution be not adopted at once. It was the discussion on the Chairman's able paper that he wished to be adjourned till November. He understood that he was to give notice this Session to move for the Select Committee in the next.

THE CHAIRMAN thought it would be quite futile to postpone the discussion till next week, for so many people were going out of town that they might not have as good an attendance then as now. Besides, the views they had expressed were the result of years of experience and reflection, and it was not likely that they would get any new light before next week. As everybody present seemed to have formed a decided opinion, it was their duty to express it, for this was not a subject to be trifled with. The public mind is not capable of taking in complex ideas, and everything ought to be presented to it in a simple, specific form, both here and in India. For these reasons it would be unadvisable to postpone the passing of the resolution till November.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON.—Nothing could be more entirely in accordance with my views than the conclusions to which you have come at the winding up of your address, that these reforms must come from without—they never come from within. No slave-owner has put an end to slavery, no collector of salt-tax ever put an end to the salt-tax, therefore I insist upon the necessity of this principle, that we should have an investigation by people from without, and I fully concur with you that the appointment of Committees of the two Houses would be of inestimable value. We have men now in both Houses, and especially in the Upper House, able to grapple with this subject thoroughly, and they would have it in their power to bring before them all parties, and hear all sides of the question, which it is impossible to get heard now in the Council of India. I do most earnestly hope that something may be done at once.

MR. TAYLER having amended his resolution by adding after the words "searching inquiry into the general administration of Her Majesty's

Indian territories," the words "both at home and in India," the resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE moved and Mr. TAYLER seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN in returning thanks said, that the better part of his life had been spent in India or in connection with India, and he felt it his duty, now that a real crisis in Indian finance had occurred, to follow Mr. Laing's example, and express his opinion publicly for what it was worth, and he was grateful to the Council for giving him the opportunity of doing so.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Council of the Society of Arts.

The resolution, as passed:—"That with a view to meet the present critical position of public affairs in India, to allay the alarm and dissatisfaction produced by the recent enhancement of taxation, and to place the financial administration of the country on a sound and satisfactory footing, the Council of the East India Association be requested to prepare and present an humble Memorial to Parliament, praying that Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament be appointed to make a searching inquiry into the general administration of Her Majesty's Indian territories both at home and in India, more especially in relation to the conduct of the Financial Department, since the transfer of the sovereignty from the late Hon. the East India Company to the Crown, and to report the result of their investigation, with their observations thereon."

RULES.

I.—OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 1. The EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION is instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

II.—MEMBERS.

Article 2. The Association shall consist of Resident and Non-Resident Ordinary and Honorary Members.

Article 3. Honorary Members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary Members.

Article 4. Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council at any Ordinary Meeting, and shall consist of persons who have distinguished themselves in promoting the good of India.

Article 5. Ordinary Members shall be nominated in writing by two Members of the Association, and elected after ten days' notice of such nomination, at the next General Meeting of the Council, if approved by a majority of two-thirds present thereat.

Article 6. The Election of every Member, both Ordinary and Honorary, shall be recorded on the Minutes of the Council; and the Secretary shall forthwith notify, by letter, his election to the Member, and request such Member to furnish a standing order on his Banker for his Annual Subscription.

Article 7. Ordinary Members shall pay an Annual Subscription of £1, or 10 Rs., on the 1st January in every year; or may compound for the same by payment of 100 Rs., or £10, which shall constitute a Life Member.

NOTE—Total Annual Subscription, including Journal (delivered free of Postage) £1 5 0
Life Subscription ditto ditto .. 14 0 0
Annual Subscription (including Journal) in India 13 Rupees 8 Annas.
Life Subscription ditto ditto 150 "

III.—MODE OF MANAGEMENT.

Article 8. The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Thirty Ordinary Members; Five to form a Quorum; and Eight to retire annually by Rotation, but eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

Article 9. A President of the Association shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting; and the Council may, from time to time, nominate distinguished Indian Statesmen, or others, as Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 10. The Council shall appoint a Secretary, and such other Employés as may be necessary, and fix their Salaries and Emoluments.

Article 11. The Council may fill up Vacancies in their own body, until the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 12. The Council shall meet on the First Wednesday in the month; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any three Members of the

Council may at any time convene a Meeting by giving three days' notice.

Article 13. The Council may appoint Special Sub-Committees of not less than Five Members of the Association, three of whom shall form a Quorum.

Article 14. At the desire of Five Members of the Council, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

Article 15. The President, or in his absence any Vice-President, or in the absence thereof, any Member shall preside at the Annual or Ordinary Meetings of the Association.

Article 16. The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council, or in their absence any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Council.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Article 17. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of May in every year.

Article 18. General Ordinary Meetings of the Association for promoting the interests thereof, and for the discussion of subjects connected with India, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

Article 19. A statement of the Accounts of the Association shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Council and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Society, and circulated with the Report of the Council to each Resident Member ten days before the Annual Meeting.

LOCAL COMMITTEES.

Article 20. Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the Council; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

BYE-LAWS.

Article 21. The Council shall have power to make and alter any Bye-laws for the Management of the Association.

ALTERATION OF RULES.

Article 22. No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 23. The Council may, in their discretion, publish quarterly or otherwise, a Journal, containing a Report of the several General and other Meetings of the Association. Papers submitted for discussion shall be published, *in extenso*, or not, as the Council may decide.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,
55, PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.



MEMBERS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD LYVEDEN.

Vice-Presidents.

The Earl of KELLIE, C.B.
Sir JAMES FERGUSSON, Bart.
The Marquis of SALISBURY.
Lord HARRIS, G.C.S.I.
Lord WILLIAM HAY.
Earl of SHAFTESBURY, K.G.
General Lord STRATHNAIRN, G.C.B.,
G.C.S.I.
The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH, G.C.B.

H.H. the Rao of KUTCH.
H.H. the Thakore of BHOWNUGGER,
K.C.S.I.
Lord CLINTON.
Colonel SYKES, M.P.
JAMES STANSFELD, Esq., M.P.
H.H. the Prince of GONDAL.
H.H. the Nawab of JOONAGHUR.

COUNCIL, 1868-69.

Chairman.—The Earl of KELLIE, C.B.

Vice-Chairman.—Major-General C. F. NORTH.

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Lord WILLIAM HAY.
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Lieut.-Colonel JERVIS, M.P.
F. M. WILLIAMS, Esq., M.P.
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Gen. Sir GEORGE POLLOCK, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
Major-General Sir EDWARD GREEN, K.C.B.
Major-General Sir VINCENT EYRE, K.C.S.I.
Major-General Sir R. WALLACE, K.C.S.I.
Major-General W. E. S. SCOTT.

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Major EVANS BELL.
W. TAYLER, Esq.
S. P. LOW, Esq., F.R.G.S.
P. M. TAIT, Esq., F.S.S.
DADABHAI NAGROJI, Esq.
D. D. CAMA, Esq.
Captain W. C. PALMER.
J. J. GAZDAR.
Dr. GOLDFÜCKER.

Secretary.

Captain BARBER.

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BARBER, J. H., Esq.

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BELL, Major EVANS.
†BHIMJEE PRAGJEE, Esq.
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† Life Member.

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 BRIGGS, Lieut.-Colonel DAVID.
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 BRINK, Major F., R.E.
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 BROWNE-TODD, Major.
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 CAMPBELL, GEORGE, Esq.
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 CASSELS, WALTER, Esq.
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 COTTON, General Sir ARTHUR, K.C.S.I.
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 †DADABHAI NAORJI, Esq.
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 DAY, Colonel H. J.
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 DENT, WILLIAM.
 DAVIDSON, JOHN, Esq.
 DEFRIES, Captain H. A. C.

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 ELLIOT, F. B., Esq.
 ELLIOT, R. H., Esq.
 EYRE, Major-General Sir V., C.B., K.C.S.I.
 V.P.—ELLENBOROUGH, The Earl of, G.C.B.
 ERSKINE, The Lord.
 ERSKINE, Admiral JOHN, M.P.
 ERSKINE, The Hon. A. W.
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 GÖLDSTÜCKER, Dr. THEODORE.
 GRAHAM, Dr. A., M.D.
 GRANT, GREGOR H., Esq.
 GRANT, THOMAS, Esq.
 GREEN, Major-General Sir EDWARD, K.C.B.
 GROSVENOR, The Lord RICHARD, M.P.
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 V.P.—HAY, The Lord W. M.
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 HARTE, R.
 †HAY, The Lord JOHN, M.P.
 HEELEY, W. L., B.C.S.
 HORMUSJEE PESTONJEE, Rev.
 HORMUSJEE PESTONJEE, Esq.

JENKINS, ROBERT CASTLE, Esq.
 JERVIS, Lieut.-Colonel, M.P.
 JACOB, Major-Gen. Sir G. LE, G.C.B.
 JAY, CHARLES, Esq.
 JOHNSTONE, G. P., Esq.

†V.P.—KELLIE, The Earl of, C.B.
 KENNEDY, Colonel J. P., R.E.
 KEY, Professor J. H., F.R.S.
 KHAN SYUD SULTAN ALL.

†LYVEDEN, The Lord (*President of the Association*).
 LOW, S. P., Esq.
 LOW, General Sir JOHN, K.C.B.
 LIDDEL, The Hon. H. T., M.P.
 †LOGIN, T., Esq.
 LIES, Lieut.-Colonel W. NASSAU.
 LINGHAM, ALFRED FRASER.

MAXWELL, Sir W. STIRLING, Bart.
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MAVOGORDATO, L., Esq.
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 MEAKIN, EDWARD E., Esq.
 MORESHWAR ATMARAM, Esq.

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 NOTT, Captain.
 NOTT, A. H., Captain, I. N.

OAKES, W. T. S., Esq.
 OSBORNE, Captain SHERARD, C.B., R.N.

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 PRESTON, J. H., Esq.
 PALMER, Captain C. W.
 PRATT, HODGSON, Esq.
 PENDR, JOHN, Esq.
 PALTE, I. N., Esq.
 PRIOR, W. S., Esq.
 PARR, Major-General T. C.
 PEILE, J. B., Esq.
 PORTER, NEAL, Esq.
 POLLOCK, General Sir GEORGE, G.C.B.,
 G.C.S.I.
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